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Health Anxiety Among the Normal Population and Healthcare Professionals in a Highly Disadvantaged Region During Three Waves of COVID-19

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Abstract

Health anxiety manifests in fearing for our health when we recognize factors endangering it. The COVID-19 pandemic has occurred as such a factor in which millions of people have become infected and lost their relatives. The pandemic initiated by an unknown pathogen has occurred as an obviously health-influencing and -threatening phenomenon. The presence of health anxiety related to COVID-19 is considered to be an adaptive reaction, since it strengthens health behaviour (following epidemiological rules, health-protecting behaviour), but its long-lasting, increased level has created problems by influencing more fields of human life in a negative way and inhibiting people seriously in their everyday activities. Our research goal is the assessment of health anxiety among the population of a highly disadvantaged region in North-east Hungary during three waves of the pandemic. We will deal with the health anxiety of healthcare professionals working in this region separately, and we will examine how much the anxiety of people working with seriously ill patients differs from the normal population's anxiety. This study presents the partial results of the complex mental health image research of the region's adult population. In this unit of the research, we used the shortened version of the WHO Well-being questionnaire and the Short Health Anxiety Inventory. In the online data recording, 550 persons completed the questionnaire on average. It is not representative, but it reflects the attitude of the region's population well.

Keywords: health, anxiety, population, healthcare, professionals, disadvantaged region, COVID-19

I. Introduction

The mental effects of the long-lasting pandemic, uncertainty, the lack of communication and isolation occur among the population not just on short term, but we have to count with their long-term consequences as well.

In our study, we present the partial results of a great and complex research the subject of which is the examination of mental health of a highly disadvantaged Hungarian region's population in the different waves of the pandemic. In our research, besides health anxiety, we examined perceived stress, the level of aggression, well-being and hope measured among the population (Rucska & Lakatos, 2021a; Rucska & Lakatos, 2021b; Rucska et. al., 2021).

Our research goals included the assessment of the population's health anxiety, especially the exploration of the anxiety of healthcare professionals working in patient care, since they have been exposed to the risk of the infection since the outbreak of the pandemic, and they can see the progression of the disease and its consequences from close. Beyond general orientation, we were also curious whether any differences can be experienced in the examined region in the level of healthcare professionals' and the population's health anxiety, and how it changed in the different waves of the pandemic.

II. Literature review

In the last two years, several studies have dealt with the direct and indirect effects of the COVID-19 pandemic on healthcare professionals' mental status (Luo et al., 2020; Pappa et al., 2020; Shanafelt et al., 2020). The wide range of studies is indicated by the fact that numerous meta-analysis can be found by now which provide a comprehensive image about the research performed in this topic.

In their literature review and meta-analysis, during reviewing the studies examining the level of anxiety, depression, acute stress, trauma-related and sleeping disorder related to mental health experienced among healthcare professionals, Marvaldi et al. described the more frequent occurrence and worsening of psychiatric symptoms compared to the past (Marvaldi et al., 2021).

Recently, during summarizing the studies performed among healthcare professionals, Dragioti et al. has concluded that the COVID-19 pandemic has influenced the workers' mental health in a negative way; more specifically, they found the symptoms of anxiety, depression and sleeping disorder more frequent. It can also be seen from the examined data that while the examined nurses were primarily affected by the symptoms of anxiety and depression, physicians reported mostly about acute stress and post-traumatic symptoms (Dragioti et al., 2022).

In the last two years, the examination of anxiety related to health has become more emphasized besides the above-mentioned correlations, since the pandemic has

caused general increase in the level of health anxiety. It is important to note that anxiety related to health is actually the most natural reaction and it can be considered to be an adaptive process on an optimal level, because it helps self-care, and it makes people motivated to take the necessary health-protecting steps and stop or avoid health-damaging behaviour. So, it can be said that feeling fear when perceiving health-endangering factors or becoming anxious because of the imagined negative outcome is natural and this spurs us to action (Kosic et al., 2020; Salkovskis, 1996). If we can protect our health by this, anxiety will decrease. But if the effort fails due to either external conditions or the lack of internal coping capacity, anxiety will become permanent and the person gets to such a chronic stress condition which can obviously cause the deterioration of life quality and mental well-being (Köteles et al., 2011). We have to count with negative consequences, such as the increase of the affected person's distress level, difficulty of performing usual actions, depression and low quality of life (Asmundson & Taylor, 2020; Heinen et al., 2021; Saurer et al., 2020; Tyrer, 2020).

Different literature data can be found in association with the comparison of the level of health anxiety in case of healthcare workers and normal people during the pandemic. While higher anxiety level was measured among healthcare workers in certain studies (Mohd et al., 2021; Mokhtari et al., 2020), Luo et al. reported in their meta-analysis that the study results reviewed and summarized by them indicated the same possibility of anxiety and depression among healthcare workers and the normal population (Luo et al., 2020).

The factors influencing healthcare workers' health anxiety include for example personal and family members' safety, meeting basic needs, the availability of the protective gear for inhibiting the infection, testing opportunity, information, and the available social support (Shanafelt et al., 2020).

Finally, examining individual characteristics and working conditions, a correlation occurred between the number of years a healthcare worker had spent in the job, the type of the medical institute and health anxiety in such a way that the more experienced healthcare professionals working in state care showed lower health anxiety than their younger colleagues or those who worked in private care (Saedi et al., 2022). Further results draw the attention to the influence of individual characteristics (i.e., state and trait anxiety, stress tolerance) and working conditions (i.e., social support) (Shayganfard et al., 2021).

The aim of this current study is to provide new data completing our previous research data about the health anxiety and well-being of a Hungarian region's adult population.

III. Methods

1. Participants

The first data recording of the cross-sectional online survey on the population's mental status was performed between the end of November and the beginning of December 2020, the second was performed in March 2021, and the third data recording was done also in the late autumn-early winter period. Only people over the age of 18 were involved in the online survey research. Participants received information about the aim of the study before filling the questionnaire.

The questionnaire was filled by 528 persons at the time of the first data recording of our research. The second data recording was performed when the third wave of the pandemic occurred in Hungary in March 2021: in this period, 515 persons filled the questionnaire, and 590 persons were involved in the third data recording process.

2. Measures

This study presents the partial results of the complex mental health image research of the region's adult population. The measuring tool includes both the background variables (gender, age, education level) and labour market status, relationship status or the size of the residential settlement. We had questions about subjective health status and religiousness as well. There were further questions about COVID-19 infection and any involvement in association with it.

In this unit of the research, we used the shortened version of the WHO Well-being questionnaire (Susánszky et al., 2006) and the Short Health Anxiety Inventory (Salkovskis et al., 2002; Köteles et al., 2011). While subjective well-being focuses on the frequency of positive emotions and the satisfaction with life, the 18-item scale of the Short Health Anxiety Inventory assesses health anxiety independently from physical health condition. The questionnaire focuses on concerns related to health status, attention to somatic processes and the consequences of a potential disease. The variables include disease belief, susceptibility to a disease, fear and nervousness about the disease, body awareness, fears related to death, and attitudes in connection with other people's and own health. The questionnaire has two sub-scales: one examines the perceived possibility of becoming ill, while the other measures the perceived consequence of the disease (Perczel-Forintos et al., 2018).

In the study, we attach special importance to healthcare workers' health anxiety and well-being.

The online data recording was performed in Wave II, III and IV of the pandemic, and it is not representative because of the convenience sampling procedure, but it reflects the attitude of the region's population well. The changes of health anxiety during the second and third waves of the pandemic were published earlier in the study

“Changing of Health Anxiety in Disadvantaged Population during the Pandemic” (Rucska & Lakatos, 2021b).

IV. Results

Demographics

The average age of the 528 persons participating in *the first phase of the research* (in Wave II of the pandemic) was 39.4 ± 13.1 years. 44.7% of the respondents lived in cities, 28.8% in towns and 26.1% lived in villages. The respondents having higher educational level were overrepresented (59.3%). The majority of the respondents worked regularly (62.1%), studied (15.3%) and the rate of women parenting infants was also higher (11.5%).

In this wave, 16.7% of the respondents have been over a COVID-19 infection. Mostly with mild (50.4%) or medium strength (47.8%) symptoms. 22.7% of those living in one household had at least one infected family member, and 77.3% had more than one infected family members.

At the second data recording (in Wave III), 515 persons filled the questionnaire, and their average age was 34.7 ± 13.05 years (range: 18-75 years).

49.6% of the respondents lived in cities, 24.6% in towns and 25.8% lived in villages. Most of the respondents had higher education level again (53%). 60.9% of the respondents work regularly and 22.5% of them are students. At the time of answering, the number of people having been infected by COVID-19 increased (23.5%) and the severity level of the symptoms also changed. The rate of people experiencing mild symptoms decreased (45.1%), and the rate of medium strength symptoms increased minimally (52.6%).

The infection of people living in the same household also increased (37.1%) and 62.9% had more than one infected family members. At the time of answering, 45.8% of the sample had already received at least one vaccine. Finally, only 5.5% of the respondents had asked for mental support from a professional in the recent period, most of them, 94.5% had not asked for this kind of help. At the same time, 38.2% of the respondents answered that if they had the chance, they would ask for mental help (Rucska & Lakatos, 2021b).

590 persons participated in *the third data recording* (Wave IV), and their average age was 35.4 ± 13.4 years. The youngest respondent was 18, while the oldest was 85 years old. 21.4% of the sample was healthcare worker. 48.1% of the respondents lived in cities, 29.1% in towns and 22.8% lived in villages. Most of the respondents had higher education level (44.5%). Most of the respondents worked regularly (66.5%) or studied (21.4%).

The rate of people having been infected by COVID-19 increased (32.5%): 40.7% of them had mild symptoms and 52.3% of them suffered from medium strength symptoms. The rate of people having mild symptoms showed gradual decrease.

Health anxiety

In case of health anxiety, minimal difference could be detected between the three data recording processes (Table 1). Decreasing health anxiety could be detected at Wave III with minimally higher dispersion compared to Wave II, while the pandemic raged more intensively in Wave III, and the restrictions were stronger than in the previous wave. Although, some increase could be experienced in Wave IV compared to the earlier values, the dispersion of which was also higher.

	Wave II (Mean)	Wave III (Mean)	Wave IV (Mean)
Health anxiety	33.84	33.43	34.18
SD	7.32	7.62	8.8

Table 1. Health anxiety

No significant difference could be detected in Wave II and III in case of genders ($p > 0.15$) (Table 2), but men’s health anxiety level was higher than women’s in case of data measured in Wave II. This rate turns in Wave III, as the health anxiety values of women participating in the sample were higher than men’s values (Rucska & Lakatos, 2021). These rates increased in Wave IV: the health anxiety level of women became significantly higher ($p < 0.0001$). In this period, the health anxiety of the elder age group was significantly stronger ($p < 0.007$). The level of healthcare professionals was minimally higher than the average (34.4 ± 8.1).

gender	Wave II Health anxiety (Mean)	Wave III Health anxiety (Mean)	Wave IV Health anxiety (Mean)
mal Mean	34.9583	32.7361	32.3299
fem Mean	33.6163	33.5463	35.0909

Table 2. Anxiety level in terms of genders

If health anxiety is examined in terms of the residence (Table 3), it can be observed that significant difference ($p < 0.037$) could be experienced in health anxiety in Wave IV, and regarding the settlement types, a tendency-level increase can be experienced mainly in cities. The level of health anxiety during Wave IV of the pandemic is the most significant in people living in cities ($p > 0.07$).

Residence	Wave II	Wave III	Wave IV
	Health anxiety (Mean)	Health anxiety (Mean)	Health anxiety (Mean)
city	33.9550	32.8500	35.151
town	33.7857	33.3254	34.058
village	34.2803	33.9848	33.544

Table 3. Anxiety level in terms of residence

In Wave II, significant difference can be detected in case of education level ($p < 0.005$): health anxiety of people with lower education level is stronger than in case of respondents with higher education level (Rucska & Lakatos, 2021b). This type of difference cannot be observed in the other waves of the pandemic.

In data measured in Wave III, health anxiety was significantly higher in families ($p < 0.017$) where one/more family members had been infected by COVID-19 (Rucska & Lakatos, 2021b). This phenomenon could not be detected in data of Wave II; however, it has come to the fore in the closer family environment ($p < 0.016$) and wider socio-cultural environment that health anxiety is stronger in case of infections occurring with more severe symptoms ($p < 0.008$).

Examining the sub-dimensions of health anxiety, the following changes can be observed (Table 4):

	Wave II (Mean)	Wave III (Mean)	Wave IV (Mean)
Perceived possibility of becoming ill	26.1970	25.8754	26.3831
Perceived consequence of becoming ill	7.6434	7.5573	7.8000

Table 4. Sub-scales of health anxiety

Examining the perceived possibility of becoming ill, decrease can be experienced in Wave III compared to Wave II, while a not significant increase ($p > 0.9$) exceeding Wave II can be observed in Wave IV. In Wave II and III, the values of the health anxiety sub-scale are higher in people with subjectively satisfactory and bad health status, which are the strongest in Wave IV in comparison with the previous ones (Rucska & Lakatos, 2021b) (Table 5).

<i>What do you think about your general health status?</i>	Perceived possibility of becoming ill Wave II (Mean)	Perceived possibility of becoming ill Wave III (Mean)	Perceived possibility of becoming ill Wave IV (Mean)
<i>Very bad</i>	25.5000	42.0000	43.6000
<i>Satisfactory</i>	28.4903	28.2843	28.0948

Table 5. Health anxiety sub-scale, and the bad and satisfactory subjective health status

In all the examined waves, subjective health status is determining in the values of both the perceived possibility of becoming ill ($r_2=-0.41$; $r_3=-0.44$; $r_4=-0.41$) and its consequence ($r_2=-0.26$; $r_3=-0.25$; $r_4=-0.31$), so the values of the sub-scale are higher in case of people with worse subjective health status.

In terms of residence, it can be observed that the values of the sub-scales tend to be the highest in the villages ($p>0.18$) in both pandemic waves (Table 6).

	Wave II		Wave III		Wave IV	
	Perceived possibility of becoming ill	Perceived consequence of becoming ill	Perceived possibility of becoming ill	Perceived consequence of becoming ill	Perceived possibility of becoming ill	Perceived consequence of becoming ill
city	26.2900	7.4000	25.4350	7.4050	27.1459	8.0222
town	26.2566	7.6711	25.8095	7.5159	26.3158	7.7427
village	26.6014	7.7609	26.4318	7.5530	25.8881	7.6567

Table 6. The values of the health anxiety sub-scale in terms of residence

The values of the sub-scales decreased in Wave III, but it could be observed that they were higher in people living in villages, and the rate of decrease was lower (Rucska & Lakatos, 2021). In Wave IV, health anxiety can be experienced mainly in people living in cities (perceived possibility of becoming ill: $p<0.05$), while the level of this is the lowest in the residents of villages.

In terms of genders, significant difference can be found in the sub-scales of perceived possibility of becoming ill in Wave II and IV ($p_2<0.028$; $p_4<0.00001$), but the values of the sub-scale occur more markedly in women in all the three waves (Table 7).

	Wave II		Wave III		Wave IV	
	Perceived possibility of becoming ill	Perceived consequence of becoming ill	Perceived possibility of becoming ill	Perceived consequence of becoming ill	Perceived possibility of becoming ill	Perceived consequence of becoming ill
male	26.0357	7.7500	25.1528	7.5833	24.7371	7.5928
female	26.2161	7.6314	25.9932	7.5530	27.1894	7.9015

Table 7. Values of the health anxiety sub-scale in terms of genders

In the perceived consequence sub-scale, men’s values are minimally higher than women’s in Wave II, which difference can also be observed in Wave III, but this turns in Wave IV and women’s values become higher than men’s, however, not significantly ($p>0.3$).

WHO Well-being

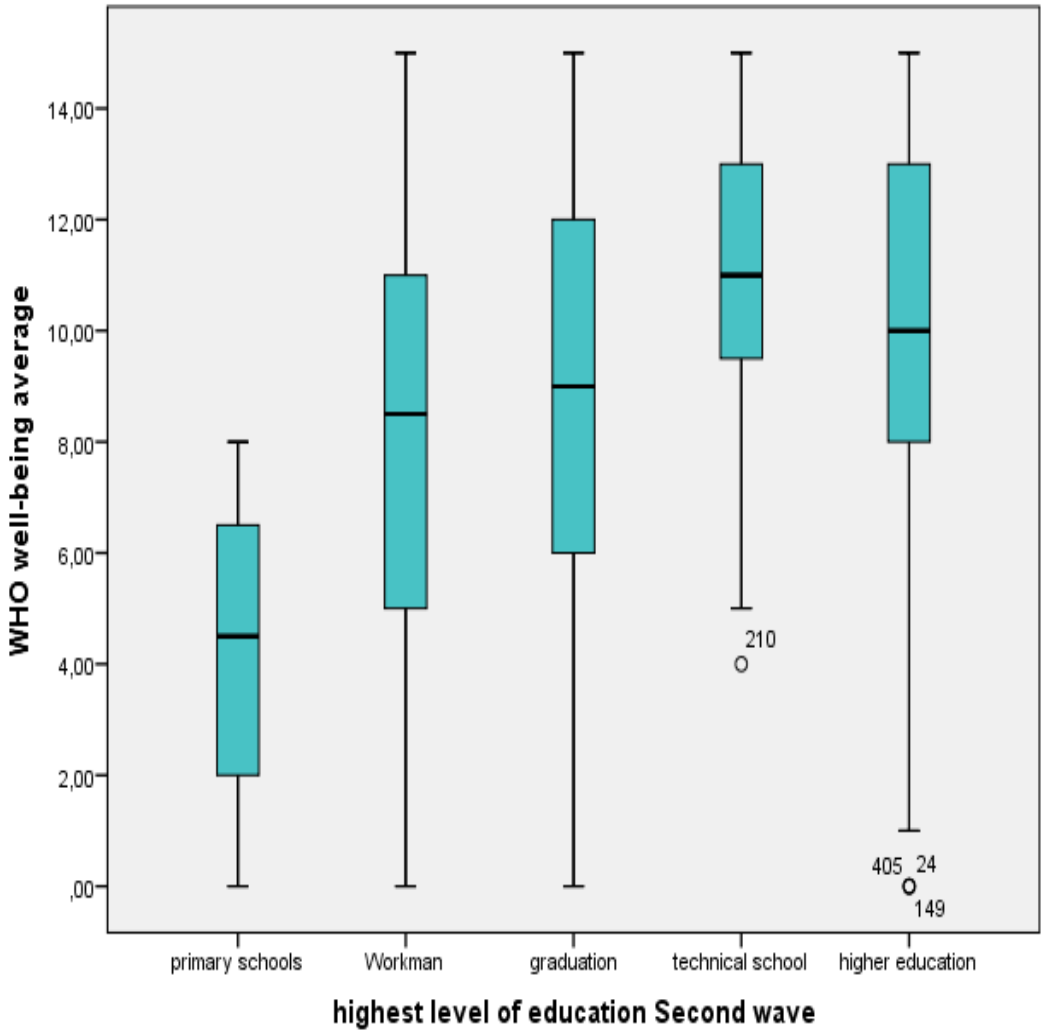
The Well-being Scale used in the research is one of the most commonly applied measuring tool which is used for the assessment of mental well-being based on self-esteem. The scores to be achieved could vary between 0 and 15 on the scale. When evaluating the results, higher scores mean more positive and favourable mental state.

Overall, it can be observed that well-being has changed a lot in the different periods of the pandemic: it deteriorated in Wave III, then it showed an increasing tendency again by Wave IV. This also manifests in the dispersions because the population’s well-being state has become permanent in the long-lasting pandemic situation. In the beginning, men had better mental status, however, women’s mental status exceeded men’s by Wave IV of the pandemic (Table 8).

gender	Wave II WHO Well-being (Mean)	Wave III WHO Well-being (Mean)	Wave IV WHO Well-being (Mean)
male Mean	10.0417	9.4107	9.4948
female Mean	9.5892	9.4110	9.7121
total Mean	9.6524	9.4110	9.6407
Total Std.	3.74030	3.57617	3.58923

Table 8. WHO Well-being in terms of genders

Examining the dimension of education level, it can be stated that significant differences of well-being can be detected in Wave II and III ($p_2 < 0.0003$; $p_3 < 0.005$) that do not occur in case of Wave IV ($p < 0.3$) (Figure 1). It can be observed that while school dimensions are more distinct in Wave II, this difference is less strong in Wave III.



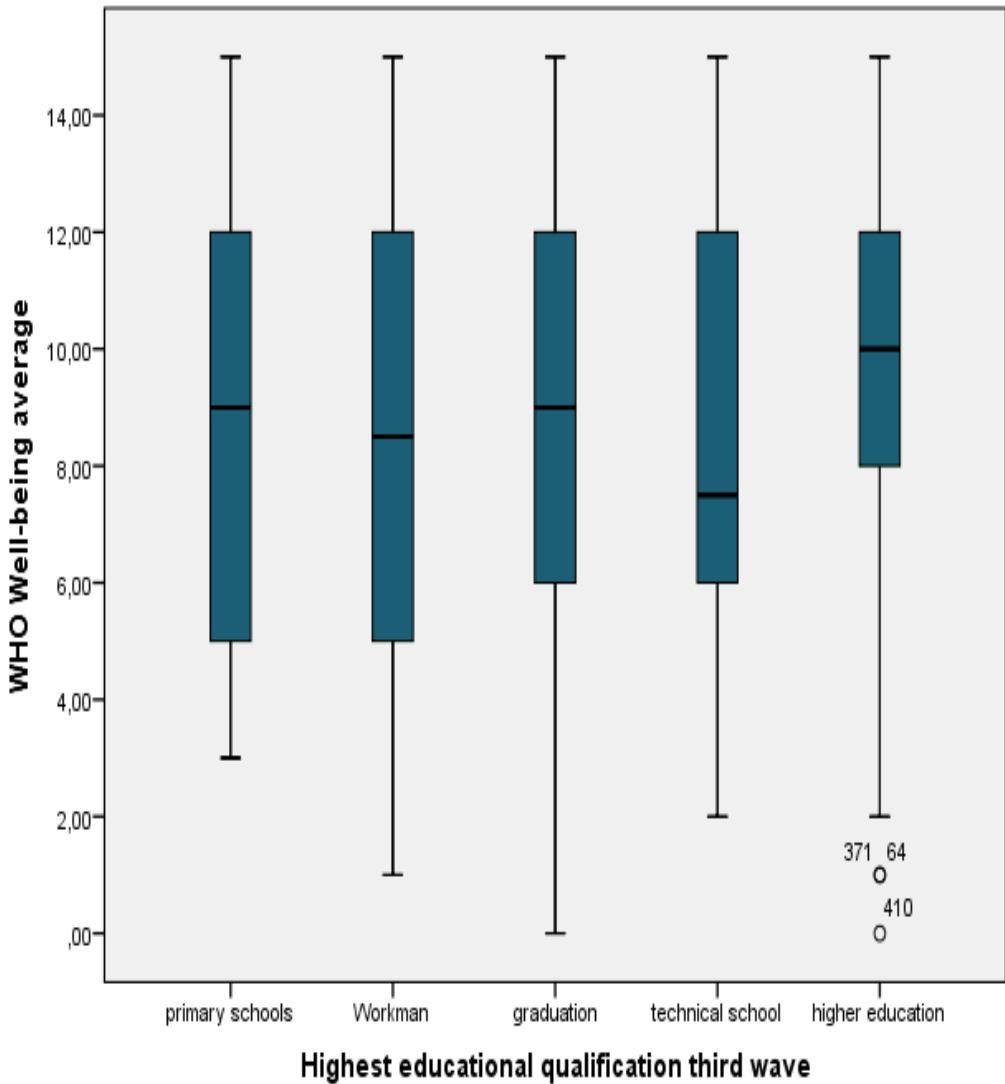


Figure 1. WHO Well-being in the dimension of education level in Wave II and III of the pandemic

In Wave IV, a significant difference could be found in case of age when examining well-being ($p < 0.006$), and the well-being index of the elder age group was significantly lower than in the younger group.

In Wave II, a medium strength negative correlation could be detected between health anxiety and well-being ($r = -0.443$; $p < 0.000$). This correlation minimally decreases in

Wave III ($r=-0.38$; $p<0.000$), then it becomes stronger again by Wave IV ($r=-0.42$; $p<0.000$).

Healthcare professionals

In the examined sample, the values of healthcare professionals show minimal deviation compared to the population’s values (Table 9).

	Wave II			Wave III			Wave IV		
	Perceived possibility of becoming ill	Perceived consequence of illness	Health anxiety	Perceived possibility of becoming ill	Perceived consequence of illness	Health anxiety	Perceived possibility of becoming ill	Perceived consequence of illness	Health anxiety
Mean	26.813	8.178	34.991	25.620	7.753	33.373	26.535	7.842	34.377

Table 9. Health anxiety values of healthcare professionals

42% of the healthcare professionals have been over the infection and other 23% of them are uncertain about having been infected. The infection passed with mild symptoms in some of them, 68% had medium strength symptoms and 6% needed hospitalization. In case of professionals, the level of health anxiety showed significantly weak correlation ($p<0.05$; $r=0.269$) with the strength of the infection.

In Wave II and IV, the health anxiety values of healthcare professionals are higher than the population’s values, but insignificantly lower values could be detected in Wave III in comparison with the population’s values. The different sub-scale values were also higher in Wave II compared to the population, which values showed strong decrease in Wave III and almost similar level in Wave IV.

In Wave III, the values of the perceived possibility of illness sub-scale significantly differ in case of the education level of healthcare professionals ($p<0.036$) which deviation can also be detected in Wave IV, however, not so strongly ($p>0.6$). The higher the professionals’ education level, the higher the sub-scale values. In case of residence, significant difference can be found in Wave IV ($p<0.008$), and health anxiety is higher in healthcare professionals living in cities than those living in smaller settlements. Health anxiety was influenced in a significantly positive way by the occurrence of the vaccine. 37% of healthcare professionals would like to get mental support in Wave III of the pandemic, which demand has increased in Wave IV when

10.5% of the workers have already used it and further 38.1% of them would use mental help if possible.

Finally, we examined how healthcare professionals' well-being differs from the population's well-being (Table 10). While the value is the same as the population's value in Wave II and IV, the measured well-being index is significantly lower in Wave III. In Wave II, a medium strength negative correlation could be found between the health anxiety of healthcare professionals and well-being ($r=-0.36$; $p<0.000$), and this strength is under the population's average.

gender	Wave II WHO Well-being (Mean)	Wave III WHO Well-being (Mean)	Wave IV WHO Well-being (Mean)
Healthcare Professionals	9.6	8.9	9.6
SD	3.4	3.6	3.4

Table 10. Well-being of healthcare professionals

V. Discussion

Anxiety related to health can occur in all life situations when we fear our health from external, health-endangering conditions or a disease, we deal with the possibility of becoming ill and the outcome of the disease. Basically, it is a natural reaction that motivates the protection of health and the return to it, so, actually, it serves the protection of life. But, similarly to anxiety conditions becoming chronic, long-lasting health anxiety can cause the deterioration of quality of life and mental well-being. The pandemic has created such a situation worldwide that has justified the assessment of the population's health anxiety and its long-term tracking.

Our research data explained above allow us to conclude that health anxiety have occurred in waves in the last two years in the examined region: mild decrease could be detected in Wave III compared to the values measured in Wave II, while it increased again in Wave IV.

Although, the level of health anxiety did not show correlation with gender, age and socio-economic status in studies performed before the pandemic, it has brought changes in this sense as well. Results suggest that the two genders reacted in different ways in the certain waves: while health anxiety was higher in women in Wave II, it was higher in men in Wave III, and finally, the global increase in women's anxiety level measured in Wave IV occurred emphatically. At the same time, elder people and people living in cities showed significant anxiety increase in Wave IV. And finally, a

correlation could be found in terms of education level in the examined sample as well: respondents with lower education level reported about stronger health anxiety in Wave II.

Health anxiety related to diseases perceived in the environment (family or wider socio-cultural environment) has become stronger by the passing time, and this correlation is the highest in Wave IV.

In terms of mental well-being, it can also be stated that it has changed in the different waves of the pandemic: compared to Wave II, it deteriorated in Wave III, then it showed improving tendency again by Wave IV. While men had better well-being in the beginning, women's well-being has exceeded men's by Wave IV of the pandemic. In terms of age, differences could be detected in well-being in Wave IV: by this time, the well-being index of elderly people was significantly lower than in case of the younger respondents.

Examining the connection between health anxiety and well-being, it can be concluded that, however, some waving can be observed here as well, the correlation known from earlier was proven in all the three waves according to which the two conditions were inversely related to each other: the aggravation of health anxiety was accompanied by the deterioration of mental health.

Examining healthcare professionals, it could be determined that their health anxiety level was only minimally higher than the normal population's level in the examined region. Education level and residence occurred as causal factors in their case: lower education level and metropolitan environment was accompanied by higher health anxiety.

Our data also showed that, however, the occurrence of the vaccine influenced health anxiety in a positive way, healthcare professionals reported significantly lower mental well-being in Wave III than in the other two examined waves. At the same time, as time progressed, the rate of healthcare professionals asking for mental help or requiring it if possible increased.

VI. Conclusion

The study results aimed at the assessment of the population's mental state performed in Wave II, III and IV of the pandemic in the North-east Hungarian region are consistent with the international and national studies which have proved the negative effect of COVID-19 on mental health. The increase of health anxiety caused by the pandemic and the deterioration of mental well-being among both normal population and healthcare workers can be stated with great certainty among people living in the examined socio-economically disadvantaged region. In the examined region, health anxiety showed correlation with gender, age, education level and settlement type, however, it also showed reverse correlation with mental well-being. In the examined sample, the correlations between the mental phenomena have been proved rather in

case of elderly people and people living in greater settlements. Our results are essential in the success of further prevention and intervention work of helping professionals in terms of the examined region.

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Sudanese Women Living with HIV/AIDS Stigma and Discrimination

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Abstract

This study aims to explore and describe the meaning and effect of the women's experience of HIV/AIDS stigma and discrimination. The study adopted an exploratory descriptive qualitative research method. The sample is purposefully selected and consists of 10 women living with HIV who were members of people living with HIV/AIDS association in Khartoum State in 2019. Results show that all the participants were facing stigma and discrimination because they were living with HIV and AIDS. Distant relatives were the main source of stigma and discrimination followed by friends' rest of community members. Most participants indicated that they felt they were discriminated because HIV infection is associated with 'sexual misbehavior'. However, some of them complained that they contracted the virus from their married partners and hence they did not deserve to be stigmatized or discriminated against. Results show that there is a need for creation of awareness among community members on the transmission of HIV.

Keywords: Sub Saharan Africa, Women, HIV, AIDS, Discrimination

Introduction

Despite progress in many aspects of the global HIV response, women particularly adolescent girls and young women - continue to be disproportionately affected by HIV. Young women and adolescent girls account for one in every five new HIV infections in Africa and are nearly three times as likely as men of the same age group to be living with HIV in Sub Saharan Africa (UNAIDS2015The Foundation for AIDS Research 2015).

Adolescent girls and young women in sub-Saharan Africa acquire HIV five to seven years earlier than their male peers (Dellar, R.C. et al (2015). Devries, K.M. et al (2013). Stigma and discrimination, as well as inequitable laws and cultural practices, further exacerbate women's vulnerability to HIV and undermine the response to the epidemic (UN women 2015). Recent statistics show that the number of people living with HIV in Sudan have now reached 70,000 people prevalence was at 0.4%. People living with

the disease are the main source through which HIV is spreading. They suffer social stigma and community discrimination (UNAIDS 2013, SNAP 2013). There were 25000 Sudanese Women aged 15 and over living with HIV (UNAIDS 2015). Sudan has one of the largest populations of people living with HIV in Middle-East and North Africa, Sudan is a generally conservative and highly religious society where sexuality is not openly discussed, and a disease such as HIV/AIDS is surrounded by myths and taboos and even ignored in official circles. It is difficult and requires sensitivity to get people to talk openly about the disease (UNAIDS, 2014, WHO 2007). However, the HIV epidemic among Sudanese women exacerbate their vulnerability to stigma and discrimination (Daoud s. 2013). This study gives the chance to five Sudanese women living with HIV to narrate their stories on their stigma and discrimination resulted from being HIV positive.

Objectives of the Study

Describe HIV-related fear, denial and experiences of stigma and discrimination reported among persons diagnosed with HIV

Describe participants' perceptions and understanding of societal and community responses to HIV/AIDS and in particular the role of stigma and discrimination;

Methodology

The study was an exploratory descriptive qualitative research design s used to explore and describe the meaning and effect of the experience of HIV/AIDS stigma and discrimination among ten women living with HIV who were the members of people living with HIV/AIDS association in Khartoum State selected through the convenience purposively sampling process. Using qualitative data collection the women in the sample narrated stories that expressed their emotions, perceptions and experiences of stigma and discrimination resulting from their HIV positive. Collected stories were presented in forms of narrative stories.

Ethical Issues

The researcher obtained permission from the heads of HIV/AIDS Association in Khartoum State . Participation was voluntary and participants were informed that they could withdraw from the study at any time if they wished. Informed consent was obtained from each participant who met the inclusion criteria including the minors where consent was obtained from their parents or guardians before being interviewed. The participants were allocated code numbers instead of names to ensure confidentiality and anonymity results.

Results

Socio-Economic Characteristics of the Respondents

The majority of participants were between 20 and 35 years of age. The youngest participant was 17 years old, and the oldest was 42 years old. Two of women participated on the study were currently single while one was divorced and other two were widow. Two of women completed university education and one was currently university student and two were illiterate. All women interviewed did not born in Khartoum State some of them migrated with their families and other with their husbands from other states in Sudan. Their length of time in Khartoum ranged from three years to 12 years, with an average of 17 years. Three of women interviewed were engaged in small businesses one employed and other was one still student. Two of five women got infected from their husbands while two form sex practices with multiparters and one from blood transformation. The average time since diagnosis was 7 years. Three participants had been diagnosed between 2010 and 20012. All women did not had symptoms of the disease they discovered it by chance

Women's Narratives

This part presents five stories narrated by five women living with HIV. Women narrated in depth their situation, feelings and emotions resulting from being HIV positive

Story One

I am 19 years old university student moved to Khartoum to study. I discovered my infection when donated blood to my friend. I still single got the infection from blood transformation. I feel this is end of the world. I could not tell any one of my family or my friends *stigma would mean that once a person look at me they would just characterize me as sex worker and it is a committed cardinal sin. So that's one of the stigma that will be attached to me being HIV.*

Because they don't know about my HIV status, everybody in the community, they know I'm HIV positive and they talk bad about me. You know, they even call me names. They don't know me, they don't know anything about me, but still, because they found I'm HIV positive, they think I'm a bad lady. Thanks God found some support from the members of association and break my silence but still could not participate on activities conducted by association because I afraid to be identified as HIV positive. I need to be referred and seen regularly by someone who can help me cope with this disease and live with our families and society.

Story Two

I am 40 years old university graduate employed moved to Khartoum for work I got HIV from my husband. Learning that I HIV-positive was one of the most difficult experiences I go through in life. felt scared, sad or even angry. I have been living

without marriage till reached 38 year old but my friends and family pushed me to get married after one year marriage my husband died and discovered my infection I hate the men. I kept my infection secret except told my mother she is giving me support and kindness. Sudanese people discriminate against people living with HIV because *when they hear that someone's HIV positive – they'll be seeing someone who's dying, someone who is not supposed to touch anyone.* "After I was diagnosed I felt so bad and I hated myself but then I calmed down and I joined the association of people living with HIV. Then I felt good and that I accepted my disease as wrath of God. *Association helped me to break the stigma I become active on awareness raising and prevention activities specifically to protect women because HIV stigma affect women more than men. Stigma and discrimination is the biggest problem that we face in our community specially we are women. I got HIV/AIDS from my husband and where he got it, I don't know either; I advise Sudanese girls before marriage should do HIV test.*

Story Three

I still single uneducated, I discovered my infection seven years ago and I got HIV because I used to practice sex with multi sexual partners. I was poor and ignorant of the transmission of HIV. When people discover that I HIV positive, they run away from me and look down to me.

People hate us because the infection of HIV is related to bad sexual practice. I moved from my area to Khartoum the person I would never, ever tell in my life is my mother. You know back home, in rural areas they are highly ignorant of HIV. They don't even believe that there is a way you can manage your life and live longer. Once they hear that someone is HIV positive, the thing that comes into their head is death. I wouldn't want her to know about it – she might die thinking about it." I am happy that the association does not discriminate me instead accommodated and encouraged me got job for me there are some times when it's difficult to cope. But knowing I'm not alone, that there are other people with HIV with similar experiences, and people who'll work on my behalf makes a difference. It gives me the strength to go on to live my life."

Story Four

I am female headed household with many children illiterate and poor. Poverty is the reason that caused to be infected by HIV/ aids because I used to sell my body to support my children. I kept my infection secret inside me my stigma would affect my children

I live very difficult life experience health problems, loneliness, exclusion, poverty and unhappiness. I blame myself for the situation as HIV positive I have to keep all these feelings inside me to survive We feel desperate grief isolated without support. I don't tell people I have HIV because I don't want them to judge me."

My family kept me out of the kitchen and stopped talking to me because I have HIV.

I know I got this through sex. I feel really ashamed having a sexual disease and am no longer interested in having sex." "No one could really want to be with someone who has HIV. "Of course I am afraid for my children. I'm very afraid for their future, and how people will relate to them. 'I do not want any person to know about my disease condition...what people will do for me, I don't want even any physician to know, only my treating physician to know. If others know they will not help me, instead they will blame me and distance themselves away, so I do not want anyone to know my disease condition. The attitude of our society on HIV is very bad. We live in the dark and are scared of the people to know because they will treat us bad and look to us bad

Story Five

I am 45 years I have got HIV from my husband. My husband was abroad for a long time before we got married. I heard he tested positive at that time and was sent back to the country, but he married me without revealing any of this. I have got sick and tested HIV positive my husband and his family divorced me went back to my family a shamed. My husband had gone around telling our previous neighbors about my positive status. I am discriminated against by a lot of friends they afraid to sit near me they treated me like sick animal, because it is assumed that HIV is only transmitted through extra-marital sex and a Muslim woman is not supposed to behave that way. Thus, an additional component of HIV-related stigma could involve the assumption that HIV positive people have transgressed their culture or religion. Some participants indicated that most people do not know about how HIV is transmitted and they fear contracting it through contacts or close association with the PLWHA. There is a lot of inaccurate information about HIV and AIDS on how it is transmitted. People are afraid of contracting the disease, therefore, HIV and AIDS patients are stigmatized and discriminated. "Stigma and discrimination make me feel miserable and sometimes I wish I could die early because I know I am bothering innocent lives. Sometimes I don't want to eat and I know my health is going down slowly". People's feelings toward HIV patients are very bad and they think it is a punishment from God for their sin

Discussion

The stories illustrate what gender reacted stigma means in reality. Many women felt shame low self-esteem due to being HIV-positive. Women was much more likely to have been discriminated against by friends and community members. The stories confirm that attitudes towards people with HIV/AIDS are shaped by the religious, social and cultural framework, and by misconceptions about the methods of HIV transmission among both the general population and healthcare providers (Al-Ghanim, 2005; Badahdah, 2010). This lack of knowledge is significantly and negatively related to stigmatization of people with HIV/AIDS Holzemer W, Human S, Arudo J et al (2009) All participants experienced stigmatization.

Stigma has always been closely associated with HIV/ AIDS (Emlet 2007; Liamputtong et al, 2009; Badahdah and Foote, 2010) Perceived HIV stigma has a significant negative effect on the quality of life of women living with HIV/ AIDS (Greeff et al, 2010)

Sudanese a very conservative HIV/ AIDS is perceived as a moral disease and people with HIV/AIDS are perceived as deviant and as deserving the disease for having violated social and religious rules (Hasnain, 2005). These attitudes are a key factor shaping the lived experience of study participants living with HIV/AIDS in Sudan.

The results that almost all the participants in the study faced some form of stigma and discrimination show a need for community sensitization on HIV and AIDS. Results show that stigma and discrimination should not be ignored or overlooked in the care of HIV and AIDS patients.

Conclusion

It is found that we will never make progress in the response to HIV – prevention, treatment, care or support – unless we deal with the gender dimensions of HIV-related fear and ill-treatment.

It can be said that Stigma can be particularly intense – even overwhelming – for women living with HIV from rural areas, are strongly conservative or religious. Here, women can experience multiple layers of the ‘jigsaw’ of stigma and discrimination. They may be forced into ‘protective silence’ which means that they do not seek support from the community or services,

Recommendations

Young women and girls are not passive victims of HIV-related stigma, but the impact of HIV-positive women’s activism and advocacy needs to be better understood and taken to scale. Indicators that measure stigma need to be tailored to the realities of women’s lives.

Stigma stands in the way of women realizing their rights. So how can progress be made in overcoming this? How can we change people’s attitudes to AIDS? A certain amount can be achieved through the legal process or through institutional and other monitoring mechanisms which can enforce the rights of women living with HIV and provide powerful means of mitigating the worst effects of discrimination and stigma

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Citizen Participation: A Matter of Competency

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Abstract

Citizens are social actors willing to give their time and energy to participate in collective projects, in order to live better in their built environment. Thus, the inhabitant is not only apprehended as a figure of belonging to a place, but he is perceived as being able to act on his environment, to be in connection with it. He is the one who invents his living environment and, beyond, transforms the city in the same way as the other actors. Individuals must acquire skills to become effective participatory citizens and live together in peace and on an equal footing in democratic societies. The recent work in the social sciences, which deals with "scholarly knowledge" and "ordinary knowledge", makes it possible to conclude on this notion of skills and to make the link with the question of the participation of the inhabitants. The "scholarly knowledge" is classified as scientific academic and professional knowledge, opposing knowledges qualified as profane or ordinary, that is to say, shared "by all or part of the social world". From a systemic point of view, the process of participation would be the meeting of these academic knowledge and lay knowledge. The purpose of this article is to understand what types of skills the resident uses, as a resource person, a living force, to engage in the process of participation.

Keywords: the citizen, citizen participation, skills, scholarly knowledge and ordinary knowledge.

Introduction

The Council of Europe publications on the project "Education for Democratic Citizenship" (Council of Europe, 1997) gave different definitions of participation, including:

Participation is a "power based on the possibility of influencing the social and economic aspects of life in the wider community" (Golubovic, 1982, cited in Council of Europe, 1997, p.13).

In another 1990 European publication, participation is defined as "the right of young people to be included, allowed and encouraged to assume duties and responsibilities and to take decisions that affect them" (Council of Europe, 1997, p.13).

On the other hand, the participation process is part of a logic of solidarity, where human, democratic and citizen values take shape in the identity construction of an actor. From this process arise attitudes, skills, knowledge, that enable the inhabitant "as a main actor in the process of participation" to act in an effective way.

Understanding the parameters of "citizen participation" requires matching their "knowledge", value systems and skills.

This is a current notion that occupies an important place in pragmatic sociology. Indeed, the emergence of skills is studied in the theoretical field of public policies, around the notion of "capacitation".

This notion refers to the human, social and technical capacities. As long as it is a question of designating, the relation that the actor maintains to the acts that he poses. So, do inhabitant have particular skills promoting their participatory process?

This research work is mainly inspired by Council of Europe publications on the project "Education for democratic citizenship" and the studies of Guy Le Boterf

The concept of competency

The competency of a person in an area of expertise are relevant past experiences that may influence a person's will to participate in an organization, project or take a particular role.

This concept is studied in different fields, namely, human resources, anthropology, social sciences, pragmatic sociology and sociology of work...

The term "competence" is used in many ways, including in ordinary language as a synonym for "aptitude" or, more technically, as part of the education and professional training, or to refer to the ability to meet complex requirements in a given context.

The long-standing Council of Europe in the fields of education for democratic citizenship and intercultural dialogue has defined competence through the ability to mobilize and use values, attitudes, skills, knowledge and skills or relevant understanding in order to respond effectively and appropriately to the demands, challenges and opportunities that arise in democratic and intercultural situations. Competence is treated as a dynamic process in which an individual mobilizes and

uses a set of psychological resources in an active and flexible way to respond to unexpected situations.

The educational sciences define this concept as follows: A competency is an integrated set of capabilities that allows one to spontaneously grasp a situation and respond to it in the most appropriate way possible.

Guy le Boterf proposes another definition: "Competence is the mobilization or activation of several knowledge in a given situation and context". (...) The Competences are mainly exercised in professional or social life or in leisure. (...) Finally, Competences are the culmination of knowledge.

The dimensions of Competences

From the studies of Guy Le Boterf, we can analyze this notion by breaking it down into three aspects of knowledge: knowledge, know-how and know-how to be or attitude. In the same way, these three categories of knowledge are exerted in three domains specific to the social being, they are: the cognitive domain, psychomotor domain and socio affective domain. However these three knowledge are linked. Because it is the concomitance of these three elements that creates a particular "dynamic". These aspects of knowledge are therefore all three necessary for the accomplishment of urban projects where the process of the participation of inhabitants is inscribed.

Knowledge, know-how and know-how to be are the resources that a person can mobilize in the action in order to prove his competence. These are complementary resources referring to different dimensions of the competency:

Knowledge (cognitive competences)

Every human being has knowledge. This is the body of knowledge acquired through learning (studies) or experience. This knowledge tends to be enriched, but it can also be degraded, and it has especially the precious quality of being usable and communicable.

It can be said that knowledge is a source of power and enrichment for its holder. Knowledge gains full value only when it leads to action.

Knowledge is a foundation of knowledge, called theoretical, which is constructed and evolves according to personal history. It is always personal, articulated according to the history of the subject but also with the cultural and social context of the latter. The relation to knowledge can be defined as a process by which a subject, based on acquired knowledge, produces new singular knowledge enabling him to think, to transform and to feel the world.

Drucker sees knowledge as the only resource that has meaning in the perspective of the new economy, which is mainly characterized by the dematerialization of trade and production (from the book "Post-capitalist society", 1993).

Grant states that knowledge is information and know-how, held by individuals and not by organizations, and is the most important resource of the company (from the book "Toward a knowledge-based theory of the firm ", 1996).

He refers to theoretical or declarative knowledge: it is the mastery of vocabulary, norms and laws, data and characteristics on products, tools or services ... By knowledge, we mean all the information that a person possesses and which are indispensable for effective participation:

Knowledge of communication

This is knowledge of:

The fact that people who have other cultural references may follow verbal and non-verbal communication conventions that are different from their own, important from their point of view, even if they use the same language;

The social impact and impact on others of different communication styles, including how different communication styles may be incompatible or result in a break in communication;

The fact that there are multiple ways to speak in a given language and multiple ways to use the same language. Different communication tools and their dissemination methods.

Knowledge of politics and law

It encompasses knowledge of:

Basic political and legal concepts related to participatory democracy, such as democracy, freedom, justice, equality, citizenship, rights and duties, the need for laws and regulations, and the state of law ;

Democratic processes and the functioning of political institutions, including the role of political parties;

Various ways in which citizens can participate in public debate and decision-making, and influence politics and society, including the role that civil society and NGOs can play in this regard.

Knowledge of human rights

That is knowledge of:

- the fact that human rights are based on the inherent dignity of all human beings;

- the fact that human rights are universal, inalienable and indivisible, and that while human rights are recognized for every human being, everyone must respect the rights of others, regardless of their national origin, ethnicity, race, religion, language, age, sex, gender, political opinion, birth, social origin, wealth, disability, sexual orientation or any other situation;

States and governments' human rights obligations.

Know-how (practical competence)

The know-how corresponds to the control of the operating modes and processes. This knowledge concerns the mastery of one or more techniques essential to the practice of a craft or an art. We can extend our know-how to other areas of our private life, to highlight our talents. The know-how is not acquired forever, it is constantly rehabilitated and updated by the experiences, whether professional, voluntary or personal.

It is defined as a skill to implement one's experience and knowledge acquired in any art or craft. This combination of two infinitives, Know and do, combines knowledge and action, and comes from field experience.

Professor J.M. Mousseron gave another definition of know-how: "technical knowledge, transmissible, not immediately accessible to the public and not patented, and for which someone would be willing to pay to know it".

Jean Verré (1997) recognizes the usefulness of introducing the notion of aptitude. He justifies the psychological dimension of studies and admits that the experience (know-how) is changing at varying rates, depending on the skills and individual characteristics. Verré speaks of ability, defined in part by "*the natural or acquired disposition of someone 'one to do something' and on the other hand, by the psychological sense 'dimension according to which the individuals are differentiated* » (Verré 1997).

We also defend the idea that aptitude is only a potential to activate to become a skill. In this, we reach Aubret who, from the definition of the aptitude, releases restrictive factors and affirms that the aptitudes are considered like cognitive characteristics responsible for the acquisition and the treatment of the information (Aubret, Gilbert et al., 1993). Moreover, they point out that the concept of aptitude is not an observable but a cognitive construct.

In psychology, the word aptitude refers to the psychological characteristics that make it possible to predict interindividual differences in future learning situations. The concept originates from the Latin word *aptus*, which means "capable of".

We must distinguish between the use of the term in colloquial language and that of psychology. In the common language, aptitude refers to the ability of a person to perform a task / activity correctly. In psychology, contrariwise, the term includes

both the cognitive abilities that emotional characteristics and personality. That said, aptitude is associated with intelligence and natural dispositions or those acquired through a learning process.

It is the ability to perform complex and organized modes of thought or behavior by adapting evidence to reach a goal or a particular purpose.

Abilities come from a wide variety of skill abilities that, in turn, have a link to several logical and mathematical abilities for effective citizen participation, ability can belong to listening and observation, to understanding verbal and written expression, communication and cooperation, conflict resolution...Etc.

Ability to listen and observe

These are the skills needed to understand what others are saying and to learn from their behavior. Understanding what others say requires active listening - paying careful attention not only to the content of the words but also to the way they are expressed by the tone, timbre, loudness, flow, and fluidity of the voice. As well as the body language of the person, especially eye movements, facial expressions and gestures. Careful observation of the behavior of others can also be an important source of information about the behaviors that are most appropriate and effective in various social and cultural contexts, and can help the learner to control these behaviors by retaining this information, and reproducing this behavior in later situations of the same type. Therefore, listening and observation include the capacity or ability:

- to pay attention not only to the content of the words but also to the way they are expressed, as well as to the body language of the author of the words;
- to pay attention to possible inconsistencies between verbal and non-verbal messages;
- to pay attention to the subtleties of meaning and to what can only be partially said, or indeed what is implicit;
- to be very attentive to the behavior of others and to retain information about this behavior, in particular the behavior of people perceived as having cultural references different from their own;
- to be very attentive to the similarities and differences in the way people react to the same situation, especially those perceived as having cultural references different from their own.

Capacity for cooperation

Cooperation within a group is of a social nature. It can be covered by individual evaluation or even by observation of social interactions. Individuals have very

different social skills, which should have decisive effects on their relationships and their mode of cooperation in larger groups, when they are implemented on others.

To work in a group, it is necessary to understand the changing nature and purpose of the standards and rules, and have practical experience. These are the skills necessary to participate fully, with others, in common activities, tasks and projects; it is also about taking action jointly with other people.

Ability to resolve conflicts

These are the skills required to process, manage and peacefully resolve conflicts, namely, in particular, the ability or capacity:

- to mitigate or prevent aggression and negativity, and to create a neutral environment in which people feel free to express their differing opinions and concerns without fear of reprisal;
- to encourage and enhance receptivity, mutual understanding and trust between the parties to the conflict;
- to recognize the inequalities of power and / or status between the parties to the conflict, and to take steps to reduce the possible effects of these inequalities on communications between these parties;
- to hear and understand the points of view of the various parties involved in the conflict;
- to help others resolve conflicts by helping them understand the options available to them;
- to assist and guide the parties concerned to agree on an optimal and acceptable solution to the conflict.
- Communication, but also team problem solving are central aspects of human behavior that can only be studied through observation (Gottman 1994, Vuchinich, Vuchinich & Wood, 1993).

The know how to be (moral competences)

The know how to be translates the opinions, attitudes and behaviors of the person.

The know how to be manifests what the person is basically, that is to say, his human qualities. It belongs to our social knowledge related to our representations, to our ability to communicate. This knowledge manifests the way of apprehending one's own person, the others, the environment, situations and life in general; he thus determines his way of acting and reacting. It is the way to behave in public, to react to changes, to deal with a new situation.

This notion is used interchangeably as equivalent to "behavioral skills" or "behavioral knowledge". Similarly, the decomposition of attitudes shows that the notion can also cover "attitudes".

The human being is inserted from birth into social relationships with his community. He speaks, he makes contacts, he reads, writes, etc. Thus, Damon (1998), in a panorama of studies on political development, found that the history of inter-human relationships of a person is a backdrop for its democratic behavior within society. So «*A person's ability to act as a civilian member of a community is always at the heart of democratic political engagement, and the genesis of this ability can be traced throughout the history of the person's interpersonal relationships.*»

He considers the moral identity of a person as playing an important role in the exercise of his participative skills and in his social attitudes. *"Moral identity is an essential component of political development because it is needed to turn judgment into action. Moral identity provides a powerful incentive for driving because it engenders a sense of responsibility to act in accordance with one's self-concept."*

But unfortunately the theoretical hypotheses of Damon (1998) are not experimental because one can not know the complete history of the reports of the people and their "moral identity" is not directly measurable.

Indicators should therefore be defined, describing the aspects of personality and moral identity, which are capable of constituting factors encouraging participation in a democratic society.

After several researches, we extracted traits that reflect the moral skills of a person, they were presented by Damon (1998) and the project of the Council of Europe, we grouped them in two sub-dimensions: value and attitude

Values

Value is a fundamental notion in public life. According to several authors (Tocqueville, Weber, Durkeim). They are at the origin of the laws, rules, conventions and customs that govern the groups and the relations between the individuals that compose them (Brée, 1994). They are used to characterize individuals or societies, to track change over time, and to explain the basic motivations behind attitudes and behaviors.

They have been a very important subject of research in many fields of study, sociology, psychology, anthropology and all related disciplines.

They have thus seen different definitions, such as: "Sustained belief that a specific mode of conduct or purpose of existence is personally and socially preferable to other behaviors or goals" (Rokeach, 1968). But also, "collective preferences that appear in an institutional context and participate in its regulation" (Boudon and Bourricaud, 1983); "Adherence of individuals to goals that satisfy interests in motivational domains and of greater or lesser importance in everyday life" (Schwartz and Bilsky,

1987); "What men value, like, desire, recommend, even propose as ideal" (Rezsóhazy, 2006).

"Value": idea or conceptual reference (which can be embodied in a person) that guides or directs our judgments and actions. Talk about principle rather than value? Yes, in the sense that the value means conviction, opinion, attachment, subjective preference, individual or collective, that the individuals would share in more or less number, that they could one day accept, another refuse, simple beliefs neither respectable nor not respectable, simply factual and subject to infinite discussion.

Values are needed to explain organization and change, at the level of society as well as of individuals.

When we think of our values, we think about what we think is important in life. Each of us assigns various degrees of importance to many values (success, security, benevolence). What distinguishes one value from another is the type of purpose or motivation that this value expresses; we do not have the same values.

According to our field, we have chosen the values related to participation that must be mobilized and used to respond to the demands and challenges of democratic situations, they are essential to conceptualize the skills to participate in a culture of democracy.

As a result, the values defined in our model lie at the very heart of the democratic competence and are essential to describe this competency.

Values : valuing democracy: equality and freedom:

This set of values is based on a group of beliefs about how societies should function and be governed. Notably, that among others, that all citizens should participate actively in the democratic procedures in force in their society, social justice, equity and equality should exist at all levels of society and that the rule of law should prevail, so that all members of society are treated fairly, equitably, impartially and equally, in accordance with the laws applicable to all.

We will not return to the controversies surrounding the question of the universality of values and admit that some of them are unavoidable when we speak of a participative and pluralistic democracy: justice, freedom and solidarity. Each of these values refers to others that extend them back; justice implies equality, freedom implies responsibility, and solidarity leads to commitment.

Equality

Equality is undoubtedly the founding and structuring value of democracy. This principle of equality is a fundamental rule of law that the community institutes and applies in all its decisions without any question of challenging it in the name of other ideas or values or beliefs.

It is a principle of the political reason according to which we declare, we affirm, we want that all men are equal in rights, abstracting from the accidental differences which characterize them (kind, origin, social environment, religion ...) and which do not do not touch their human essence.

It is about organizing the allocation of power so that all citizens have an equal opportunity to obtain it, to exercise this power, without some of them being privileged and others excluded.

It is a sense of social justice and social responsibility to ensure that all members of society enjoy fair and equitable treatment, including equal opportunities for all, regardless of national origin, ethnic origin, race, religion, language, age, sex, gender, political opinion, birth, social origin, fortune, disability, sexual orientation or any other situation.

Freedom

In the sense of not depending on an external and transcendent authority that would force us to follow certain rules of life and to target certain goods without being able to judge, to decide, to refuse. Freedom, in the sense of independence of the individual who intends to be the author of his existence in a community that protects him without submitting to him, to develop his capacities, to exercise his talents, to benefit from the fruits of his labor in a sense and under conditions that he will have the right to judge alone.

It is about taking part, participating in the exercise of common power. Being an active citizen in its own right, who participates in the elaboration of the law to which he is supposed to obey: "The obedience to the law that is prescribed is freedom" (Rousseau). Aristotle (Politics, VI, 2) was, in a more radical sense, indicating that democratic freedom consists of the citizen being alternately governed and governing, capable today of governing those to whom he will be able to obey tomorrow. Essence of the democratic logic: to be free is to participate in the exercise of the common power in order to be free even in the obedience to the law, to have no master except the law that one wanted oneself either way.

In addition, more generally, the promotion of freedom is the recognition of the need to protect individual freedoms, especially people whose point of view is a minority.

Associative membership is still a good indicator of the democratic vitality of a society. Interlocated between the individual and the state, voluntary associations are localized democratic bodies, promoting the cohesion of society.

Attitudes

The American psychologist Gordon Allport defined the notion of attitude as "*a mental and neuropsychological state of preparation for action, organized after the*

experiment, which concerns a dynamic influence on the behavior of the individual with regard to all the objects, and all the situations related to it».

Attitude is the "state of mind" of a subject or group vis-à-vis an object, an action, another individual or group. It comes out of someone's skill. It is a mental predisposition to act in one way or another. Above all, it refers to an intention and is therefore not directly observable. It is an indispensable concept in the explanation of social behavior and a necessary notion in the explanation of reactions to a task.

It is a hypothetical construct that represents the degree of resemblance or dislike of an individual for an object. Attitudes are generally viewed as a kind of disposition to various aspects of the world, including people, events and subjects.

For Thomas and Znaniecki, an attitude is always oriented towards an object. It can predict the actual and potential behaviors of an individual in the face of social stimulation. As the social objects in relation to which individuals are called to be situated are collective values, the attitude is defined by these authors as "a state of mind of the individual towards a value". This idea of a necessary connection between attitude and value is taken up by Park. But the latter specifies the definition by adding a number of properties : an attitude varies in intensity ; it is based on experience. The first property therefore indicates that an attitude is susceptible of degrees. The second is introduced essentially to distinguish the notion of attitude from that of social instinct.

It has generally been thought that change of attitude is necessary before other behavioral changes can be made (Zainuddin, 1977).

Rishi (2003) emphasized that understanding attitudes is one of the central concerns in social life and that it is relatively crucial for bringing about the desired change in behavior.

The collective and personal acts of people are directed by their attitudes. Attitudes help to predict and control behavior, which is useful for implementing participation successfully.

Research by Kosecik&Sagbas (2004), says that the attitude of citizens affects their participation and is an essential element to increase it.

Aspden and Brich (2005) have shown that there are a number of factors and issues affecting public attitudes to participation in local affairs and decision-making.

Their justifications consist of; the interest of citizens and their understanding of local government, citizens 'satisfaction with their involvement, citizens' trust in local government and its members, and previous experience with volunteer activities (Aspden and Brich, 2005).

The guide on the culture of democracy (Council of Europe) set out attitudes that could influence the participation of citizens, the most important ones being chosen:

The respect

To have respect for someone is to treat him with respect and esteem in order not to harm him or harm him. The word "respect" comes from the Latin *respectus*, "respect", "consideration". Respect can be simply a mark of politeness, an agreed formula, but on the other hand, the feeling and the recognition that one has of the value as a person impose the respect of others.

At Kant, this term takes on a particular meaning. Respect does not come from feeling and sensitivity, but from the moral law erected by practical reason. his respect therefore becomes a moral obligation. Respect is an attitude towards someone or something (eg a person, belief, symbol, principle, practice, etc.) that is considered to be of some importance or a value or interest that guarantees positive consideration and esteem. On the contrary, it is an attitude of positive appreciation of

the dignity and the right of others to have their own references, beliefs, opinions or practices, while recognizing and accepting the differences between themselves and the other.

Respect for others, is therefore based on the acceptance of a principle of equality between men. We know that the other has the same rights as us, and the same duties. It is then a question of a positive consideration and esteem for others as equal human beings who share a common dignity and enjoy exactly the same rights and freedoms, regardless of their cultural background, beliefs, opinions, lifestyles or practices.

The responsibility

The term "responsibility" has several meanings, one of which is particularly relevant for effective participation, namely moral responsibility. It is a notion that refers the individual to his or her own actions ; It is also a person who is in charge of making decisions.

It comes into play when a person is required to act in a certain way and deserves praise or criticism for having acted or otherwise neglected to act in this way. The conditions necessary to consider that a person deserves such praise or criticism being that she is able to reflect on her actions, to formulate intentions as to how she will act and to carry out the chosen actions.

The responsibility of his actions thus requires:

- The adoption of a thoughtful and serious attitude towards his acts and their possible consequences ;
- Decision-making regarding the actions to be performed (which in some cases may

consist of not performing any actions), given the circumstances ;

- Willingness to assume responsibility for the nature or consequences of one's own decisions and actions ;
- Willingness to act with courage when deemed necessary.

Conclusion

As we stated at the beginning, this article introduces the skills that people must acquire to participate effectively and live in peace with one another, on an equal footing, in democratic societies. According to literature and other research, having skills is one of the most important and effective factors of participation that play an important role in encouraging citizens to participate.

Based on the research of Guy Le Boterf, we have defined the concept of competence from the notion of "knowledge", these knowledge could be cognitive, technical and relational (knowledge, know-how and know-how to be), an attempt is done to classify them, and the table below summarizes the whole model set:

Table N ° 01: Competence Concept Analysis Model

Concept	dimensions	Sub-dimension	Indicators
Competencies	Knowledge		Knowledge of communication
			Knowledge of politics and law
			Knowledge of human rights
	Know how to be	Values	Equality
			Freedom
		Attitudes	Respect
			Responsability
	Know how	Aptitudes	Capacity of listening and
			Capacity for cooperation
Conflict resolution capacity			

Source : author, 2018

This competency analysis model that we presented in this work serves as a support and reference framework for future research in order to study the level of competence of residents in a participatory process.

Our study provides only a partial treatment to this vast and complex question of the participation of the inhabitants. It would thus be necessary to make sure that the

motivation and the ethics are very present among the inhabitants, so that it can be reflected on other actors, allowing the process of participation to be prolonged.

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Would Isolationist Presidents Cause War?

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Abstract

In American politics, it has been seen that the presidents, who came to power from an isolationist perspective, contrary to their rhetoric, find themselves in the greatest wars in American History. In this study, it was researched whether the isolationist rhetoric of some Presidents who were sitting in the presidency during the period of the great chaos experienced in the USA and the world resulted in great wars, or whether the discourses that winning the elections to these Presidents should have an isolationist approach as a result of decomposition of the world and reflection of economic problems to their countries. The assumption of this study is that the Presidents who won the elections with their isolationist rhetoric were later faced with major wars during their presidency as a result of the processes that had laid their foundations before they were President and their infrastructure had been formed in the light of developments in the world. In this context, the internal political and international conjuncture of William McKinley, Woodrow Wilson and Franklin D. Roosevelt periods will be evaluated. Accordingly, domestic and foreign policy statements and decisions of the presidents will be analyzed. As a result of the analysis carried out in the conclusion section, there will be an inference and foresight on American internal policy and foreign policy regarding the isolationist discourse in the Donald Trump period that is on the agenda.

Keywords: Isolationism, Discourse, Economy, International Conjuncture, President

Introduction

In the world order, there have always been moral leaders and states with dominant power. The executive branch of these states is as important as international conjuncture. The Presidents of the United States, who have been leading the superpower scene since the last century, sometimes led to very important international crises. Sometimes their statements would have been enough to bring another perspective to the international issues. We have witnessed many times the construction of important alliances by these Presidents, as well as the discourses of getting back to their own shell.

The question to be asked here is whether the political discourse of these presidents or the international conjuncture, whose foundations have been laid, determines important outcomes such as crises, resolutions or new alliances in the global affairs. Election campaigns run in the presidential race give tips on the policies that the possible presidents will follow. It was possible to see for some to win the elections with isolationist and some with interventionist discourses. The history mostly shown that these discourses do not literally reflect the original. Isolationism was such an important policy tool in order to focus domestic policies and public welfare. In other words, isolation is a complete retreat of a nation from the world stage.

However, this term often defines an unrelated policy: to prevent foreign alliances and conflicts and to wage war only if they are attacked. Most of US history reflects the tension between the desire to withdraw from messy external problems and the belief that America should serve as the dominant power in global affairs.

Isolationist statements are dated to colonial days in the US history. The colonies were filled by many people who fled Europe where there was religious persecution, economic deprivation and war. Their new homeland has been viewed as a better place than the old ones. The distance and difficulty on the journey from Europe highlighted the distance of the new world from the old world. Despite its alliance with France during the War of Independence, the roots of isolation were founded before independence.

Isolationists saw America's geographical separation from Europe as an ideal opportunity to cultivate the new nation in seclusion. "Our detached and distant situation invites and enables us to pursue a different course," George Washington indicated in his 1796 farewell address. Also Thomas Jefferson warned against "entangling alliances," nevertheless he declared war when North Africa's Barbary pirates started to seizing American merchant ships.

We can consider many issues that carry the examples of crossroads of presidents' statements and their administration. Some of them are shinier in the history scene that does why this study takes particular aspects to have more trustful analyze. Hypothesis of this study is to hold a light to isolationist rhetoric's importance to win presidential race and effectiveness on the management of global crises, with comparative method. In the American system, one of the primary tasks of the President is to make a foreign policy, but it is possible to see how effective the underlying order or disorder is, rather than the rhetoric of the decision-making process. At this point, it is natural for presidents to find themselves practicing the opposite of their statements during their term of office, who have won the elections by identifying themselves with isolationist rhetoric. This study tries to interpret the transformation from this isolationist discourse to action in today's international relations by examining some of the events that appear to be milestones in American history.

The American Presidential System is basically based on the separation of powers and the check-balance system. This system prevents the legislative, executive and judicial branches consolidation in one hand and also makes them aware of their responsibilities against each other. Since United States has been founded, many examples of this system can be seen working clearly. However, the most important ones are examples of the Presidents who have revised their decisions because of this system when their opinions are different.

In this context, William McKinley, who has supported with isolationist statements during election campaigns, is the President of the United States-Spain war, which has been seen as the end of American isolation in history, is the first milestone for this study. It is inevitable that Woodrow Wilson's presidency should be taken into consideration in terms of this study, since the United States is not able to move further its integration into the league of nations even they involved the First World War with their European allies.

The Americans left the pursuit of money and entertainment in the 1920s, and the rise of militaristic dictatorships in Europe and Japan in the 1930s after the Great Depression made them more concerned about putting a plate of food on the table. Franklin D. Roosevelt was aware of the danger, but it was also very difficult to establish a decision-making mechanism with the isolationism perception that had been established at the congress. As the last turning point, the Second World War was approaching; the necessity of U.S. intervention became even more apparent.

When we come to today, we see that the parameters of the Cold War era are no longer sufficient to read world politics. The vision and mission of new world leaders in changing politics and leadership are evolving in this direction. Therefore, in the agenda of the new presidential candidates, policies that are not used to world politics have started to exist. This study will investigate whether the factor that enables Trump to win is the isolationist discourses or the groundwork of the decisions that are likely to take is preformed and pushed it to this path. In the conclusion section, this study will bring together the information that we reveal with past actions of isolationist presidents and discuss the reflections of Donald Trump's Presidency. Table 1, summarizes the presidencies' term, policy orientation, campaign slogans, and international crises they faced during their presidency. Presidents evaluated in terms of these items further analyzed in following chapters.

Presidents	William McKinley	Woodrow Wilson	Franklin Roosevelt	Donald Trump
Electoral Vote	271 v 176	277 v 254	472 v 59	304 v 227
Year	1897 - 1901	1913 - 1921	1933 - 1945	2017 -
Policies & Promises	Domestic & Isolationist	Domestic & Isolationist	Domestic & Isolationist	Domestic & Isolationist
Campaign Slogan	Patriotism, Protection, and Prosperity	He has kept us out of war	Happy Days Are Here Again	America First
International Crisis	Spanish-American War	World War I	World War II	***
Reaction	Interventionist	Interventionist	Interventionist	Has not yet to come

Source: Own Draft

1897 - 1901: William McKinley

Since 19th century, election slogans have become symbols in the presidential race. The role of determining the winner can be discussed, but the direction of the agenda and its impact on the weather are significant. Candidates for the presidency form their own slogans by listening to the requirements of the period and the wishes of the people. On the way to the 1896 election, one of William McKinley's campaign slogans was "Good Money Never Made Times Hard". That slogan defines McKinley's belief in the gold standard (against inflation) and his view that the gold standard is the cause of the country's economic difficulties. On the other hand "Patriotism, Protection, and Prosperity" was become the other slogan for the first term of McKinley. This meant supporting existing policies and protecting the level of welfare.

McKinley, who stated that he would focus on protectionism with the steps he took when he started at the office, approved the Dingley Tariff Act to stand in one of his big words. The tariff was introduced by Maine U.S. representative Nelson Dingley. President McKinley promised to provide additional protection. The law laid tariffs on duty-free wool and hides. In the first year of its operation, the average tariff was raised to 51% in American history. The tariff remained in force until 1909 and became the longest lasting tariff in American history.

When you look at the picture from this side you may see a decisive and quick maker presidential office. But in the reality this quickness is not based on his desire to bring protection to the country's economy. While William McKinley running his campaign for 1896 presidential elections, Northern manufacturers were active donors to his party's presidential aspirations. When McKinley summoned congress to a special session in 1897, he rewarded their donations with a new tariff act. An obvious

protectionist measure resulted in good worker relations for the McKinley administration, while farmer based state representatives in the fight to block new tasks were deprived of the political platoon to prove a tough response. As a matter of fact, the act has been so protectionist in the eyes of many Republicans that they put other issues behind them in the hope of keeping the public's attention away from the tariff. On the other hand, Democrats claim to have created monopolies in high proportions. Overall, the new tariff did not affect larger products, such as steel or iron, but rather had the highest impact on the needs of life. (Dingley 2010)

McKinley was a veteran of Civil War and kept alive memories of the bloody conflict. As president, he unwillingly dragged into to the Spanish-American War in 1898. At first he underestimated the stories of Spanish atrocities against Cuban citizens. However, yellow journalism, which emerged as a result of the competition in the newspaper industry, was used to ignite people's passion with the explosion of the battleship Maine. That big sector, looking to expand its markets, attached to the inflexible forces, pushed the president toward war.

Yellow journalism was a type of competitive journalism. It has been used to emphasize sensationalism over the facts. The word meaning originates from the competition on the New York City newspaper market between major newspaper Publishers Joseph Pulitzer and William Randolph Hearst. After this expression came together, the sensational styles used by the two publishers in the snow-guided news of world events, especially in Cuba, have been reached. Cuba has long been a Spanish colony and the revolutionary movement, which had been boiling and off there for much of the 19th century, activated during the 1890s. The rise of yellow journalism helped to create a climate conducive to the outbreak of international conflict and the rise of U.S. influence overseas, but it did not lead to war on its own. In fact, the dramatic style of yellow journalism has contributed to the creation of popular support for the Spanish-American War, a war that would expand the global reach of the United States.

The reasons that led President McKinley to protectionist discourses during the candidacy race have become different as a result of events taking place in the international arena and have allowed him to move away from these discourses. The Venezuelan Boundary Dispute was building another dimension of this conversion when you look at the history. There are always been some issues that presidential office cannot ignore. Not only because of expectations of other countries, but also you need to show your power capacity to your people which means popular vote.

The hateful conflict in Cuba between 1895 and 1898 attracted the attention of the Americans because of the economic and political instability it produces in a region that is so close to the United States. In that matter we may consider Spanish-American war as and end of long term isolationism. The mind that keeping America first perspective has formed to another shape.

McKinley, who has not yet completed the first half of the second year, has found himself in the midst of an international problem that people expected him to solve. Although this responsibility was not met by the president with a willingness, it was a not an affordable risk that he would not take necessary steps to be taken. Even after the explosion of Maine, President McKinley tried to take precautions for the war and tried to convince the Spanish government to adopt a compromise policy with Cuban rebels.

The Spanish government has been too late to prevent the popular demand of involvement in the United States. On April 11, 1898, President William McKinley asked Congress of authority to end the war between the rebels and Spanish forces in Cuba and to establish a “stable government” to “maintain order” and “ensure peace and security” on the island of Cuba and US citizens. That means leaving the international problems behind is not a policy tool anymore. (<https://www.globalresearch.ca/selling-empire-american-propaganda-and-war-in-the-philippines/5355055>)

On April 20, The US Congress adopted a joint resolution accepting Cuba's independence, demanding that the Spanish government give up on controlling the island, not foresee any intention for the United States to add Cuba, and that McKinley take military steps that he deems necessary to ensure Cuba's independence. The Spanish government refused the US demand and urgently cut diplomatic affairs with the United States. In a week Spain government announced war on the United States, and as a natural reaction the U.S. Congress voted to go to war against Spain on April 25. (<https://history.state.gov/milestones/1866-1898/spanish-american-war>)

The reasons and consequences of wars may not always be consistent. Within this context, it is necessary to use a wider range of parameters to establish a link between the results of the reasons for entering the war. The McKinley government also used the war as an excuse to ensure the independence of the state of Hawaii. Supporters of the participation said Hawaii was vital to the U.S. economy, because would serve as a strategic base in Asia that could help protect U.S. interests, and if the United States would not take steps, other nations would intend to take over the island. After these discussions, with McKinley's demand, a resolution of Congress made Hawaii a U.S. territory on August 12, 1898. As another result of this war the United States expanded its lands to the Philippines, Guam, and Puerto Rico.

The experience of the American continent on the way to becoming the United States has made it manifest in a different way. At this point the role of colonial experience is indisputable but the fact is, these staying away from big issues policies were temporary for this kind of potential. While McKinley has again stand on the themes of economic sustainability and stability on his way to his second term, that is obvious in his statements that his general attitude has changed. You can observe the change even in the public speeches. One of McKinley's statements was become "Isolation is no

longer possible or desirable," which means exclusiveness is not able to build a wall alone. Expansions of trade and commerce treaties bring larger problems and pressure within. (Merry 2017)

The result is that trying to manage the future with the perception of a current period is futile effort. The most robust way of being prepared to the needs of tomorrow is keeping the values flexible for any demands.

1914–1921: Woodrow Wilson

In America, the re-escalation of isolation and the return of votes to isolationist approaches occurred as the elections were upcoming 1912. When the First World War was approaching, we could have heard the footsteps of its reasons. The News Network spreading through the development of communication technology allowed the regional crisis to become global issues. We may witness new trends such as nationalism or militarism in that period. The rise of nationalism first threatened imperialism. The spread of this understanding meant a heavy burden on the existence of the great powers of the first 20th Century. Such a variety of these kinds of threats have brought together the alliances of fear in Europe.

It was perhaps most important to ensure the continuity of democracy in these periods. In this context, it was the most profitable choice for the United States not to intervene in the tension of a continent which has no territorial connections. It is possible to observe the reflection of this on election campaigns and rhetoric. All campaign slogans in the 1912 were about economy and social rights besides of global affairs. Nevertheless, it would be insufficient to say that the only effective factor in winning the elections is the election campaign.

The shooting of Theodore Roosevelt was one of the turning points in the 1912 election, which was perhaps the first time in American history, three powerful candidates were competing. In addition, Theodore Roosevelt's founding of the Progressive Party has undoubtedly given more advantage to his opponents than himself. Republicans votes were divided between former President Theodore Roosevelt and his successor President William Howard Taft.

Wilson defeated both Taft and Roosevelt in the general election, won a large majority in the Electoral College, and won 42% of the popular vote, while his closest rival, 27%, received. Wilson was the only elected president of the Democrats between 1892 and 1932. (<https://www.britannica.com/event/United-States-presidential-election-of-1912>)

Woodrow Wilson brought new perspective to U.S. foreign policy which contains idealism and concerns for new balances of power in Europe. From his point of view, the deterioration of peace would reveal serious flaws that would have to be corrected in the international system. In order to see the United States as a dominant voice in the international arena, perhaps the last thing the administration would want is to

pick a side in the upcoming World War.

This protectionist perception was successfully carried out by Wilson and turned into a serious voting potential. In the 1916 elections, even if there was a decline in the Electoral College, it increased its popular votes by one and half times.

In 1916, another explosion of law followed. A new law prohibits child labor; another one was limiting railroad worker is on an eight-hour day. Thanks to this law and the slogan "it kept us out of war", Wilson won with a little difference re-election. But after the elections, Wilson concluded that America could not stay neutral in World War anymore. On April 2, 1917, he asked Congress to declare war on Germany.

If we talk about the background of this decision; in 1917, the restart of the submarine attacks on the passenger and merchant ships by Germany led to Wilson's core motivation to take the United States into World War I on February 26, Wilson requested Congress to authorize U.S. Naval to arms the U.S. merchant ships.

While Wilson weighed his options regarding the submarine issue, he also had to address the question of Germany's attempts to cement a secret alliance with Mexico. On January 19, 1917, British naval intelligence intercepted and decrypted a telegram sent by German Foreign Minister Arthur Zimmermann to the German Ambassador in Mexico City. The "Zimmermann Telegram" promised the Mexican Government that Germany would help Mexico recover the territory it had ceded to the United States following the Mexican-American War. In return for this assistance, Germany asked for Mexican support in the war. However, after the Germany's restart of the submarine attacks in February, the British side decided to send a help note to the United States in exchange for their participation in the war. One thing is apparent that the events which have pulled United States into World War I were not the policies of Woodrow Wilson. Eventually, The British sent the captured Telegram to President Wilson on February 24. The US press carried the story to the news on the following week. (<https://history.state.gov/milestones/1866-1898/yellow-journalism>)

The exact reasons Wilson chose the war in 1917, especially after the sinking of British cruise ship *Lusitania* and *Arabic* in 1915, continue to be the subject of discussion among historians in the light of attempts to avoid the war that killed 131 U.S. citizens. These reasons contributed to President Wilson's request for help from Congress to declare war on Germany. Also encouraged Congress at Wilson's request and declared war on Germany.

So how did the owner of "kept us out of the war" election slogan find himself in the war at his second period? The thing is, you can't really determine the discourse that will bring you a victory in a presidential race. In politics, it is clear which perceptions of the public interest are gathered and politicians are fed by those perceptions in order to get these votes. So, Woodrow Wilson was aware of the voting potential of his country because of he had kept away from the war. Instead of winning the election

with such logic, it would be meaningless for coming in front of the public to announce the opposite of the policy he pursued. The principle of consolidating the votes we are accustomed to in politics made isolationist discourses more attractive at that time. In addition, while participating in the First World War, it is important to remember that the aim is not only self-defense but also to determine the limits of power.

After the war, a new world would be established and the countries would have to settle for the role given to them if they did not determine their own role. President Wilson, in his war message to Congress, announced that the U.S.'s goal was to "defend the principles of peace and justice in the life of the world."

When Woodrow Wilson presented fourteen points in Congress, and eight of them were the principles that pointed to regional problems between warring countries. Five of the remaining six points were pointing to open agreements that could provide peace and prosperity in the world. These include some points about free trade that could make the world a more open market, liberalization of the seas, and self-determination as a solution to the imperialist crisis which one of the causes of the war.

Point fourteenth points out the establishment of the League of Nations as an institution capable of guaranteeing the political independence of the small states and even the larger ones, which have increased in number by the nationalist movement.

Although the Versailles Treaty did not satisfy all the relevant parties until President Woodrow Wilson returned to the United States in July 1919, the U.S. public overwhelmingly supported the treaty's ratification, including the Charter of the League of Nations. Although the U.S. public strongly supported the establishment of the League of Nations, the only legislative branch's veto to the agreement came from the US Senate.

These developments have revealed that even the most powerful state of the world, in terms of economy and military, is able to make such a sharp turn from interventionist understanding to isolationist policies. At this point, the opinion of those who do not want U.S. to participate in the League of Nations is that this organization can force the United States to engage in high-cost activities. They say that such activities could undermine the US self-defense capability and deprive it of the virtue of protecting its own interests.

The well-established check-balance and separation of powers in the US system prevented decisions that could take a critical role in the future of the state from being made by one hand. However, we cannot say that the isolationist approach in theory has completely isolated the United States. In the 1920s, the United States played critical roles in restructuring relations in both Europe and Latin America, and of course, the biggest role in this story was belongs to commerce.

1933 – 1945: Franklin D. Roosevelt

Material and moral losses after the First World War have aroused the public's desire in the United States to stay away from the problems of Europe and Asia. Without any preparation, the Atlantic and Pacific oceans offered the United States an effortless security opportunity to avoid these problems. Thus, while the social and political consequences of World War emerged in the 1930s, the United States was able to avoid the political relations of continental Europe.

Of course, as an important part of this transformation, you should not overlook the Great Depression. One of the primary causes of the Great Depression is that the actors who perform their economic roles in the World Order before the war can no longer play that role. The governments of the states that have turned into themselves and are experiencing a lack of communication have accelerated the transition to crisis. It was clear that the causes of the Great Depression were complex, and for many years had been discussed, but the impact of the collapse caused by the Great War it was obvious. The U.S., The Great States of Europe and Japan's efforts for Reconstruction and development could have been visible, but the resilience to the shocks of the restructuring markets has reduced.

We understand from here that the United States was an isolationist in foreign policy, and in economic terms it was an attitude that sought to make it feel freer.

During this period, we see that the two presidential candidates run similar election campaigns on the way to the 1932 elections. The fact that Franklin Delano Roosevelt has chosen "Happy Days Are Here Again" as his song and slogan makes it apparent to the public a desire to comfort them after an economic crisis.

The failure of Republican Former President Hoover in his economic policies has led to a large reduction of his popularity in the public. Thus, with the effects of Wall Street crash and the Great Depression, the 1932 elections resulted in the overwhelming victory of Roosevelt. Roosevelt's isolationist perspective was so effective starting from the day that he took over the office. Therefore, the good neighbor policy, which he clearly stated at the inauguration ceremony, contains the basis for economic cooperation instead of military alliances with the countries in which he is in good relationships.

As the name implies, this good neighbor policy aims to establish closer relations with Central and South America. However, it would be wrong to mention that this is an only U.S. policy. Many countries have gone to similar reconstruction after the war. We observe this clearly in the changing trade volume figures after the Great Depression.

It is interesting that the Presidents who have isolationist discourses show practically contradictory practices. Immediately after the Tsarist Russia collapsed, Wilson decided to not to recognize the Soviet Union and cut all diplomatic relations. Of course, the underlying reason for this decision was to protect the interests of the

United States, as was the case with all the isolationist rhetoric. This practice, continued by his successors for 16 years, could only have been broken by one of the first acts of the Roosevelt era. The Bolshevik regime refused to accept the debts remaining from Tsarist Russia, and additionally the fact that Russia secretly made the Brest-Litovsk treaty with Germany which ended the Russian involvement in the World War I, built easier situation for Wilson's decision.

Roosevelt, as soon as he took over the office, while the conditions were forcing him to deal with domestic problems, focused on the issue of the Soviet Union. Because he believed that the recognition of the Soviet Union by the United States was of strategic importance for US interests in Asia. In either case, protecting the interests of the United States was the focus of the Presidents. It is considered to be diplomatic success in every sense to bring a government that come to the power with a revolution to the table you want in the international arena.

Roosevelt hoped that improving relations with the Soviet Union would hinder Japan's expansion in Asia. It could be also possible to prevent the communist society's enlargement in the United States which was supported by the Soviets thanks to these developments.

In 1934, the Roosevelt administration, made two attempts to signify his desire about improves economic relations with rest of the world. The first was the creation of the Export-Import Bank. In February 1934, Roosevelt established a bank as an institution especially designed to finance U.S. trade with the newly-recognized Soviet Union. He created a second Export-Import Bank in the next month; this was intended to finance trade with Cuba. In 1935, two banks were merged and Congress passed a law giving the new United Bank more power and more capital. (<https://history.state.gov/milestones/1921-1936/export-import-bank>)

The second foreign economic policy initiative in 1934 was the Law on Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act (RTAA). In March 1934, Roosevelt declared, "a full and lasting internal recovery depends on partly on a revived and reinforced international trade", and he asked Congress to negotiate trade agreements with other countries on the basis of tariff cuts. Signed by the law On June 12, 1934, the RTAA represented a fundamental change in U.S. trade policy. (<https://history.state.gov/milestones/1921-1936/export-import-bank>)

When we get to the mid-1930s, we see that the signs of a new World War emerge in Europe and Asia. The US Congress wanted to ensure the neutrality of the country by recognizing this danger in advance. In 1935, the first act of neutrality came out of Congress to ensure the Export License of the U.S. military munitions manufacturers. In addition, in the event of a possible war by virtue of the neutrality act, the US sale of arms to any foreign state was prohibited by this act. Even if President Roosevelt did not share the same opinion with the Congress as a logic, he remained silent to the neutrality acts in the name of not to taking the Congress in front of him and ignoring

public opinion against him.

In general, neutrality acts represent a compromise so that the United States Government accommodated isolationist sentiments of the American people, but still retained some of its ability to interact with the world. Finally, the conditions for neutrality actions became irrelevant when the United States joined the Allies in the fight against Nazi Germany and Japan in December 1941. There is no doubt that China and Japan relations, who were strained between 1937 and 1941, also affected the U.S. attitude towards the two countries.

Roosevelt, whose first two terms were passed with popular trend such as neutrality, was preparing for the most changeful period. The conflict between China and Japan has clearly disturbed the United States. The United States, which sought to provide advantage to China against Japan, was also concerned about the spread of the rising fascism movement. The economic embargo and diplomatic sanctions against Japan, although the United States actually excluded from the war, were in theory distorting its neutrality.

However, in such a war environment, any proposal for a solution that the United States could offer would not be acceptable by Japan. The Roosevelt side seemed to have not given up on the basis of Agreement and possible solutions until the Pearl Harbor attack on December 7, 1941 pulled them directly into the war. In the following process, Germany declared war on the United States with the motivation of being with an ally of Japan, which caused Roosevelt to find himself in war in both Europe and Asia.

To sum up, when the Second World War broke out, Roosevelt had little choice. The 1939, "Neutrality Act" could have started the sale of arms from the United States relatively, but there was no country to benefit from the sale because of the credit limit it still had. Moreover, the public was vehemently opposed to the re-entry of the United States into war. Another opinion expressed concern that the ammunition could be moved to Nazi Germany if the war would have been lost, in case of arms aid to the Great Britain. Under these circumstances, Roosevelt should have made such a decision that he should not have opposition of the public and protect the interests of the United States in the western hemisphere.

On September 2, 1940, President Roosevelt signed a "Destroyer for bases" agreement. According to the Agreement, the United States gave the British more than fifty destroyers in exchange of ninety nine-year lease contracts of Newfoundland and Caribbean land which would be used as U.S. Air and naval bases. British Prime Minister Winston Churchill demanded that Roosevelt provided the destroyers as a gift, but the President knew that the American people and Congress would oppose such an agreement. (<https://history.state.gov/milestones/1937-1945>) For this reason, the United States decided that an agreement providing long-term access to British bases could be justified on the grounds that it was necessary for the security

of the western hemisphere, thus eliminated the concerns of the people and the US military.

Such lend-lease agreements were so successful, that The United States and the United Kingdom were just the starters of this Agreement, till the end of the war, more than thirty countries signed for it.

It is clear from these developments that both foreign policy and domestic policy within the United States cannot be viewed as a single product. All decisions must serve the interests of the United States and to a certain extent include legislative, executive and judicial branches' predictions.

Discussion and Conclusion

Election campaigns are an opportunity for presidential candidates to present their arguments. In this way, they send their messages to the international arena for foreign policy while making politics for the votes of the voters to whom they share the same opinion in public. While some candidates try to create a different vision, the majority use their chances for popular discourses.

There are some issues that I would like to draw attention to when this discussion is started in the American history. First of all, there are many similarities between these Presidents. For instance, all of these leaders were sitting in the American presidential post before the great chaos eras. Including President Donald Trump. Most of them have had problems with their appointed cabinet members. For example, McKinley worked with three secretary of state during his four-year presidency. If we try to find the answers by examining the examples mentioned above, McKinley became President while United States has been in the restructuring process and establishing its own infrastructure since the 1860s, but difficulties in changing world order as every country has experienced, especially in Latin America, where economic and nationalism arguments loudly took place.

Therefore, a reflection of that day's world conjuncture is the policies that he had to apply to be elected. As a result, the start of the Spanish-American War in 1898 was an inevitable end for the United States, especially with the impact of the victimization of American citizens in Cuba. Therefore, this is not the result of a discourse; it is a situation in which the discourse triggers the process towards war.

In fact, it would be useful to give an interesting example which can be interpreted today and may be very familiar to you. William McKinley said that he had to expel the Spanish government from the region, and that it was only necessary to leave them to the power of the Americans. Day, on the contrary, believed that it was necessary to be embracing and to bring difficulties to a positive point through trade agreements. But the economic structure and political stance of the society at that time was more appropriate for President McKinley than for Secretary Day's statements and was dismissed from the task. It is possible to observe the same situation in the Trump-

Tillerson process.

Woodrow Wilson's presidency is not very different. Wilson says the U.S. economy is of great importance. He mentions that the United States must be renewed in itself first. However, the economic conditions of that time and the existing conditions before Wilson's election have already laid the foundations of the World War I, and the United States found itself in the war because it couldn't be insensitive to it. In fact, it should not be forgotten that Wilson, who said that he advocated isolation, was the President of the United States, who ruled the famous Wilson Principles and the Versailles process after the end of the World War I, who stayed away from his country for the longest time in American history for six months in Paris. Perhaps it would have been possible to see that the League of Nations, which laid the foundations of today's United Nations, is still alive without the U.S. Senate's veto.

The last example is Frank D. Roosevelt. The fact that Roosevelt who said "Our priority should be to raise the American economy" found himself in the Second World War does not arise from his commitment to the economy, the United States, or to isolationist rhetoric. The main point here is that Roosevelt had already said what he had to say in order to come to power in the construction of the world towards this conclusion, and as a result, America had to take its place in the World War itself as natural.

On the way to the 2016 elections, presidential candidate Donald Trump's rhetoric was about putting America first and giving priority to its own people. So much so that "Make America Great Again", which he described as the slogan of the election, was in the mood to appeal to the Middle West. The election promises and even the post-election agenda were about economic decisions. Behind these discourses, there were the workers who wanted to protect their rights were demanding those kinds of politics. Although Trump has not taken a role in politics during his career, it is necessary to discuss whether the public has benefited from the demands of a non-political candidate.

However, The US presidential system is one of the most powerful systems of the president, but it is necessary to have acknowledged that it has prevented the monopoly decisions with its check-balance system. For this reason, Trump was able to achieve almost only a tenth of what he had promised. In particular, the domestic policy decisions he wanted to carry out were initially disrupted by local courts.

In the past 120 years, while the United States has witnessed the most important wars, it is interesting that the Presidents who were in charge of the administration have the agenda that cares about domestic politics and follows the isolationist line. History shows that the economic and cultural integration created by the United States in the world order has made the difference between the old and the new world invisible. In world politics, it is possible for you to make your own plans at the same time that if the role given to you in the world order conforms to that plan. Therefore, it will be

possible for you to remove the United States from its role, and not according to your own policy as a president, but according to only the needs of the International conjuncture.

The loneliness that the isolationist perspective wanted to bring was only provided in military terms in the three periods we examined. Consequently, Trump's policy will not be met in public, or in Congress, unless it serves the interests of the United States. Because even the decisions made by the isolationist Presidents at the most interventionist times only could be responded for as long as they served the interests of the United States. Donald Trump's intention to renegotiate all relations and decisions in this direction, although the international public opinion has reacted, has had an important impact on the U.S. economy.

In summary, it can be seen in mentioned examples that there are Democrats as well as Republicans, and there are many similarities between them. Actually these leaders raised the situation in the current world conjuncture in order to come to power and this path led them to be labeled as an isolationist and economic-oriented president. The crises that followed were not the personal preferences of these leaders. But the basics of the problems were laid long before they were president and left them alone with the consequences on their presidency periods.

Therefore, the events that they could encounter when they take over the office of the President candidates are the ones that have started to be formed years ago. As a result, the discourses of the presidents should be considered not as reasons or consequences of international events, but as a reaction to the potential vote of the time between the cause and the outcome.

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Thai Youth's Leadership Code: Characteristics of Leadership from the Perspective of Thai Youth

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Abstract

The purpose of this study were: 1) to define the characteristics of leadership from the perspective of Thai Youth and 2) to investigate the Thai Youth Leadership Code by using Leadership Code Model. This study is qualitative research using Descriptive Methodology. The informants of the study are 16 Thai youth leaders (15 – 24 years old) who had participated in any oversea high school exchange student program to represent group identity. The data was collected by in-depth interview using key questions to define physical traits, style, situation, competencies, results, and brand of leadership. Data was analyzed following the Leadership Code Model which have 5 rules of leadership and 2 dimensions of time and attention. The findings indicated that Leadership from youth's perspectives can be classified as Personal Proficiency, Executor and Strategist respectively. The context of time has been found in Near-term operational dimension and the context of attention has been found in Organization dimension. Youth's Leadership prioritizes developing themselves first while the meaning of the organization is their society. In conclusion, this study found that the Leadership Code Model is the decent baseline for organizational leadership study rather than society, and is incomplete for youth's leadership evaluation. The recommendation is to conceptualize Youth's Leadership Code Model that is appropriate for youth's leadership study.

Keywords: Leadership, Youth, Leadership Code, Characteristics

Introduction

Youth development is a global issue that draws a lot of attention. Whether it is to develop young people with both hard skills; knowledge, profession skills, and teachable abilities, and soft skills; personal attributes, social skills, and emotional intelligent. It is necessary to provide a learning balance between academic skills and

social skills because all those skills are helpful for young people to live and work effectively in today's society that would lead to further nation's development.

In the fast changing world, it is a very challenge for young people to strive for higher education in order to reach the work requirements. This issue has been concerned in Thailand also, where young people are still experiencing a failure in career life or even during the high school years. Focusing on developing the academic skills in school are not enough for the young generation. There are other skills that critical for their career and future life such as communication skills, critical thinking, decision making, time management, language skills, teamwork, leadership etc. (Partnership for 21st Century Skills, 2009) that young people should be cultivated at an early age as the development basis for learning other skills.

There are various development program for youth to be a better learner in school or an effective worker in organization, one of which is youth leadership development that has become increasingly popular nowadays. Meanwhile, there is ambiguity in the meaning of youth leadership. What is the suitable definition? What is the difference between leadership in youth and adult? Therefore, understanding the leadership in youth should be the first thing to do before creating the development program. (Woyach and Cox,1996)

In addition, the development of youth leadership should begin with a study of youth's perspective on leadership in order to know the meaning and characteristics of youth leaders from their point of view. (van Linden and Fertman,1998) By using the Leadership Code model (Ulrich, Smallwood and Sweetman, 2008) to define characteristics of youth leaders who live in the same society and culture, including similar personal experiences that influence their perspectives. Because of the meaning and characteristics of youth leadership are varied in each group context, the youth leadership in one society may not decent for another society.

What leadership characteristics are mentioned by youth? After decoding the youth leadership, it demonstrated the understanding of youth towards leadership styles and how they value the youth leadership. Which can be analyzed from the study results by using the Rules of Leadership as a framework to classify the leadership styles, and to indicate the uniqueness of youth leadership.

Youth Leadership

There are multiple researches on leadership. Mostly, focused in adult leadership or leadership in organization. There are some scholars who gave the meaning of youth leadership. In general, it is similar to adult leadership. Leadership in youth is narrower and more specifically than adult leadership. For example, the National Order of the Arrow (1992) implies that leadership in youth is the ability to lead oneself or work together with others for the ultimate goal or vision. On the other hand, the ERIC Clearinghouse on Disabilities and Gifted Education (1990) is defined as the

ability to bring self and to work with others, but not necessarily to influence other people's actions.

Moreover, leadership in youth is the ability to point out people to action, influence the opinions and behaviors of others, and be a role model. (Wehmeyer, Agran and Hughes, 1998) Similar to the Adolescent Employment Readiness Center, Children's Hospital (n.d.) has suggested that youth leadership is the ability to analyze their strengths and weaknesses, be able to set their own goals and lives, and have self-confidence. This includes the ability to identify resources and use resources in their communities, not the only person who will live independently, but encourage community cooperation and make change in social also.

Sipe, Ma and Gambone (1998) describe that there are 3 types of the youth leadership role: 1) Formal role is a team or group leader who leads others group member in any activity or task. 2) Informal role is the facilitator of activity planning, regulation, and group management, as well as the provision of tools or materials. 3) Representation is representative on behalf of the group, such as fundraising activities.

In this study, the meaning of Youth Leadership is the ability of the youth to know and understand themselves. Have the ability to bring themselves and others to work together for the purposes of the work. Know how to manage people and their resources. Be responsible for the community, be able to support others and make changes in the community or society in a good way. Leadership in youth does not always need to be a leader of the group, but can be determined by roles within the group and personal qualities.

Leadership Code

This study used Leadership Code Model as a conceptual framework to define the characteristics of youth leadership. According to the Leadership Code Study (Ulrich, Smallwood and Sweetman, 2008), using 6 key questions to studied and defined the Leadership Code of top leaders from global business organizations such as Nike, Nokia, Microsoft, Cisco, Walmart and others. The purposes were to help leaders become better leaders and to help those who are leadership developers work better in organization.

6 key questions:

- 1) Physical traits: Who is a leader?
- 2) Style: How do you behave as a leader?
- 3) Situation: When and where do you focus on the person or the task?
- 4) Competencies: What exactly do leaders know and do?
- 5) Results: Why does leadership matter?

6) Brand: For whom are you leading?

The results were summarized into a model called “Leadership Code” which has 5 rules of leadership that leaders must know and understand at least the base knowledge of these rules to be an effective leader in organization. There are 2 dimensions of time that leaders take to think and take action in short term or long term, and attention that leaders focus on individual or organization. In each rule also refers to a leadership characteristic and style that will be used to classify youth leadership style or what we call youth’s leadership code in this research. (Figure 1)

5 rules of Leadership:

Rule 1: *Shape the future* is to see where we are going in the future. (The Strategist)

Rule 2: *Make things happen* is to create a work with the strategy. (The Executor)

Rule 3: *Engage today’s talent* is to know how to manage people properly. (The Talent managers)

Rule 4: *Build the next generation* is to develop the next generation for the future. (The Human capital developers)

Rule 5: *Invest in yourself* is to learn to develop your own talents. (The Personal proficiency)

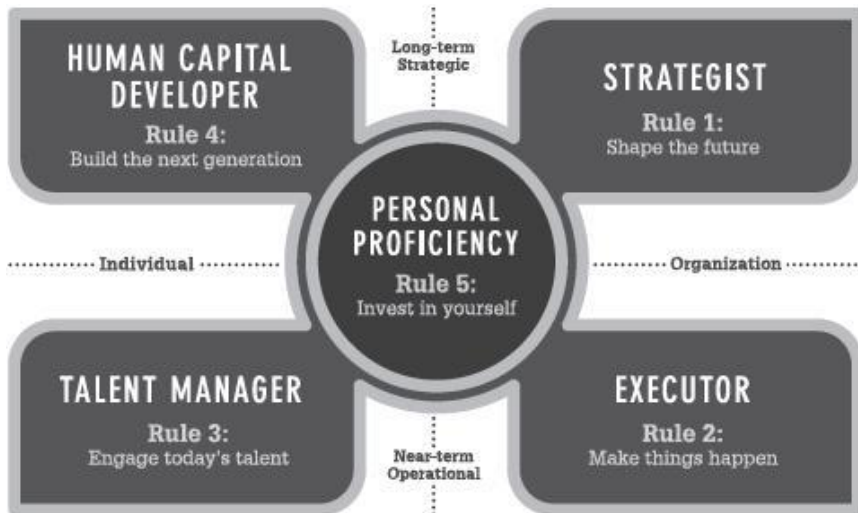


Figure 1: The Leadership Code Model (Ulrich, Smallwood and Sweetman, 2008, P.14)

Research design and Methods

This research is to study youth leadership by using Leadership Code Model as a conceptual framework. The researcher used key questions to define the characteristics of youth leadership through the perspective in order to getting insight information of Thai youth who currently live in Bangkok, Thailand by in-depth interview Thai youth leaders (aged 15-24) that allow them to reflect their views on physical traits, style, situation, competencies, results, and brand of leadership.

In order to understand the situation of the leadership role, and to represent the unique perspective of the group, The informants were selected from the youth leader who have leadership roles in any activities whether in academic, athletic or volunteer activities such as the student president, class representative, captain of the sport team, and the show manager etc., and who had participated in any long-term international exchange students program in any countries for an academic year (during the year 2010 – 2017). This group of participants can reflect their unique perspective on leadership through personal experiences, especially the experience gained from participating in the High school exchange students program that represent the identity of this youth group. (Sussman, 2002)

Informants selection process were enabling young people to sign up and answer basic demographic information, leadership roles, and countries participating in High school exchange program to selected variety informants of ages, leadership roles (formal, informal roles and participants) and the various activities; academic, athletics, recreational and volunteering in order to define the common and difference characteristics of leadership among diverse factors.

The study begins the demographic questionnaire by asking about their background, family, school, work, personal interests and experience from high school exchange student program to understand the context and influence of their ideas. The primary information were used for the In-depth interview combined with 6 key questions to gain insights about youth perspective on leadership characteristics and styles that can be conclude as a youth's leadership code of this research.

The selected Leadership Code model is the showcase example of how to define a youth leadership characteristic from their perspective, and investigate the characteristics by following 5 rules of leadership accompany with dimension of time and attention. This means that the results of this research are only a study of the leadership characteristic of this informants group, which may be different or similar to other youth group in another social context or different personal experience.

In addition to creating the youth's leadership code, this study aims to investigate the leadership code model that derived from leadership studies in adult by implementing in youth leadership studies. The results of this research can also demonstrate the similarity or differentiation of leadership criteria between adults and youth.

Results

The selected informants were 16 Thai youth Leaders (aged 15-24), 5 were male and 11 were female. (Table 1) Out of these 16 youth leaders who had participated in long-term international exchange students program, 7 of them were participated in the United States of America, 2 were in Japan, others 7 were in Russia, Germany, Italy, Norway, Republic of Latvia, Dominican Republic, and Costa Rica.

Aged	Male	Female
16	-	1
17	1	-
20	-	1
21	1	2
22	-	2
23	1	2
24	2	3
Total	5	11

According to the table 1, there are more female youth leaders than males. The missing age range from 18-19 year olds can be understood as transitional age from high school to university when Thai youth are more focused on the freshman activities from their seniors, and adjusted themselves to new educational system in university.

These 16 informants are the youth who have leadership roles in any school or outerschool activities which some of them might have many leadership roles at the time. In other words, the youth have a multifaceted leadership role, based on their abilities and interests such as the youth who have leadership roles in the student council also have a role in preserving music, sports and other extracurricular activities. Therefore, the leadership roles in this study can be classified following Sipe, Ma and Gambone study (1998). (Table 2)

Formal Roles	Informal Roles	Representation
School/University president Class/Faculty president Art/Music club leader Sport team captain	Student council member Club/Sport team manager Rural development camp volunteer	Arts and Crafts competition Athletes representative University cheerleader Journalist contest

Sports news facebook page editor Research team leader Startup business owner	Student art gallery crew Academic camp staff National Chemistry Olympiad liaison Charity concert crew	Outstanding Youth Award Thai exchange student representative
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The perspective on Leadership Characteristics

The results from In-depth Interview were categorized following the 6 key questions from the Leadership Code Model which are physical traits, style, situation, competencies, results, and brand of leadership. Each feature was grouped to reflect on the unique idea of youth leaders that reflected from their identity and personal experiences, including the researcher observations on the youth informants that were grouped by ranking based on their opinions. (Table 3)

Table 3: Thai youth's perspective on each leadership characteristic	
Physical traits	Overlooked the physical appearances Given the importance of leadership personalities Communicated effectively Other abstract attributes influenced by social norms
Style	Focus on people management Focus on teamwork Use the voting method Work in sequence
Situation	Look at the overview and plan first Making a rational decision Being decisive leader Being flexible and adaptable leader Take into account the impact on the followers
Competencies	Planning skill Communication skill Psychological skill Tactical skill
Results	Trustworthy Collaboration Happy work place Effectively work
Brand * Followers' behavior reflection	Responsive and effective followers Responsive with ineffective followers Unresponsive followers

1) Physical traits: Who is the leader?

The concrete physical, appearances and personalities of leadership that can be seen from the outside that reflects the image and opinion from the perspective of youth. Most of the informants believes that good leaders have to be from the inside out, so they overlooked the physical appearances but more focus on the behaviors. However, they accepted that personality is important for leaders to provide creditability and effective communication, speaking fluently with proper voice tone, directly visualize, and persuasive ability. Some of the informants mentioned about other abstract attributes influenced by social norms such as polite, humility, mercy, and honesty etc.

2) Style: How do you behave as a leader?

The behaviors or working style of the leader that the youth behaved when they take the role of leadership. Mostly, the informants focus on managing people, distributing jobs according to each individual's skills, thus saving time and work more efficiently. Secondly, they were more likely to work as a team, brainstorming and finding common agreements before starting the tasks could reduce conflicts within the team. Surprisingly, all the informants who had participated in High school exchange program in The United States mention that they always uses the voting method to make decision, and to be fair to everyone. Only a few said that they like their followers to work in order that they were assigned. They only have responsibility on their task and unable to interfere with others.

3) Situation: When and where do you focus on the person or the task?

The way of working that leader focus in each situation, person or task. The informants explains how they begin the task by look at the overview and plan first whether it is the content of the work or the people management. When started operating, it is the time to make a rational decision which depends on the situation. Occasionally, some jobs need leaders who are decisive who not hesitate to decide whether to go either way. At the same time, flexibility and adaptability were needed for leader who can handle any immediate situation and understand the various circumstances. Including take into account the impact on the followers to balance the positive and negative effects on both followers and tasks as much as possible by not leaving anyone behind.

4) Competencies: What exactly do leaders know and do?

There are several competencies and skills that leaders should possess, but the informants of this study focused on top 4 needed skills that leader should know and master. The first skill they mentioned were the ability to plan in advance, not only planning for the roadmap but also provide an individual plan for each task, including backup plan. The communication skills were often mentioned during the interview, they focus on speaking, listening, and presenting what the leaders want to convey to their followers, including the ability to communicate persuasively. So the skill that follows is the psychological skill that will be used to understand others. As a leader,

understanding individual needs and conditions are important in order to lead someone. Another skill mentioned was tactical skill, the leaders know how to behave, and how to use authority in circumstances.

5) Results: Why does leadership matter?

The importance or effect of leadership showed as a result on tasks. The informant opinions about the positive results that occur after the effective leadership are trustworthy which take time to build. Once the follower believes in the leader, the followers are willing to be supportive in any work. Good leadership cause collaboration in work. When we have trust in the team, there will be more cooperation which creates mutual agreement and makes everyone want to be part of the work. Collaboration between leaders and followers creates a happy work place that is conducive to effective work.

6) Brand: For whom are you leading?

The followers' behavior reflection on the leadership brand that the informants give an example on how their followers behave while working together, and how they response to the leader that can be categorize in 3 types. The first type is responsive and effective followers, who have the ability to understand the task, to be able to share the ideas, and to be responsible on the task by themselves. This type of followers always willing to support the leader in anyway. The second type is responsive with ineffective followers, who being able to understand some part of the task, but cannot take the responsibility and handle the task by themselves. This type of follower will have to stay on track and ask for task explanation more than usual which may cause damage or delays on the task. And last type of followers who have been activated but not showing any responsibility in the tasks assigned, this type of followers call unresponsive followers which impeding others' work and overall task accomplishments.

The criteria of youth leaders in this study do not allowed them to reflect on their leadership brand because of the different experiences and roles of leadership between youth and adults, so youth are unable to reflect the brand of the leadership. This raises the question of what is the youth leadership, due to the limitations of this study, there is ambiguity in the characteristics and definitions of youth leaders. Therefore the research asked the informants to define youth leadership characteristics from their point of views that can be define as follows.

The youth leadership characteristics from the perspective of Thai youth

1) Make changes in society – Focused on making change and development in their society, such as creating a movement or campaigning that youth raised up for their own society.

- 2) Being confident and think different - The courage to express the thought of the youth in order to be creative and different from the original idea. Dare to think outside the box.
- 3) Understanding the modern world and stay wisely - Understand the modern world that is constantly changing. Keep up to date. Cognizant of adults, listen carefully and think critically.
- 4) Develop themselves before develop others - They believed that self-development enable them to be able to help or develop others.
- 5) Be a prototype, idol, or youth icon - Because of the impersonating behavior of the youth, good youth leaders should be role models or idols in a good way for other youth.
- 6) Not everyone can be a leader, but everyone can develop a leadership - They believe that having leadership leads them to succeed, even if all youth are not leaders, but everyone is able to develop the skills and characteristics of leadership in some way.

Findings and Discussion:

The finding of youth leadership characteristics in this study shows that how youth defined and valued the meaning of the youth leadership. These can be used to classify leadership Characteristics from the Leadership Code model by considering the leadership characteristics that youth informants mentioned from their perspective about physical traits, style, situation, competencies, and results first, then considered the characteristic of youth leadership with 5 rules of leadership characteristics from the model. (Ulrich, D., Smallwood, N., and Sweetman, K., 2008) (Table 4)

Table 4: 5 Rules of Leadership Characteristics vs. Youth Leadership Characteristics	
5 Rules of Leadership Characteristics	Youth Leadership Characteristics
<u>Rule 1: The Strategist</u> Have point of view about the future Invite savviest outsiders inside Engage the organization – no one know enough Create strategic traction within the organization	Look at the overview and plan first Planning skill Psychological skill Tactical skill Being confident and think different
<u>Rule 2: The Executor</u> Make change happen Follow a decision protocol Ensure accountability Build Teams Ensure technical proficiency	Focus on teamwork Use the voting method Work in sequence Making a rational decision Take into account the impact on the followers

	Make changes in society
<u>Rule 3: The Talent managers</u> Effective communication Create aligned direction Strengthen others Provide people with the resources to cope Create a positive work environment Have fun at work	Communicated effectively Communication skill
<u>Rule 4: The Human capital developers</u> Map the workforce Create a firm and employee brand Help people manage their careers Find and develop next-generation talent Encourage networks and relationships	Focus on people management
<u>Rule 5: The Personal proficiency</u> Practice clear thinking Know yourself Tolerate stress Demonstrate learning agility Tend to your own character and integrity Take care of yourself Have personal energy and passion	Given the importance of leadership personalities Being decisive leader Being flexible and adaptable leader Understanding the modern world and stay wisely Develop themselves before develop others Be a prototype, idol, or youth icon Not everyone can be a leader, but everyone can develop a leadership

When compared youth leadership characteristics with 5 rules of leadership, it was found that youth leadership was classified as **The Personal proficiency** who focused on understand and invest in themselves, find their personally proficient, and develop themselves before develop the others and society. In fact, it is good that young people prioritize with self-development, because they are in the age of learning and gaining experiences for the future life. Finding out their capabilities would help the youth set future goals, and know what they really want in life. They believed that if they developed well, they will have the strength and ability to help others and their society. (Wehmeyer, Agran and Hughes, 1998)

In order to make change in the society, the youth leadership was classified as **The Executor** who knows how to achieve the goal, and who have rational decision making processes that take into account the effects on many aspects, especially the impact on

the followers. When we were young, it is possible that we were more likely to work as a team, rather than working alone, either in school or university or even in the future, working in a company or organization. Teamwork training would allowed young people to work effectively with others without conflict. (Partnership for 21st Century Skills, 2009) When they know how to build a team in order to reach the goal, they will be a great leader of a powerful team.

The first rules of leadership is the leaders who can designs the future plan, so the youth with this ability were classified as **The Strategist**.

From the perspective of youth informants on an effective leadership characteristics, they mentioned about the abilities to plan systematically, think critically and to imagine what will happen in the future. These abilities are the basis for leaders that should learn and practice professionally, future visibility leaders will figure out the way to cope with what will happen in advance. Leaders need to be open to the different ideas of others to find the best strategy, and leaders must learn other skills to use in that strategy such as planning skill, psychological skill, and tactical skill. This type of leader must be confident and able to think differently.

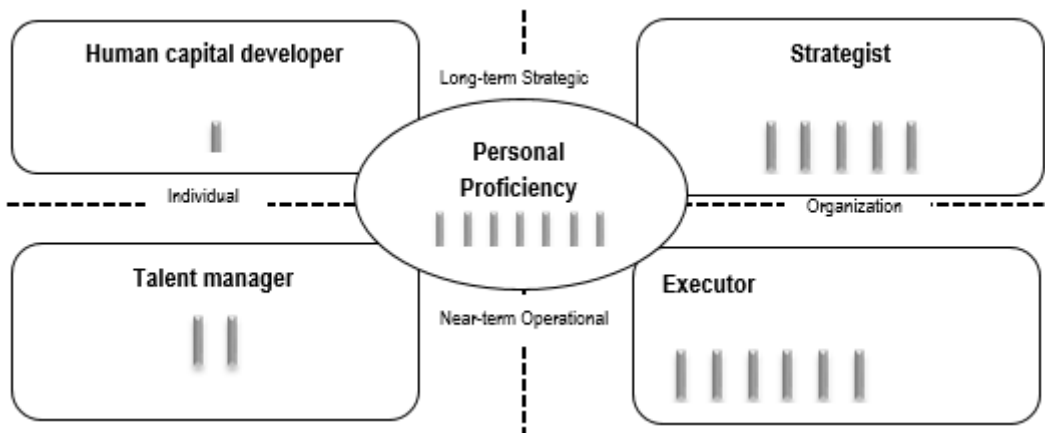


Figure 2: Youth Leadership Characteristics in Leadership Code Model

In considering the dimension of time, youth are characterized by **Near-term Operational**, i.e., the role of youth leadership is overlapping, and often changes in the context of individual youth. A youth leader's tasks could be characterized as a one-time or a session task, such as presiding over a student's academic year, being a charity music concert crew, or representing a school athlete for a season.

The dimension of attention found that youth leaders focused on **The Organization**, although most of them focused on self-development, but it was for the team or the others. Saying that young people like to work as a team, whether small or large teams, every youth leaders wanted to create or change something at the end, and that is their society. So the meaning of the organization of the youth is the society itself.

Conclusion and Recommendation:

In conclusion, the results of this study describe the characteristics of youth leadership from the perspective of youth. Using leadership models is a framework for the study, which results in the description of each leadership characteristics, however, it not indicated that youth leaders must have the following characteristics. This is a study on viewpoints of specific youth group who reflect on the individual's identity and personal experience, which allow us to understand how young people are knowledgeable about leadership, their feelings and their opinions toward effective leadership.

Research on leadership code model has found that there were differences in context between leadership in adults and youth, therefore this study findings cannot used to conceptualize models of youth leadership completely. The Leadership Code Model are more decent with the organizational leadership study rather than society which identified by the youth informants. However, this study provides useful findings for study of youth leadership, and conceptualize the suitable youth leadership models in the future research.

In addition, the results of this study also remarked on the cultural dimension as the youth were Thai exchange student in foreign country for a period of time that may be possible to reflect the similarity of the thought which influenced from another culture that could be found in further study.

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People Exchange: A British Council's Post-Colonial Distinguished Cultural Investment

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Abstract

Since the beginning of the post-colonial era, preserving already acquired links and pioneered cultural ties cultivated during the colonial era with overseas people, has remained a priority for the British Council. The latter did not mince efforts to protect British interests, particularly when strong competition from more powerful countries could threaten British position on the international scene. Thus, the Council's People Exchange activity was considered as one of the most important cultural investment on which the British Council could rely to back Britain in times of turbulences.

Keywords: Post-Colonial, British Council, Cultural Investment, People Exchange

Introduction

The work of the British Council during the post-colonial era has become diverse and multifaceted. The Council ran libraries and information centres which were used by thousands of people in different countries in the world. It also managed development and aid projects and was the most active technical assistance agency in Europe.⁽¹⁾ It organised cultural events such as music tours and visual art exhibitions overseas, showing to the world British talents in an influential way. At the centre of its main activities, the teaching of English remained the most important and requested service. This task was partly done through a network of language centres, mainly operating, in countries where people could afford to pay their tuition and partly by training teachers of English in foreign countries by signing contracts with their governments. This educational enterprise allowed the British Council to expand other crucial activities like education and training, libraries and books, arts work and people exchange. The latter has remained one of its post-colonial priorities, particularly during the 1980s when Britain had to face turbulences both at the domestic and foreign levels.

⁽¹⁾ L. Martin and J. Garnett, *British Foreign Policy, Challenges and Choices for the 21st century*, Great Britain, The Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1997, p. 48.

The present paper attempts to consider the Council's important devotion to make of this cultural activity, namely "People Exchange", a fruitful investment to maintain influence, preserve and further British interests in different parts of the world. To what extent could the British Council make of the development of this cultural activity, namely People Exchange, its most lucrative operation?

I- The Cultural Dimension of People Exchange

The fact of focusing among other things on 'people exchange' in particular is practiced by cultural agencies world-wide. This activity is considered as the most fruitful in the field of cultural relations since it brings together – in one way or another – people from different cultures into contact. Therefore, the British Council, like other international cultural agencies, spent a significant portion of its budget on teachers, lecturers, experts and advisers who were sent overseas to offer their expertise in more than eighty countries, and on bringing foreign people to Britain for professional visits, training and studies. The Council pointed out: "We invest two thirds of our budgets in [the movement of people between Britain and other countries]". For instance," during 1985/1986, the British Council brought 24,000 overseas people to Britain and sent 5,000 British people abroad".⁽²⁾

The importance given to such an activity by the British Council resulted from a conviction about the long-term gains this operation would provide Britain with as Sir David Orr McLLD, the 1988/1989 British Council Chairman, revealed in his Introduction to the British Council Annual Report :

The flow of these [overseas] young people to Britain is of considerable long-term importance to us. From them will come new leaders, driving the administration, the policies, and the economy, the creative and academic life of their countries.⁽³⁾

II- The British Council and People Exchange: A Source of Political and Economic Advantages

The British Council devoted remarkable energy to the promotion of British education in general, university and higher education in particular. It concentrated more on 'people exchange', even more importantly on overseas students because the latter could rise to positions of power and influence within their own countries, a fact that

⁽²⁾ The British Council, "The British Council Annual Report 1985/86", London, the British Council, 1986, p. 24 (The Overseas people were brought to Britain for professional and educational reasons, The British people were sent on a teaching consultancy basis).

⁽³⁾ The British Council, "The British Council Annual Report and Accounts 1988/89", London, the British Council, 1989, p. 3.

would benefit Britain in the long-term. In fact, the British Council wished to secure for Britain the contribution of a maximum number of overseas young talented people who might otherwise go elsewhere – in order to ensure and reinforce British influence in world affairs. This approach, during the 1980s, was linked with the considerable change which affected Britain then. The latter’s relationship within and beyond Europe changed as old barriers started disappearing; normal Anglo-Chinese diplomatic relations knew perplexing development; political ramifications in South Africa slowly began to resolve. Indeed, it was in such a situation, i.e ; one of turbulences, that the significant dynamism of the British Council invested in the cultivation of long-standing human links could be seen to strengthen Britain’s influence in world affairs on the international scene. The pattern of people exchange during the 1979-1989 decade – British specialists sent on advisory visits abroad and foreigners brought to Britain, both with Council help, was as follows :

Year	People in Britain	People Overseas
1979-80	32,000	19,000
1980-81	28,700	15,700
1981-82	30,900	17,500
1982-83	28,200	15,200
1983-84	22,200	4,300
1984-85	23,391	4,952
1985-86	24,000	5,000
1986-87	26,310	5,000
1987-88	28,050	3,127
1988-89	35,000	3,500

Table One⁽⁴⁾

Thanks to long-term awards schemes such as the Technical Co-operation Training Programme (TCTP) – funded by ODA, which stood as the Council’s biggest programme,⁽⁵⁾ overseas students were attracted to Britain. During the 1980s, thousands of people were increasingly brought to Britain under this Scheme as the table below illustrates :

Year	Number of people in Britain under TCTP
1981-82	7,968
1982-83	8,356

⁽⁴⁾ Compiled from the British Council Annual Reports : 1979/1980, 1980/1981, 1981/1982, 1982/1983, 1983/1984, 1984/1985, 1985/1986, 1986/1987, 1987/1988, 1988/1989 Data.

⁽⁵⁾ In its annual report for 1985/86, the British Council pointed out : “The Council manages several different schemes under which people come to Britain. The two biggest are both funded by the ODA : the Technical Co-operation Training (TCT) Programme costing £54 million, and the Commonwealth Scholars and Fellows Programme costing £9 million”. The British Council, 1986, p. 25.

⁽⁶⁾ Compiled from the British Council Annual Reports : 1981/1982, 1982/1983, 1983/1984, 1984/1985, 1985/1986, 1986/1987, 1987/1988, 1988/1989 Data.

1983-84	8,869
1984-85	9,773
1985-86	9,965
1986-87	10,605
1987-88	11,465
1988-89	12,500

Table Two⁽⁶⁾

In fact, the British Council was like other cultural agencies, aware of the benefits such work could provide. Once in Britain, overseas people were acquainted with new facts and distance themselves from familiar experiences. They rather found themselves faced with systems, machines about which they ignored all the new technology or of which they had merely heard. So, when they returned to their countries and were in influential positions, wanting to serve their home economies, most of them looked to Britain for supplies, and therefore indirectly benefited British economy. For instance,

Some years ago, Indian mining engineers studied British mining technology at Bates and Wearmouth Collieries in the North East. This [had] been followed by the introduction of Long Wall mining equipment into India, a training package for up to 46 trainees and contracts worth about £100 million for further equipment.⁽⁷⁾

Indeed, as the British Council Board stated in an article about the importance of Higher Education in British Foreign Policy: "Every overseas student studying in Britain represents an investment [political, economic and cultural] – whether sent by the student's family, an overseas government or a British government programme. The Council works to secure this investment..."⁽⁸⁾ The importance given to the bringing of overseas people to Britain was primarily motivated by economic consideration, as a leading objective behind British Foreign Cultural Policy was to increase sales.

Thus, the increase in the number of overseas people brought to Britain by the British Council through – for instance Technical Co-operation Training Programme (see Table Two) indicates the Council's considerable contribution to Britain's effort to attract overseas students who constitute a bridge between Britain and foreign countries and whom the British Council wants to protect from competing

⁽⁷⁾ J. Mitchell, *International Cultural Relations*, London, Allen & Unwin, 1986, p. 20.

⁽⁸⁾ The British Council, *op. cit.* p. 25.

international influences that might not coincide with British interests. From Malaysia, for example, a plantation executive pointed out :

The enormous good will which the U.K enjoys (in Malaysia) derives from the fact that the great majority of the ruling class has received some form of education in the U.K or in local schools run on U.K lines.⁽⁹⁾

Such a positive attitude developed towards Britain becomes beneficial once the former overseas student becomes directly involved in the economic life of his country as, for instance, a businessman or as a decision-maker in government, because these two particular types of trainees play an essential role in the shaping of their nation's way of thinking. For example, even though the Chinese and the Muslim cultures are still very important in Malaysia, the British culture still holds. In the same context, the head of an industrial company with wide interests in the Far East stated :

Many of my acquaintances at the highest level of Government and business told me that they [...] want British-educated people to maintain the old links, to maintain the British attitude to work and play and not something else. Many of the Malaysian hierarchy and Senior businessmen are U.K educated: they send their children to the U.K and arrange for private tutoring in the East on a U.K syllabus.⁽¹⁰⁾

By wanting to preserve old links, these highly – ranked overseas people (who were educated in Britain) are likely to maintain British political and economic advantages; and by wanting to keep the British attitude to work and play, they are preserving British culture and providing the cultural ties with overseas ruling-classes on which Britain could base its foreign policy.

III- The British Council and Britain Shaken Educational Prestige

For British political, economic, and cultural reasons, it was essential that more overseas students should come to the U.K for studies.⁽¹¹⁾ However, a decrease in the number of foreign students in Britain was noticed during the 1980s as a consequence of the “full-cost fees” policy introduced by the conservative government at the end of the 1970s. For instance, the number dropped from nearly 87,000 to 56,000 in 1987.⁽¹²⁾

⁽⁹⁾ P. Williams, *The Overseas Student Question*, London, Heinemann, 1981, p. 100.

⁽¹⁰⁾ *Ibid*, p. 101.

⁽¹¹⁾ The British Council, *op. cit*, 1986, p. 11.

⁽¹²⁾ House of Commons Foreign Affairs Committee, *Fourth Report, Cultural Diplomacy*, London, HMSO, 1987, p. 73.

In 1989, the number of overseas students Britain received was only half that of ten years earlier.⁽¹³⁾ Thus, Britain prestige in education and training was strongly shaken. In such a situation, the British Council was expected to come forward so as to help Britain face these turbulences. Indeed, the Council was given the opportunity to show its efficiency in backing the current British interests. As stated by its Board during the 1980s :

For political, financial and cultural reasons it is important for Britain that more overseas students should study in Britain. In the face of strong Western and Eastern competition and the increased costs of British higher education, an intensive marketing operation is essential. The British Council is pioneering this....⁽¹⁴⁾

Being, indeed, aware and concerned with the political, financial and cultural interests Britain could draw from having overseas people studying in British universities or polytechnics, the British Council – whose work as a cultural body was expected to be restricted to the cultural field as its organisational structure suggested – started marketing British education. Indeed, it dispatched services which advertised and marketed British education abroad.⁽¹⁵⁾ Moreover, to attract bright overseas scholars, the Council administrated several schemes such as the Technical Co-operation and Training Programme, The Foreign and Commonwealth Office Scholarships and Awards Scheme, Commonwealth Scholarship and Fellowship Plan, British Council Fellowships Programmes, and Country/ Territory Support Schemes.⁽¹⁶⁾ These schemes balanced out the negative effects of fee increase. Yet, as regards countries which were not politically and economically as important as Commonwealth and Western European countries, for example, they were no longer taken in charge by Britain. In fact, what the British Council did was to help Britain overcome the difficulty and to support and allow Thatcher's policy of economic recession to flourish at the international as well as at the domestic level.

In addition, the Council multiplied its efforts and improved its services abroad – by introducing computers and additional audio and video materials in its centres – and promoted British books in order to cultivate a lasting contact between Britain and those who studied there in general, those from Commonwealth countries in particular. This contact which the British Council tried to establish positively remained of significant political, economic and cultural benefits for Britain. British

⁽¹³⁾ The British Council, op. cit, 1989, p.23.

⁽¹⁴⁾ The British Council, op. cit, 1986, p. 11.

⁽¹⁵⁾ The British Council, "The British Council Annual Report 1984/85", London, The British Council, 1985. p. 55.

⁽¹⁶⁾ House of Commons, Foreign Affairs Committee, op. cit, 1987, pp. 151-152.

awareness of this fact was neatly expressed by Sir Patrick Wright, KCMG, and Permanent under Secretary of State, in 1986 :

We are very conscious of the importance of cultivating the future leaders of other countries. That is only part of the promotion and protection of British interests in the longer term. This is why the Foreign and Commonwealth Office and Heads of mission overseas take a particularly strong interest in Government awards for overseas students.⁽¹⁷⁾

It is therefore obvious that the British Council was not alone on the British cultural scene to promote and protect British interests abroad, political bodies were also involved as suggested here.

Indeed, if Britain succeeded in imposing her educational programme – and perhaps to some extent her ideology – during the colonial and early post-colonial period on overseas countries, during the 1980s, she lost this advantage. First, because of the “Full-cost fees”. Second, because the programmes she applied during the colonial and early post-colonial period could no longer meet the requirements of the 1980’s new generation. The latter could have political, economic and cultural relations with other more developed powerful or “generous” countries than Britain; a fact which led overseas governments and individuals to consider Britain like any other developed country providing education and training against payment. Thus, guided by perceptions of value for money, they were attracted by countries whose fees policy was more generous than the British one.

France and Federal Germany, for example, had to face more expenses than Britain from the dramatic rise the world had known in the number of overseas people studying abroad during the 1980’s. For example, in 1985, the total number of overseas students in Higher or Further education, in Germany was 125,000⁽¹⁸⁾; France received 128,000⁽¹⁹⁾; comparable figures for Britain, in 1985-86, were 56,120⁽²⁰⁾ and 15,780.⁽²¹⁾ As far as Germany is concerned, 48,000⁽²²⁾ students had obtained an indirect financial assistance from German public funds even though no tuition fees were charged in that country. Moreover, during the same year, 1985, Federal Länder funds provided direct financial assistance for 27,000 foreign students and trainees.⁽²³⁾

⁽¹⁷⁾ Ibid, p. 62 : “Although the FCO’s own scholarships and award scheme represent only a small proportion of the total Government efforts

in this context, FCO ministers and officials take a close interest in all matters affecting policy on overseas students”.

⁽¹⁸⁾ Ibid, p. 12.

⁽¹⁹⁾ Idem.

⁽²⁰⁾ Idem.

⁽²¹⁾ Idem.

⁽²²⁾ Idem.

⁽²³⁾ Idem.

The most important difference in Europe as regards overseas student's policy is that between France and Britain. The French government indirectly assisted 106,000 students in 1985.⁽²⁴⁾ The latter mainly benefited from the subsidized level of academic fees – the “bourses indirectes” of the French Ministry of National Education, whereas Britain limited this kind of subsidy to students from the European Community. Indeed, while £293 million was the sum the French government in 1985/86 allocated to the support of overseas students, Britain spent only £96 million.⁽²⁵⁾ The British figures raised by £2.5 million in 1987 as a result of new agreements for undergraduates from European Community countries.⁽²⁶⁾

Conclusion

In fact, Britain has been aware that knowing about the cultural and social life of a foreign country is a very helpful matter if one wants to undertake consciously and successfully different affairs – political or commercial and other – with foreign countries. In this, the British Council has always been present where Britain has to do business and activated where British political and commercial interests were to flourish, for where cultural links are developed, political and other strategic relations could follow. Thus, much of the Council's work during the 1980s was concerned with bringing people to Britain to study and learn, and sending British people overseas to advise and teach. Some of this exchange of people was designed to stimulate an appreciation of Britain among future generations of leaders and decision makers. A large proportion of British Council activities arose out of Britain's bilateral and multilateral aid programmes, to which the Overseas Development Administration (ODA) contributed Britain's share, and was directly intended to create trained manpower requisite to national progress and economic development in the Third World. Such technical cooperation was supported by the development of local teaching and by the British Council's programmes for the cultivation of ties between British universities, polytechnics and technical Colleges, and those in overseas countries.

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⁽²⁵⁾ Idem.

⁽²⁶⁾ Idem.

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About the Discourse of the Necessity of Military Intervention in Brazil for the "Restoration of Order in the Country": Analytical Notes

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Abstract

In this work, based on the analysis of the French orientation discourse, we aim to reflect on a discourse that is becoming increasingly common in Brazil: the request for the Armed Forces to take control of the country by force. Although a recent past full of suffering, death and torture stamped the pages of the history books when telling about the Military Coup of 1964, research indicates the support of more than 40% of the population for a supposed military intervention in Brazil in 2018. In a quick survey of major newspapers in the country and in social networks, we noted that often some statements are associated with the demand for seizure of power, such as: "We are going to sanitize the country", "establish order", "in the name of God and the family, Brazil will be a serious country". Such relations between this "semantic universe" makes us question whether there is a discursive "order" that governs and sustains this need for military intervention in Brazil. Therefore, we will use a theoretical-discursive approach based on the concepts of Alice Krieg-Planque (2016), Dominique Maingueneau (2014) and Marie-Anne Paveau (2015), more specifically of small phrases and discursive virtue, respectively. The latter guides us in the sense of answering a question that the author herself asks: "Will there be good statements in the moral sense of the term? If so, what then is a statement capable of receiving a judgment of moral value? And how does moral value manifest itself linguistically?" (p. 24). This is because, for her, this notion "functions at the core of an ethics of values and supposes an intersubjective negotiation within a given group or given society" (p. 26). For the constitution of our corpus, will be analyzed especially statements published in newspapers and magazines of great circulation in the country.

Keywords: Discourse Analysis; Military intervention; Moral Discourse; Small Phrases.

Introduction

Images such as the one shown below illustrated the Brazilian newspapers during 10 days of May 2018. The strike of this year's truck drivers made, in addition to the demands of the class, demonstrations in favor of requesting military intervention in Brazil.

Figure 1 – "We want military intervention"



Available on: <<https://www.boletimdaliberdade.com.br/2018/05/26/exercito-comeca-a-intervir-nos-bloqueios-de-estradas-antes-parte-dos-grevistas-pediam-intervencao-militar/>>. Access in: 20 jun. 2018.

Although a recent past full of suffering, death and torture stamped the pages of the history books when telling about the Military Coup of 1964, research indicates the support of more than 40% of the population for a supposed military intervention in Brazil in 2018. In a quick survey of the country's leading newspapers and social networks, we note that often some statements are associated with the call for seizure of power, such as "let's sanitize the country," "order," "in the name of God and the Brazil will be a serious country." It is from these discursive materialities that we will have the constitution of our corpus of analysis.

Theoretical-Methodological Resources

The phenomenon of "small phrases" has been the focus of attention since the 1970s, 1980s, which included changes in the French and world media, along with the professionalization of journalism. Before that period, the creation, retaking and circulation of short statements, such as adages, proverbs, sentences, dictates in a context that was not only political, but also entrepreneurial, was known - although it was politically that the posting won certain vitality. However, the specificity of the "little phrases" of which we refer here consists of their construction based on the social actors (Krieg-Planque, 2016, p. 21, our griffin):

the "small phrase" emerges as an object coproduced by the media (ie not only by journalists, but also by the media as mediation and mediatization devices) and

politicians (and by communicators who are its auxiliaries). **It is therefore necessary to refer to the socioemiotic frameworks and the categories of actors, to specify the reflection on the "small sentences" and to relate other types of production practices and the recovery of outstanding statements.**

For Krieg-Planque (2016, p.17), "small phrase" can then be defined as follows:

"Small phrase" is a non-scientific term (and more precisely: it comes from the other appropriate discourse) that designates a statement highlighted by social actors and presented as intended for resumption and circulation.

According to the theoretical assumptions of Dominique Maingueneau, from studies on enunciative detachments and assessments, we can better understand the questions about the enunciative support of "small sentences". It is from these studies that we can understand the fabrication and think of the over-assertion of political speeches, which, in our view, is an operation capable of creating "small phrases", leaving its co-nano text to "jump" certain statements. Apart from these discussions being present in the next topic to this, as we have just pointed out, it is more interesting to confine ourselves to the discussion of "small sentences", considering that issues of detachability go beyond the theme concerning them. In the words of the French author (Krieg-Planque, 2016, 21):

The specificity of "small phrases", in relation to other statements about social situations, which we are going to evoke quickly, lies in the modalities of its construction by social actors: the "small phrase" appears as an object coproduced by the media (ie not only journalists, but also by the media as devices of mediation and mediatization) and political (and by communicators who are its auxiliaries). It is therefore necessary to refer to the socioemiotic frameworks and the categories of actors, to specify the reflection on the "small sentences" and to relate other types of production practices and the recovery of outstanding statements.

In this sense, it was from the period in which the media (more specifically from the French) began to become the closest to what we know today (1970s, 1980), along with the recognition of the professionalization of specialists in political communication, which was to favor the production of "little phrases". This was done for certain reasons, such as the more or less fixed formatting of certain genres that would circulate in the newspapers (printed and digital), for example.

Following this approach, the use of the journal's semiotic space, with a tendency to be fragmented, moves toward "decreasing the volume of content units ... imposing shorter article formats and composed of many paratextual elements: titles, subtitling, intertitles, slogans, keywords, epigraphs, captions", which ends up making the blocks of texts more complex to be read and optimizes the making of outstanding statements" in the sense that it makes in advance a place "(idem).

There is also the fabrication of the discursive event by the categorizations made by the newspaper headings. Such categories, also justified by the fragmentation of the newspaper we have explained earlier, are often perennial and have a reserved place in the semiotic division of the newspaper (such as "Phrases of the Week", "The Little Phrases of ..."). But in all cases categorization presupposes that social actors have the means to act on the devices that make these headings possible. "(Krieg-Planque, 2016, 24)

The preference for "small phrases" is also due to the inclination of the subject journalist to prefer to highlight a judged passage important of the political speech, since this reduces risks of commitment with the error on the part of the journalist and time of elaboration of summarization of the whole content. This access by journalists to these types of texts already prone to the detachment is also due to the imperatives to which they are submitted. According to Krieg-Planque (2016, p. 25):

Regarding these discourse production frames, the "little phrase" is integrated into the narration because it is constructed as an event, and it is so constructed because it is associated with an intention, a position, a doctrine, an ideology, a personality trait, an opinion, a strategy, an ambition, interests or a project that the "little phrase" supposedly condenses or of which it is supposed to be a symptom.

Such a construction of the "little phrase" as an event, on the one hand, is given by the contribution of the communicators, who in turn have purposes to be reached and foci to be given (or even disguised). This is the case with political slogans, for example. On the other side are the political actors, who try to shape their speech, since they work with a controlled political saying, objectifying, above all, visibility and highlighting what also interests him, being represented by the press. According to Krieg-Planque (2016, p. 27):

The production of "small phrases" does, in fact, participate in these actions of concealment and put themselves in the spotlight, whether they are to give visibility to a proposal that was not intended to be, or to make visible a proposal that was already destined to be noticed. In this context, journalists and, more broadly, the media, make politicians the object of a complex instrumentalization to circulate the messages. For each of these two groups of actors, who are politicians and communicators, the production of "little phrases" falls within a field of identifiable expertise and practices.

The ability to circulate the desired proposal through a "small phrase" by politicians is a communicational competence, or, in the words of the author, it is "the professionalization of politicians in their communication functions" (Idem). Krieg-Planque (2016, p. 29) proposes that in order to study the "small phrases" from a Discourse Analysis point of view,

it is necessary to reflect in the bigger picture of three issues together: the control of the agenda, according to a problematic of the agenda, setting; the imperative of visibility, in the complex mediatic framework previously mentioned; the injunction to create events and including those of the day of "scandals" or "business". The study of "small phrases" unites other contemporary questions about the relation of politicians to their mediatization.

In spite of all Krieg-Planque's contribution and theoretical-methodological arsenal, it is in the company of Maingueneau (2010, 2008) that we reflect on a common practice in contemporary media communication - the practice of highlighting statements and circulating them in new arenas. Maingueneau (2010, p. 9) states that "few people today would dispute the idea that the text is the only empirical reality with which the linguist deals: units such as sentence or word are necessarily removed from texts." And the texts, in turn, refer to genres of discourse, which function as frames of reference for all communication thinkable in a given socio-historical formation.

Also as a theoretical-methodological subsidy of our work, we resort to the theoretical assumptions of Marie-Anne Paveau (2015), especially about virtuous discourse. In her work entitled "Language and Morals: An Ethics of Discursive Virtues," the author seeks to reflect on the relationship between morality and language. Such an approach interests us as we aim to think, in the words of the author: "Will there be good statements in the moral sense of the term? If so, what then is a statement capable of receiving a judgment of moral value? And how does moral value manifest itself linguistically?" (p. 24) This is because, for her, this notion "works at the core of an ethics of values and supposes an intersubjective negotiation within a given group or given society" (p.26). Even if we are to our liking, we do not propose to be exhaustive in our theoretical and analytical expositions.

For Marie-Anne Paveau, virtuous discourse is the discourse adjusted to the current values: adjusted to reality; adjusted to the agents and to the set of the verbal productions that constitute the discursive memory of the society. The researcher affirms that virtuous discourse is the discourse adjusted to the current values: adjusted to reality; adjusted to the agents and to the set of the verbal productions that constitute the discursive memory of the society. In the set of users of a language, taken in the cultural, historical and social contexts, there really are criteria for discursive production ... The question of the moral dimension of the statements emerges from a moral discursive event, that is, from a set of comments and reactions in a given social group, about a statement or image ... Thus, the question of the moral dimension of the statements emerges from a "moral discursive event".

More Theoretical Input and Analytical Notes

As part of our corpus, we selected some images that circulated in Brazilian newspapers when the truckers strike of 2018. According to the aforementioned, such

a class claimed, among other things, the adjustment in the price of fuel that they used for transportation in trucks, fact illustrated by the following figure.

Figure 2 – Strike Warning Range of Truck Drivers



However, even after the government had made agreements with the claims claimed, the strike continued, giving visibility to small phrases in banners and in trucks, which called for the seizure of power by the military. This fact sounds in principle controversial if we look at the history of Brazil, a country that suffered a coup d'état in 1964 and even after the 21 years of military dictatorship, is still agonizing with the spills of its consequences. This narrative, although crude and simplistic compared to the complexity of the situation, has the objective of presenting a panorama perhaps paradoxical lived in Brazil. Let's look at the following image.

Figure 3 – Trucks with the tracks "Military intervention already"



Figure 3 illustrates the aforementioned request for military intervention in Brazil, where democracy is only about 30 years old. If, for Paveau, discursive virtue "functions at the core of an ethics of values and supposes an intersubjective negotiation within a given group or given society" (p. 26), could we say, then, that this group, in the case of the truck drivers, is being misrepresented? In addition, the

author brings to her analysis the fact that there are legal norms that "regulate speech", as is the case of texts on Human Rights and laws, for example. In this sense, asking for military intervention, with its history of massacre with human rights, would corroborate the fact of the misrepresentation. But then, how to explain the support of a large portion of the population to this claim?¹

In order to propose on the definition of discursive virtue, concept notion that we aim to support in order to understand this situation a little, the author sought to define morality (and chose not to distinguish moral and ethical - anchored choice in R. Ogien, in the work *L'éthique aujourd'hui: Maximalistes et minimalistes*), saying that "it is moral what concerns the virtue of agents" (p.34). Such a concept was thought from the notion of intellectual or epistemic or cognitive virtue (strands represented by J. Greco, 203).

For Paveau, it would not be enough to think as a solution to the emergence of this type of small phrase or of outstanding statements the difference between a linguist and an extralinguistic, since in these aspects there is no concern with the context. The researcher defends a reflection in a kind of continuous mind-world and world-language, in which "meaning is not referential, and that linguistic and discursive materiality is not purely intellectual but constituted by realities of our environment" (p. 194). Thus, for the researcher, "ethics co-construct in the environment, and is not imposed from the outside" (196), which opens space for the concept of discursive virtue to integrate the ethical within the linguistic. For her, then, virtuous discourse is a "discourse adjusted to the values that prevail in the complex and unstable reality of agents and their environments" (p. 214).

In this sense, we could think that the pronouncements and small phrases that circulated in the truckers' strike would be non-virtuous statements, unadjusted in relation to agents and their relations and to the set of verbal productions that form the discursive memory of societies.

Figure 4 – 7th day of strike and request for military intervention



¹ We can observe as an example the article in the newspaper El País. "Strike of the truck drivers has support in the streets." It is a necessary evil ". Available in: <https://brasil.elpais.com/brasil/2018/05/29/politica/1527550010_174130.html>. Access in: 10 jun. 2018.

On the other hand, Paveau explains that "if virtuous discourse is defined, among other things, by an adjustment to the discursive memories in action in the fabric of societies, it is necessary to define the forms of mismatch precisely by evaluating the relation between discourses and memory: a phenomenon of amemory or of dementia is not necessarily a break in adjustment, but, on the contrary, it may be a factor of it " (241). For her, "memory is rebuilt, and the meaning of history is reversed by hindsight, a frequent procedure of memory in general: interdiscourse is seen as derived from dialogism, affiliation contradicted by chronological reality, which dates well to Pêcheux's interdiscourse, Culioli and Fuchs, 1969-1970, in an Althusser-Lacanian tradition" (p. 272).

It is through this oblivion, or amemory, that we try to assimilate the paradoxical situation that we present at the beginning of this work. Not justifying that these productions of statements do not have as base a knowledge about the existence of the recent military dictatorship in Brazil, but rather that this memory has already resigned, is no longer disadjusted for certain groups. Moreover, not only did the memory of the historical fact re-signify itself, but also the relation between the statements "military intervention" and "military dictatorship", the latter being erased to the detriment of the former, as if there was a possibility of salvation by this without the provisos of a totalitarian government.

Results

In this work, closer to an essay or an application reflection that mixes theory and a little bit of analytical notes, we try not to exhaust analytically a whole previously selected corpus, but above all to highlight a political-discursive restlessness. For this reason our text does not necessarily follow a traditional article division, nor does it provide a thorough linguistic analysis, since we are more concerned with dropping questions than answering them fully, tying all the nodes of this problem. In this way, we thought, it would be possible to open fruitful dialogues with our peers, exchanging theoretical and practical experiences of our geographies.

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Theoretical Approach to Enhance Information Literacy and Lifelong Learning Through Montessori Methodology

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Abstract

This work is a theoretical proposal to apply the strongest points from the Montessori methodology to improve information literacy through lifelong learning. Since lifelong learning includes cognition and skills, information literacy permits the solving of problems as well as effectively communicating and interacting with the environment. This means having abilities and skills that through adequate training permit the acquisition of new knowledge or improving knowledge on any topic, within a formal or informal environment. It also could permit seeking, managing, and comparing information. However, there are some questions that arise with older individuals. Since lifelong learning usually takes place in informal environments, getting resources to learn may be a difficult task. Learning difficulties also involve information abstraction, text comprehension, and technological barriers. Consequently, lifelong learning and information literacy are likely to be affected. The question comes up as to which pedagogical methodology may fit better for lifelong learning and the acquisition of better information literacy skills. Task breakdown, guided repetition, and ordering activities from simple to complex are essential keys in the Montessori methodology, which help not only older people but also children to enhance information literacy as well as assist with lifelong learning.

Keywords: Montessori Method, Information Literacy, Lifelong learning, adult learning, e-learning, MOOC

Introduction

This article highlights that the Montessori methodology can benefit people in information literacy through lifelong learning. Many literature reviews on information literacy and lifelong learning exist. However, the subject of learning methodologies which help training at different ages is rarely studied. Lifelong learning affects a person throughout their life since it affects to its whole working life. Over time, a person's ability to train both in formal and informal environments

decreases. In addition, physiological ability decreases. However, the ability to learn still exists. Thus, it is appropriate to propose a pedagogical methodology to accompany training in later life.

The Montessori model has been chosen for a variety of reasons. It can be observed throughout the scientific literature that the Montessori Method can be applied not only to children in school. In medicine, there are also innumerable cases where it is shown that this method helps people with dementia or Alzheimer's (Lin, Watson, Wu et al., 2011). This indicates that the Montessori learning methodology is applicable in several phases of a person's life. The Montessori Method, in addition to being inclusive, also incorporates learning and improving literacy.

Objective of the theoretical approximation

This article presents the three concepts together. First, it presents the Montessori Method as a pedagogical model. Second, the concept of information literacy is defined as an ability to select and use information. Finally, the lifelong learning concept is described as a need for training at any age.

Bearing in mind the meaning of each of the elements, this article tries to respond to the following questions:

Q1: Is it possible to carry out a theoretical approximation between the Montessori Method and the concept of lifelong learning?

Q2: Is it possible to approach an online training system adapted for age, which includes information literacy and the Montessori Method, and is applicable to lifelong learning?

The Montessori method

The Montessori Method is a pedagogical learning system initiated by Dr. Maria Montessori in Rome in 1900. The methodology is based on a model in which children learn skills and techniques with a teacher as a guide, through a course tailored to each child. There are many aspects of the Montessori methodology that can be emphasized. However, one of the learnings from Montessori classes is that the lessons that are taught should embody the concepts of brevity, simplicity and objectivity. On the other hand, the role of the teacher changes and they become a facilitator-guide when they observe the actions of the children (Gutek, 2004).

In addition, there are several elements – such as self-education multi-age classes, a prepared environment, and the teacher as a guide – that are necessary within the methodology of Montessori at an early age (Haskins, 2010). Fidelity to the Montessori Method is due both to the use of materials and to teachers' training in this methodology. Otherwise, it is difficult to explain the high commitment to this methodology in US schools. (Debs, 2016).

In the Montessori Method, the students experience a learning itinerary adapted for their measurement. This is both for the student's advantage and to cater for students with exclusion risks or students who need special education. This issue of individualization may be included in sections of inclusive education (Debs and Brown, 2017).

Although all of these concepts are applied according to children through the Montessori Method, in an informal and formal learning environment with adults, it should also be possible to create scenarios using these three concepts. Often, adults are not accustomed to studying; they haven't done it in a while or they just don't have enough motivation. This means that with the passage of time and age, traits appear, such as an inability to comprehend abstraction and limited concentration in reading or mental agility, depending on the type of activity.

Starting from the basis that an adult needs training throughout his or her working life, an option would be to consider the design of scenario training, using the help of the three concepts discussed above. It should be considered that in these scenarios a teacher where its main role is working as a guide must be present and that their work should be based on observation, even if this scenario is virtual.

In this circumstance, it would be possible to design learning scenarios, even in real time. The Montessori Method is a constructivist methodology where the student is at the centre of learning and one of the elements emphasized in this learning is science inquiry (Rinke, Gimbel and Haskell, 2012). However, a translation can be made to adult-centred and customized learning, where the adult also controls the learning time.

In the case adults, they have the advantage of training consciousness. In the information society at present, an adult is aware of the process of continuous training, as well as of their need for such training. This need is caused by not only a personal desire for lifelong learning, but also to improve one's work situation. However, one of the drawbacks is a lack of study or reading habits, which may be because of one's own profession. Another drawback is also the time available for training, even if it is online. Often, time spent with family, leisure or hours of work prevent further training.

It can be deduced that in adults, especially those born between 1953 and 1975, there's a technological gap in digital learning, as from 1980 to 1990—when these individuals were already past their prime education years—there was a large expansion in the prevalence of personal computers. In many cases access to information and computer technologies (ICT) was not an affordable option in that decade, or the learning curve was very high. Also, the adoption of information technologies by this generation is very different from that of people born after 1990. Regarding the use of technology, it is described the trends in different types of software. It is explained ways in which technology enables the Montessori Method to be applied to learning.

Thus, the use of the senses while using the software is particularly based in the use of colours; sense perception is one of the aspects also mentioned in the Montessori methodology (Drigas and Gkeka, 2016). On the other hand, adults who decide to pursue lifelong learning are very likely to be unfamiliar with the Montessori Method (Walls, 2018). This may not necessarily influence a person's training, but it can help to improve information literacy.

In early ages, a low or poor literacy can be attributed to several factors, such as a low income (Lloyd et al, 2017). However, it can also occur among adults who have not had a compulsory basic education or who have stopped reading or writing regularly. Also, the fact that they have not experienced training for a long time implies that reading or writing could also worsen any previous level of literacy originally acquired.

A person's motivation for self-training relies on factors such as independence and autonomy. Thus, it has been observed that when pupils of schools have more autonomy, they are more intrinsically motivated. They also possess high levels of independence and trust, and this level of control improves after their academic career (Fraumeni-McBride, 2017).

Other authors have conducted a review of the literature in Medline on the Montessori methodology applied to dementia. Their findings are that, in older people, the Montessori Method is not only a beneficial action, but also complements other non-pharmacological interventions (Soares and Martin, 2012). Other authors also did research on the difficulties and advantages of teaching geometry with an approach to the Montessori Method. Because of that, the authors employed the Montessori Method as an inductive way to determine if participants used Waray, a language spoken in the Philippines, with indigenous terms instead of English (Oyzon et al., 2014).

Nowadays there are many learning opportunities, both online and in-person, it is worth keeping in mind that the figure of the teacher-guide is very different in a classroom environment compared with a virtual environment. In the classroom environment, there is physical contact and the adaptation of specific training itineraries seems to be easier. However, in a virtual environment, adapting technology to the observation method can be performed with actions within a portal, depending on the desired goals.

Information literacy

The issue of defining the concept of information literacy is confusing, as there are many types of literacy. Several concepts of literacy are digital, functional, visual, and cultural literacy, and different definitions of these can be found in the literature (Bawden, 2001). However, in this case it is necessary to connect with a pedagogical model, like the Montessori Method, with the skills that are then generated through

the information literacy organisation. One example involves the selection of information.

On the other hand, a model of information competencies can be designed or redesigned with even better competencies, pairing the type of information literacy with a pedagogical model that supports it. Information literate people are those who have learned how to learn and know how information is organized. Information literacy includes the ability to find information and know how to use it so that others can learn from it (ACRL, 2017). Information literate people are also prepared for lifelong learning because they always find the data they need for each decision they make.

The person who learns requires certain skills and attributes to make learning fruitful (Candy, 2002). Information literacy has many definitions. However, these have many points in common. These points are effective information-seeking, informed choice of information sources, information evaluation and selection, comfort in using a range of media to best advantage, awareness of issues to do with bias and reliability of information, and effectiveness in transmitting information to others (Webber and Johnston, 2000).

However, it is important to differentiate between information literacy and digital literacy. Both are not the same. Regarding digital literacy, the four competencies of digital literacy are the search for information on the Internet, hypertext browsing, knowledge assembly, and content assessment (Bawden, 2008). The rise of the use of smartphones as a tool for everyday use has made it easier for people to have access to information. However, there are still many issues for both adults and younger generations.

Take, for example, the distinction between false news and the truth. It is also necessary to differentiate between the technique of information retrieval from an electronic device and the selection of an appropriate source of information. These are contexts in which, although young people have easy access to information, many are not yet able to discriminate as to the quality of that information. These are aspects that young people have easy access to, although they are not yet able to discriminate in many cases. Therefore, literacy skills need to be improved, regardless of whether the model requires digital or information literacy.

It is more and more necessary not only to own information but also to know how to use it, especially information searched on electronic devices like mobile devices. Dependence on technology to manage information increasingly requires the design of strategies to help improve information literacy.

In a global society, it is important for a learning methodology to be present and to have proved its effect in a given target population. This fact is important because the right information use makes the citizen a knowledge generator in the long term. This

generation of knowledge should then have a later influence in the economy. If the information is used to innovate and create new products, it thus can produce subsequent economic growth (Catts and Lau, 2008).

Moreover, the great abundance of information in many places, not only on the Internet, produces cross-relationships among the competencies and skills of different literacies. As an example, if a person speaks multiple languages, he or she can search, select, and retrieve in several languages in a totally different way. This leads to interrelationships among information, digital, and cultural literacy.

Lifelong Learning

Lifelong learning arises from the need in a globalized environment to be informed and to adapt to constant change in one's working or personal life. In the future, people who learn will not be bound by any geographical location. In addition, the tools they need for learning should be highly portable, individual and unobtrusive, adaptable, persistent, useful, and intuitive (Sharples, 2000).

Other authors also express the correlation between information literacy and lifelong learning. This means that the better one's training in information literacy, the better use one will make of tools throughout one's life.

One of their research areas of CRELL (Centre for Research and Education for Lifelong Learning) is adult skills and adult learning in lifelong learning. In its report, it is stated that in certain European countries, lifelong learning has relevance for adults in the formation of social trust (Da Costa et al., 2017).

In addition, other factors are considered that also influence lifelong learning, such as educational past, disability, level of income, cultural aspects, and even religion. (Rahanu et al., 2000)

Approximation to the theoretical proposal

Adults today have more and more problems related to information abstraction or retaining information they have learned, understanding texts, or simply accessing new technology. Thus, the selection and design of training itineraries according to age is made more and more necessary. There is also a need for an individualized plan. Participants in online training do not always have the same knowledge or education background. Training for an 18-year-old adult is not the same as for a person of 55 years old who may not have read or written for a long time. In this case, vocational training or training for personal needs is required.

To make a theoretical approximation between the Montessori Method, information literacy and lifelong learning, it will be considered especially progression over time. In an online training environment, access to resources is unlimited because the information is online. However, the time available for training is not unlimited.

That is when concepts of information literacy and the selection of information need to be formed. If the environment is formal, this information will become defined. However, in informal training environments, the selection of information requires previous analysis. This previous analysis depends on the background education.

It seems logical to think that a person who is in a virtual training environment, before starting the course, will perform a pre-knowledge audit of the contents they are going to study. This audit could include issues such as reading capacity measurement, technological ability, abstraction capacity, and other issues that may be affected by age. Depending on the result, training paths suitable for each person's capacities can be created. If we think of a virtual environment within a platform such as a MOOC (Massive Open Online Course), one can perform this audit by signing up to a course.

One of the big problems in a MOOC is the high rate of participant dropout (Belenger and Thornton, 2013). Reasons for this include low interaction with the teacher or participation in an online course purely for entertainment. However, with the proper methodology, the dropout rate can be reduced. In addition, when a training scenario is proposed with formal or informal training online, consideration is often not given to the diversity of the students or their capacity to finish the course.

It is certainly true that the concept of motivation is difficult to measure through a qualitative or quantitative methodology. However, other aspects can be measured, such as the level of prior knowledge or the willingness to acquire new skills. In addition, some MOOCs involve formal training, with starting and ending dates and a teacher in charge of the course. But there also are MOOCs that are offered as educational resources without any teacher in charge.

In this scenario, an audit of prior knowledge makes sense, so that customized learning paths can be assigned according to the capacity of the enrolled student. This can be done with a teacher who acts as a coach according to the Montessori Method or with intelligent analysis software in the case of a MOOC that is presented in the form of an open educational resource. This means that – if applying a Montessori methodology with the concepts of brevity, simplicity and objectivity – a person who is enrolled in a MOOC could take longer to acquire knowledge according to age or could perform the same training at different times. When applying an adult-centred model, the modules could be applied according to actual knowledge.

In case the option is to use knowledge analysis software, the software itself could make determinations according to the results of the audit of prior knowledge. This could define the information literacy level of a person. Adaptation of learning materials should be done according to age. Thus, it is possible to find software that employs themes with different colours, typefaces, or images, each appropriate for different ages of users.

At a conceptual level, modules targeted at young people could become more complex by applying the same concepts to an older age group. Usually, in a MOOC course, there is an intervention by a teacher, because they have specified dates for the completion of milestones. Therefore, the teacher tends to be virtually present in the development of a MOOC.

Conclusions

A theoretical model has been proposed to approximate the Montessori Method for information literacy and lifelong learning. It is certainly true that the Montessori Method is not the only pedagogical method, but it has been tested at different ages with positive results. In future work, the creation of online materials inspired by the Montessori Method will be considered. User testing of educational materials based on the Montessori Method will also be considered, and testing among different population groups will be necessary to consider which kinds of materials can be better adapted to specific targeted students.

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Protests in Europe in Times of Crisis -The Case of Greece, Ireland and Portugal

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Abstract

The year 2008 was marked by a financial crisis that started in the United States but quickly spread to the rest of the world. Subprime-related, this crisis was linked to property speculation, leveraged by the banking sector. This crisis quickly spread to Europe due to exposure of European economies to international markets. To avoid economic collapse the States decided to intervene in the banking sector, nationalizing some banks and injecting capital in others. Some European countries not to enter bankruptcy had to ask for external financial support between 2010-11, was the case of Greece, Ireland and Portugal. The aid granted by the *Troika* (European Union, European Central Bank, International Monetary Fund) to European countries referenced advocated a drastic austerity plan. Faced with such a scenario of crisis, austerity, unemployment and precariousness, Europeans came to the streets to demonstrate their discontent with the crisis but also with politicians and policies implemented to solve the economic problems. Throughout Europe there were large protests, especially in the countries that received international aid. From a *corpus* taken from newspapers and from a theoretical framework of social movements we intend to verify if there was a direct relationship between crisis and contestation in the three countries that had external aid and if this crisis returned the centrality to materials on European social movements.

Keywords: crisis, protests, Europe

Introduction

The year 2008 was marked by a global economic and financial crisis. The crisis originated in the subprime mortgage market of the United States of America (USA), although it quickly spread to the rest of the world. Initially, those in Europe thought that the collapse of the “real estate bubble”, which led to widespread bankruptcy and the terminal decline of investment firms, was confined to the USA, but the truth was

soon revealed. Indeed, the exposure of European economies to the international markets globalised the crisis (Mason, 2016), revealing that the European real estate and financial sectors were also on the verge of ruin. Virtually all of Europe was affected by the crisis, although some countries showed greater capacity to manage it than others. Certain countries, in order to avoid bankruptcy, had to request external financial support, namely Greece, Ireland and Portugal.

In general, European citizens blamed deregulated capitalism and the neoliberal policies pursued by certain governments worldwide for the dire economic situation they found themselves in. The crisis of 2008 highlighted the vulnerability of capitalism in the globalised world, as well as the inability of statesmen to adequately tackle the problem. The financial crisis brought austerity, unemployment and precariousness to Europeans, which provoked a great deal of popular discontent, as demonstrated by the wave of protests that erupted across Europe between 2011 and 2013, especially in those countries that had received international aid.

Collective action has been a constant phenomenon throughout the history of Europe, although it has taken different forms (Tilly, 1986, 2004). However, the 2008 financial crisis and the subsequent austerity programme unleashed a new wave of protests encompassing the characteristics of both the “old” and the “new” social movements (Silva, 2012), which brought material issues back to the forefront. Since the goals of the nineteenth-century workers’ movement have been met, other goals have been identified, goals that are more related to social and cultural issues than to materialistic issues, while the social actors have been more pluralistic and less class-based than those involved in the early labour movement. The events that transpired in the countries investigated in the present study revealed the coexistence of material goals with other social and cultural goals, which were coupled with the use of new technologies. Structurally, a return to economic issues on the basis of social mobilisations can be observed, albeit with a more ethical and less classist character. The protests were not solely aimed at the acquisition of rights, as was the case for the workers’ movement, but rather against the subjugation of rights and human dignity to economic interests. Edward Thompson (1979) suggested that the basis of the eighteenth-century subsistence riots was the rupture of what he called the “moral economy”. It was not simply the breaking of the rules of market functioning that caused people to riot, but also the breaking of moral values (Thompson, 1979). Here, as with the 2008 financial crisis, it was the failure of the “moral” management of politicians and their defence of the interests of large financial groups ahead of the rights of individuals that upset people, causing them to feel that their honour has been tainted.

Thus, the present study aims to verify whether there was a direct relationship between the 2008 crisis and the unrest seen in the three countries that received external financial aid, as well as whether the crisis returned centrality to the material

problems associated with European public protest, particularly because, in temporal terms, modern society is seemingly far removed from the typical conflict affecting industrial and post-industrial societies (Habermas, 1984; Touraine, 1983) due to the development of an information society and networked communication (Castells, 1999). Hence, this study examines a corpus sourced from European newspapers and analyses the various theories of social movements.

2. The protests in the countries that received international aid:

2.1. Greece

The economic crisis began in Greece in late 2009/early 2010, when rating agencies (Moody's, Fitch and Standard & Poor's) were alerted to the problematic growth of the country's public deficit. Greece's level of indebtedness had grown over the previous decade, driven by increased public spending, civil servants' salaries, pension spending and tax evasion. Its deficit was already more than 3% prior to the crisis of 2008 (Grigoriadis, 2013); after that, the deficit increased considerably and fostered distrust in the markets in relation to public debt. This increased interest rates, thereby rendering the repayment of loans more onerous. The level of indebtedness was such that there was real fear Greece would fail to service its external debt. The Greek situation threatened to contaminate the entire eurozone. In order to minimise this threat, the Greek government adopted certain containment measures intended to control public spending and increase revenue. However, as the deficit did not decrease, the executive had to resort to requesting foreign aid in April 2010.

Greece joined the European Economic Community (EEC) in 1981, at a time when the country was experiencing a period of economic growth after having freed itself from a military dictatorship. In 2001, Greece was accepted into the eurozone and, hence, it was considered safe for investments, which led to a growth in the GDP (gross domestic product), but also in national expenditure. After 2008, the financial situation became uncontrollable. External financial aid was provided by the European troika (International Monetary Fund [IMF], European Central Bank [ECB] and European Commission [EC]), but it was not without stipulations. Greece was required to adopt austerity measures. To comply with the rescue agreement, the Greek government announced a series of "draconian" measures, including tax increases, wage and pension reductions, privatisations, etc., the social impact of which was such that it brought the Greeks out onto the streets and squares of major cities to demonstrate and protest against austerity (Grigoriadis, 2013).

From 2010 to 2012, there was constant social upheaval, since the first rescue package proved insufficient and rendered a new rescue packet necessary, which was accompanied by more restrictions. The crisis was becoming uncontrollable and the protests in Syntagma Square and other squares across the country seemed permanent, with spontaneous movements of citizens who gathered in defence of democracy, as their ancestors had once met in the *agora* to exercise democracy,

organising mass demonstrations. Between 2010 and 2013, these organised movements, which were led by the trade unions, resulted in nine general strikes that practically brought the industry, commerce, public administration and transport sectors to a stop, thereby aggravating the already weak Greek economy (Lima & Artiles, 2014).

Demonstrations took place in the largest squares and streets of Athens, as well as in major cities across Greece. Syntagma Square was the scene of the largest demonstrations, many of which ended in violence. Demonstrators, especially young men, threw rocks and bombs at the authorities, smashed windows and set fire to rubbish bins and buildings. In an attempt to contain the situation, the police retaliated with tear gas and arrested some demonstrators (Jornal Sol, 06/15/2011). In 2012, the dispute increased due to Greece's need for a second bailout, as well as the fact that the parliament had to approve more austerity measures in order to receive it. The protests became even more violent, with clashes between protesters and police resulting in fires in several buildings in central Athens and some arrests (El País, 12/02/2012). In April 2012, the suicide of a retired pharmacist, 77, who killed himself in the middle of Syntagma Square, and who had left behind a handwritten letter expressing his desperation due to austerity measures, further escalated the protests (El Mundo, 04/04/2012).

Although the youths stood out due to their rebelliousness and irreverence, there were people of all ages involved in the protests, including unemployed adults who could not afford to support their families, pensioners whose pensions had been considerably reduced and youngsters who either had no job or else lived precariously.

In addition to the obvious economic problems, Greek citizens were disgusted by the lack of adequate response from their political institutions. Relatedly, Estanque (2014) considers the inefficacy of public policies to be the fundamental cause of the conflict seen in recent years.

2.2. Ireland

In November 2010, it was Ireland's turn to call for international financial aid, although the economic development seen in the country during the last few decades meant that this situation was not predictable. However, the reasons that led Ireland into crisis were not the same as those observed in Greece. It was not structural reasons, but rather over-exposure to the real estate market and the US banking system, which brought the Irish economy to its knees.

Since the 1990s, a number of government economic development programmes had been implemented in Ireland. The industrial, commercial, fiscal and educational sectors were all restructured and increased. The result was that the country, which in 1973 had entered the EEC as one of the poorest in the group, was described as the "Celtic Tiger" during the 1990s. This level of apparent financial growth was achieved

thanks to the dynamics and development of Ireland's economy, which grew by an average of 7% per year (Lane, 2011), leading to an analogy being drawn with the Asian Tigers, that is, the "emerging economies" of Hong Kong, Singapore, Taiwan and South Korea. Shifting from a protectionist policy to a more liberal one in terms of taxation and bureaucracy attracted significant foreign investment, with Ireland being considered a real "paradise" for investors. The creation of the single European market further intensified the country's links with the outside world.

This climate of prosperity in Ireland led to growth in investment in real estate. The population also increased, while interest rates decreased, which were further factors that stimulated the demand for real estate. Construction companies proliferated and the economy ended up leveraged in this sector, rendering the country's finances vulnerable. The increasing demand for houses substantially increased prices, although as banks kept interest rates attractive, the real estate business continued to grow. Yet, from 2005 onwards, demand fell sharply. Economic weaknesses began to emerge when, in 2008, the international financial crisis was triggered by the subprime mortgage crisis in the USA. As the Irish economy's exposure to the international markets was significant, a reflection of what happened in America was soon seen in Ireland, which led to economic chaos (Lane, 2011).

The uncontrolled loans offered in previous years created a "real estate bubble" and the real estate and financial sectors were left on the brink of ruin. The situation worsened following the collapse of Lehman Brothers, which the Irish banking sector was heavily exposed to. The crisis settled. The Irish GDP fell by 7% in 2009 and it did not change in 2010. The deficit soared to 32% (Lane, 2011). The Irish government stepped in to save the banks from collapse, while at the same time it had to bail out the unemployed, thereby leaving the public accounts totally unbalanced. The solution (as of the end of 2010) was to seek help from the ECB and the IMF, as well as to implement a drastic austerity plan.

The Irish financial crisis resulted from a combination of unfavourable internal and external environments. The collapse of the construction and real estate sectors, which resulted from weak financial regulation, added to the global economic crisis and the commercial slowdown. From an economic crisis, the situation in Ireland quickly became a social crisis and, as in Greece, protestors soon took to the streets, albeit in a less aggressive way when compared to those in Greece or even Portugal.

Kieran Allen, national secretary of the SWP (Socialist Work Party), explained that the relative passivity of the Irish was due to the significant growth seen during the 1990s, when the title "Celtic Tiger" produced a "pro-capitalist culture", since many workers saw their quality of life increase with little need for collective struggle (Esquerda.net, 12/18/2011). In addition, tripartite agreements (certain trade unions, employers' associations and the government) aligned the policy of the Irish trade union

movement with the needs of national capitalism, thereby neutralising some of the key organisational support for workers (Esquerda.net, 18/12/2011).

Nonetheless, there were demonstrations from the end of 2010 onwards, with the intensity of the protests increasing in 2011. Institutional citizens' movements, such as the Enough Campaign, which incorporated political organisations, parliamentarians, trade unions, social movements and independents, were formed. Further, more spontaneous movements also developed, such as Occupy Dame Street (which occupied the square in front of the Central Bank in Dublin) or the movement of university students who occupied the streets of Dublin, singing songs like "No if, no buts, IMF cuts" in protest of budget cuts in the field of education and the exponential increase seen in tuition fees.

Here, too, there was a combination of organised movements and other partisans engaged in marches against austerity, including the emergence of groups such as the Alliance Against Austerity, which aimed to promote marches and demonstrations such as the one organised in front of the parliament building on December 6, 2011 (Esquerda.net, 18/12/2011).

In Ireland, as in other European countries, the aim of the protestors was to enforce their democratic rights and demand an end to austerity. Portugal likewise participated in the protest movement.

2.3. Portugal

Portugal resisted the global financial crisis for a few months more than the countries previously mentioned, but on April 6, 2011, it also had to resort to foreign financial aid in order to solve the financial crisis into which it had plunged. The government, then headed by José Sócrates, tried to institute various Stability and Growth Plans (PECSs), including cuts in public investment, privatisations and wage deflation, intended to contain the crisis (Costa & Caldas, 2013), albeit without success. The Portuguese inability to pay its public debt and lower the public deficit, as well as the need to obtain funds to inject into technically bankrupt public enterprises, left the prime minister with no alternative but to sign a memorandum of understanding with the troika. The measures agreed between the troika (IMF, ECB and EC) and the Portuguese government provided for extreme austerity, which prompted Portuguese citizens to protest on the streets.

In the elections of June 5, 2011, José Sócrates was defeated and gave way to Pedro Passos Coelho, leader of the Social Democratic Party, although the impossibility of ruling as a parliamentary minority led to a governance agreement with the Popular Party, led by Paulo Portas. Following the already agreed upon external intervention, the government of Pedro Passos Coelho decided to adopt new measures to meet the deficit target in 2011.

On June 30, 2011, the prime minister, breaking his electoral pledge not to raise taxes, announced in parliament an extraordinary tax on income, which was equivalent to 50% of the Christmas subsidy. In the following months, the price of public transport as well as VAT on gas and electricity also increased. A further announcement was made concerning a cut in the holiday and Christmas subsidies given to civil servants and pensioners, with a rate of more than 1000 euros, throughout the duration of the troika programme.

Then, on November 20, 2011, the Portuguese parliament approved a 25% increase in the release rates on interest, dividends and capital gains on individual income tax and collective income tax. In 2012, the entry into force of the new budget imposed a number of new measures. Health expenses were deductible by the individual income tax, but only at a rate of 10%. Housing expenses were also deductible, but to only 15% of their value rather than 30%. The government further restructured and “rationalised” the lists of goods and services subject to VAT, and it allocated an intermediate rate of 13% to those sectors that Pedro Passos Coelho classified as “crucial” for domestic production, not including the catering sector. It also increased the price of electricity, the tax on vehicles (ISV), and the municipal tax on real estate as well as on cigarettes. On February 1, 2012, public transport prices rose again.

Finance Minister Vítor Gaspar announced on April 30, 2012, that the government had foreseen that holiday and Christmas subsidies, which had been suspended, would begin to be awarded again by 2015, at a rate of 25% per year. In July of that year, the Portuguese Constitutional Court declared the suspension of vacation and Christmas subsidies to be unconstitutional due to violating the principle of equality, although the judgment would only have effect from 2013 (Público, economia -7-09-2012). As a result of this judgement, the prime minister announced an increase in the contribution of all workers to the social security programme.

Such measures led to Portugal being the scene of conflict, which it had not been for a many years. Demonstrations in public spaces actually began before prior to foreign intervention with the “Scratch Generation” movement, which was already motivated by employment and social justice issues (Estaque et al., 2013). On October 15, 2011, many Portuguese took to the streets in about nine cities and shouted: “Out, out of here, hunger, misery and the IMF.” On October 15, the Portuguese joined the Global Day of Action, an international demonstration in favour of global change. This protest took place in 82 countries, with the largest demonstrations in Europe being seen in Spain, Italy and Portugal. This movement was not as spontaneous and non-partisan as the “Scratch Generation” movement, since it was convened by 41 collectives, many of them linked to the radical left, and although the organisation claimed that about 100,000 participants were involved, this was far from the numbers involved in the previous movement.

Among the various protests, some were organised by the trade unions. On November 24, 2011, there was a general strike in Portugal, with the demonstration being organised by the General Confederation of Portuguese Workers (in portuguese CGTP) and General Union of Workers (UGT) for reasons related to the austerity measures foreseen in the October 2011 State Budget. The budget included wage cuts and the elimination of the increase in working hours. This organised protest involved the participation of spontaneous movements such as Precarious as well as students (Soeiro, 2014, p. 69), which reveals the coexistence of “old” and “new” forms of action.

In 2012, the cycle of protests began again, incorporating new modalities in the repertoire of action (Tarow, 1995), including the use of new technologies to mobilise the action. On May 12, 2012, the so-called “Global Spring” movement was organised by the “Indignados” movement, which mobilised citizens in more than 250 cities around the world to protest against austerity measures and demand real democracy, social justice, the redistribution of wealth and public ethics (Jornal Sol). Despite the union organisation, attendance at the demonstration in the capital did not exceed 1000 people. Most participants were young people, holding signs protesting against their precariousness state of living and critical of the government of Passos Coelho (Esquerda.net)

The most significant anti-austerity demonstration in Portugal took place on September 15, 2012, named “to hell with Troika! we want our lives”. On that day, thousands of people gathered in the most emblematic squares of every Portuguese city (Babo & Silva, 2016). It is estimated that about one million Portuguese took to the streets. In Lisbon alone, the protestors were said to number approximately 500,000 people (Babo & Silva, 2015, p.358). It was hence the biggest protest seen in the country after the revolution of April 25, 1974. The protestors were taking action against the austerity measures imposed by the troika, which were considered to be overly harsh, and which were driving both Portuguese citizens and the country as a whole towards poverty and degradation. According to the demonstrators, “whoever resigns to govern under the troika memorandum delivers the fundamental instruments for the management of the country in the hands of speculators and technocrats, applying an economic model that is based on the law of the jungle, the strongest, despising our interests as a society, our living conditions, our dignity” (queselixeatroikablogspot.pt).

In this movement, values such as dignity and democracy were emphasised, an approach that was repeated during the following mobilisations. It was a movement that was not exhausted through a single collective action, but which rather followed the whole repertoire of a social movement: campaign, action and demonstrations of Wunc (worthiness, unity, numbers and commitment) (Tilly, 2004). This showed the application of the modular character (Tarow, 1998) used in other movements and

contexts in the Portuguese case, albeit without losing its national singularity (Babo & Silva, 2016, p. 188).

On October 13, 2012, the “To hell with Troika” movement organised new protests and cultural demonstrations, which mobilised many artists in various Portuguese cities, and joined the Global Noise protest against austerity measures. The organisers emphasised how people overcame fear on September 15 and called for participation “in all forms of resistance and pressure that will take shape in the next 15 days until we overturn this budget, this policy and this government” (queselixeatroikablogspot.pt).

On November 14, 2012, the CGTP organised a general strike aimed at safeguarding the interests of both the workers and the people, and 15 days later the European Trade Union Confederation marked a day of action for the same date, involving 40 union organisations. Their motto was “for employment and solidarity in Europe, not austerity.” The CGTP general strike had greater visibility, since other unions and social movements that did not support the CGTP initiative joined the European Union action (Dias & Fernandes, 2016, p. 47). In this way, the CGTP joined the UGT as well as movements such as the Inflexible Slums, the Intermittents of the Show, the Students for the Strike, the Platform October 15, the Citizens for Dignity and the Movement March 12 (Soeiro, 2014, p. 71). The protests ended in violent clashes between police and protesters outside the parliament building.

3. Discussion

In Greece, Ireland and Portugal, that is, the three European countries that received external financial aid, the level of dispute was intense between 2011 and 2013. Ortiz et al. (2013) showed that there was an increase in worldwide protests during this critical period of crisis. They examined 843 protests worldwide, in a total of 84 countries and covering 91.9% of the population, and concluded that the vast majority of protests occurred in countries with a higher level of development, most notably in Europe (Ortiz et al., 2013). Most of the protests (n=488) were anti-austerity and in favour of economic justice.

In the countries analysed in the present study, the direct cause of many protests was the economic crisis and the austerity measures adopted by governments in an attempt to solve it, measures that suppressed certain rights won over time by the actions of various social movements. However, a structural analysis showed that the dissatisfaction was much more deeply rooted and related to the political-economic model of contemporary European society. The protests certainly emerged in part due to the crisis, but they were also the result of the responses offered the political systems to the crisis (Della Porta, 2012). In the investigated countries, as well as in others, posters appealing for real democracy were erected by demonstrators, thereby demonstrating that representative democracy was privileging the elites, that is, 1% of the population rather than 99%. Hence, those who were overburdened by the

austerity measures, those who were unemployed, the poor, or those who could not find a first job took the streets to shout “we are 99%”. They were the 99% who were dissatisfied with the responses of both institutions and public policies to economic problems, as well as those who were dissatisfied with the current democratic model.

As Slavoj Zizek (2013) noted, “what unites these protests is the fact that none of them can be reduced to a single issue, because they all deal with a specific combination of (at least) two issues: an economic one, of greater or lesser another political-ideological” (p.1).

4. Final Reflection

The response to the 2008 economic and financial crisis associated with new communication technologies contributed to the spatio-temporal dissemination of collective action in Europe between 2011 and 2012.

In the analysed demonstrations seen in Greece, Ireland and Portugal, there was a direct relationship between the economic and financial problems experienced in those countries and the intensity of austerity, as well as the wave of protest that swept through their territorial spaces, bringing thousands of people to the streets and squares of their cities. It also emerged that economic problems once again formed the basis of citizens’ concerns, since they again took centre stage in the dispute, albeit with characteristics distinct from those that existed during the early labour movement. The actual worsening of living conditions, which manifested in wage reductions, the deregulation of labour relations and cuts in social benefits, brought groups to the streets that could be mobilised by institutional organisations (unions, parties, etc.), as well as those who were mobilised spontaneously through social networks: the young, the precarious, the unemployed.

Many of those who protested were people with a high level of education, corresponding to a middle class who wanted to enjoy the economic benefits equivalent to their level of training, although that desire was limited in terms of their rights and expectations; hence, the deep sense of frustration and injustice following the redefinition of status introduced by austerity (Estanque, 2014, p. 54).

Economic problems were the immediate cause of the investigated collective action, although disenchantment and dissatisfaction with political systems and representative democracy were the remote causes, as demonstrated by the protesters demanding real democracy, which requires not only good governance and representation, but also direct participation and a society in which the principles of freedom and equality are not confined to laws and institutions, but are effective values in daily life (Ranciere, 2006).

In the case of Greece, Ireland and Portugal, these countries were certainly part of the identified European and global protest tendency that replaced the material issues at the centre of the protests. The same innovative repertoire of actions was used, in

which the collective actions programmed and conducted by specific actors coexisted with new forms of social action, often without leaders, without organisation and without physical space, and wherein social networks were used as a form of mobilisation.

The collective action was not restricted to the national scale or to specific organisations or groups, but instead became global through the sharing of difficulties and the search for common values, thereby inspiring later protests.

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Gender-Based Violence in Kosovo During the COVID-19 Pandemic

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Abstract

COVID-19 has exacerbated health inequalities around the world. Kosovo has so far experienced four waves of the pandemic with a fatality rate of 2.6 registered deaths per 100 cases which is higher than some comparable countries in the region. Women have been disproportionately affected in many spheres of life including their safety and security at home. While Gender-Based Violence (GBV) has been one of the major concerns for women's safety over the years, the COVID-19 pandemic has further exacerbated the situation. Drawing on the theory of GBV and intersectionality and using a mixed-method approach, this study examines whether GBV cases have increased during the COVID-19 pandemic and whether government policies and responses during the COVID-19 pandemic have considered GBV implications. This study yields three main findings: First, the institutional data on reported cases show that GBV has increased significantly between 2010 to 2021. Similar trends of increase were observed during the COVID-19 pandemic. Second, the COVID-19 institutional actions towards the pandemic disproportionately considered the specific needs of the most vulnerable groups of the population including women. Third, violence against women is treated within the domestic violence domain which does not address entirely the nature of the gender-based violence in the country.

Keywords: Gender-based violence (GBV), COVID-19, Women, Kosovo.

Introduction

The COVID-19 pandemic has changed the way we live, work, and relate to one another. It has led to an increase in social inequalities in countries around the world and has impacted the physical, mental health, and well-being of all groups within society. It has been shown that infectious diseases disproportionately affect people based on gender (Morgan et al., 2021). Early evidence on COVID-19 suggested that

men are more likely than women to die from the virus, whereas women have been impacted more than men in employment, health and wellbeing, and safety and security (Bozkurt et al., 2021). Measures taken by countries to control the spread of the virus, while necessary to protect the health of the population, have in many instances led to negative impacts on social and economic activities within society (Buheji et al., 2020). The quarantine and stay-at-home measures have put pressure on women by increasing their workload around household duties and childcare (Fuller et al., 2021). It has also shut down the familial and institutional support systems that aid women in physical and emotional security leading to increased domestic and GBV globally (Usher et al., 2010, Murhala et al., 2021). However, GBV has been an epidemic even before the COVID-19 pandemic. Worldwide about 770 million women experience violence from their partners or former partners every year. About 30% of couples worldwide and about 22% of couples in Western Europe have experienced GBV. About 20% of women over 18 years old have experienced physical violence, 43% experienced psychological violence, and 7% suffered sexual violence. It is also estimated that worldwide about 35% of women have been victims of GBV at some point in their life (Acosta, 2020).

Kosovo like other countries worldwide has been heavily impacted by the COVID-19 pandemic. There have been four waves of pandemics with over 228,000 people infected, causing 3,000 deaths. The fatality rate in Kosovo has been about 2.6 registered deaths per 100 cases which are higher than some comparable countries in the region (WHO, 2022). Kosovo has also experienced an economic contraction of 6.9% because of a decline in diaspora tourism and consumption but a deep recession was halted due to Government support and a surge in remittance receipts and exports. The pre-existing vulnerabilities in Kosovo, among others, the relatively low spending on healthcare with 2.5% of GDP compared to 12.6% in OECD countries, the high poverty rate with 24.4% of the population compared to 2.9% in OECD countries, the high unemployment rate with 25.7% compared to 5.8% in OECD countries and low spending for social protection with 6.5% of GDP compared to 20.1% in OECD countries has made navigation through pandemic challenging in many aspects (OECD, 2022). As a result, COVID-19 has widened the gap of health, social and economical inequalities with many people not being able to afford social distancing, take a leave from work when ill, or afford health treatment. Women have been one of the most hard-hit groups within the population considering they are more likely to be unemployed or employed in precarious jobs – making up most frontline workers in healthcare, spending more time on unpaid domestic work thus taking over most of the workload in the family caring for children and elderly.

Literature Considerations on Gender-Based Violence and Intersectionality

The violence against women has begun to receive the deserved attention in the seventies, due to an increase in sensitivity in public opinion towards violence in

general influenced by protests in Western Europe, the War in Southeast Asia, and Feminist Movements (Toffanin, 2012). During this time, the feminist theorists expanded the sociological research on power, violence, and bodies to include masculine power and violence. The landscape of research began to include both structural features of the society such as violence amongst couples, families, and the practices within various institutional settings such as schools, governmental agencies, media, and religious institutions (Toffanin, 2012). The patriarchal feminism untangled violence against women from family and domestic violence and brought focus on gender asymmetries acknowledging that historically men have been violent toward women (Toffanin, 2012). With this, a definition of patriarchalism became more obvious mainly highlighting the power relationships by which men dominate women (Beechey, 1979). Studies raised the critical need to study violence against women as a structured power within the patriarchal social order (Hester et al., 1996). They also raised the importance of investigating how violence and patriarchal social order affects women even when violence is not present because power can be multidimensional, it can alter other people's behavior even when it was not directly exercised (Lukes, 1974). What women wear, how they act, and what they can do and not do in their everyday lives, should conform to the social order in patriarchal societies. Within this order, sometimes the expectation is that women should avoid violence thus they are often accused of provoking violence. Therefore, recognizing other dimensions of power and patriarchal social order, studies have focused not only on events when violence is exercised but also on the dynamic of how violence is developed (Dobash et al., 1992). Some studies have also focused on how societies normalize gender-based violence and how women are expected to avoid violence (McKie, 2006).

In Kosovo, gender-based violence is studied mainly in the context of domestic violence. Authors Gollopeni and Kamberi (2021) researched indicators of domestic violence in Kosovo during COVID-19 and quarantine. Through a survey with 908 respondents conducted between July 27 to August 23, 2020, they found that the leading causes of domestic violence during pandemics were stress (18.9%), socio-economic insecurity (11.4%), and the limited physical space for quarantine in the house/apartment (4.4%). Moreover, the research also analyses the statistical data provided by Kosovo police noting an increase in cases of domestic violence by 19.75% during the quarantine period between March-June 2020 in Kosovo (Gallopeni et al., 2020). Kosumi (2021) researched the legal and other mechanisms that enable protection from domestic violence in Kosovo. The scope of analysis includes Laws that protect from domestic violence, courts, and prosecutorial mechanisms to investigate and prosecute domestic violence. The findings show that legislation in Kosovo that protects from domestic violence is advanced, however, its implementation is challenged due to cultural barriers that keep issues of domestic violence as a private matter for families, and therefore legal remedies are often far to reach for the victims

(Kosumi, 2021). Similarly, Macastena (2019) has researched the laws in Kosovo and indicated that the laws that protect against domestic violence have improved over the years and flag the persisting influence of customary law on the attitudes of the legal practitioners when addressing gender-based violence leading to gender bias in the court proceedings. The study also discussed the concepts of gender and violence arguing that such concepts are embedded in the laws and well defined, however, the society has a different understanding of these concepts depending on their socio-demographic circumstances and levels of education (Macastena, 2019).

Kelmendi and Baumgartner (2017) research show that there are gender differences in intimate partner violence in Kosovo, where men reported high levels of perpetrated violence towards their partner 43.4%, as opposed to females 40.6% (Kelmendi et al., 2017). Moreover, men that were more exposed to violence in their families during childhood had larger correlations with their tolerant attitudes towards exercising intimate partner violence in their relationships. Whereas women are found to cause minor acts of violence and could have been perpetrated in a distinctive context (as opposed to men) and supposedly in self-defense. Altogether, the authors note that the findings of this study reflect the cultural context of patriarchal structure, gender inequality, and rigid gender roles that continue to strongly influence males' tolerant attitudes towards violence against women (Kelmendi et al., 2017). Similarly, a survey from the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) on the safety and well-being of women in Kosovo finds that 64% of women surveyed think violence exercised by partners, acquaintances, or strangers toward women is common. When asked about the forms of violence the respondent women have experienced, more than a half 54% said to have experienced psychological, physical, or sexual violence at the hands of an intimate partner since the age of 15, and nearly 29% said that they have experienced sexual harassment (OSCE, 2019). Similarly, a survey by Kosovo Women's Network in 2015 found that about 21% of respondents believe that is acceptable for a husband to sometimes hit his wife, and 32% think that when couples have disagreements, it is natural that sometimes physical violence occurs (Farnsworth et al., 2015). This shows that violence against women is somehow normalized in Kosovo society.

Arenliu, et al. (2019) studied the societal norms that influence individuals to have tolerant attitudes toward intimate partner violence against women in Kosovo. The study applied quantitative research utilizing the Multiple Indicator Cluster Survey (MICS) conducted by UNICEF to find that families in Kosovo continue to be heavily influenced by patriarchal family structures that impose traditional social norms and cultural attitudes affecting more tolerant approaches to violence against women. More specifically, the research results show that also women expressed tolerant attitudes towards intimate partner violence against women, especially the ones associated with the factors of living in rural areas, lower education and incomes, and less access to media. Also, younger men expressed more tolerant attitudes toward

intimate partner violence against women as opposed to the elderly, indicating that youngsters are becoming more conservative towards gender equality in Kosovo society. The authors argue that dominance of patriarchal values or limited socio-economic opportunities for women preserve traditional gender role restrictions thus tolerating attitudes to violence against women in situations when women do not perform in their expected roles. This argument is further strengthened when considering the findings that women with lower education and incomes embrace similar values toward intimate partner violence since they are more likely to be subordinate, powerless, and economically dependent on men (Arëliu et al., 2019).

Moreover, the roots of gender-based violence originate from the culture of patriarchy that continues to be dominant in Kosovo society (AGE, 2020). These patriarchal values favor the dominant male's role in the family and public life, whereas women are expected to perform in traditional roles of taking care of children and households. As a result, women's labor force participation is relatively low, at only 12.7%, and with an economic inactivity rate of 80% (GAP, 2017). Women are also limited in property ownership, with only 20% of immovable properties registered in women's names, which restricts women from options to get out of abusive relationships (Limani et al., 2018). These factors have indirect effects on women's abilities to influence political decisions that will help improve the position of women in society. And even when women aspire and engage in politics or hold political positions, they are challenged with stigma and public intimidation (Limani, 2019). This diminishes women's interest to hold public decision-making posts, where only 11.9% of women in Kosovo held an important public decision-making role in 2018 (BGRG, 2019).

Some women are more likely to experience violence because their gender intersects with other social factors such as age, class, race, disability, religion, and sexual orientation to put them more at risk for violence. In this context, intersectionality theory studies how identity influences one's experiences with violence. Marginalized groups within society may experience violence differently even when encountered with the same system of violence. In this regard, Crenshaw (1991) introduced the intersectionality approach to examine how race and gender interact in making women of color have different experiences when faced with a system of oppression in the United States. As a result, race and gender interact to create multiple aspects of identity in relevance to the constructed social world (Crenshaw, 1991). Intersectionality can also be applied to policy making in considering how government actions and inactions can impact people disproportionately. A study conducted by Lombardo et al. 2016, argues that European policies on gender-based violence in the period 2000–2014 would enhance substantially the inclusiveness and gender equality should intersectionality had been taken into consideration (p.8). Therefore, even though limited, intersectionality studies on gender-based violence in the Western Balkan Region region show that Roma women continue to experience

discrimination and social exclusion because of their ethnicity, race, gender, class, and education (Milenković, 2018).

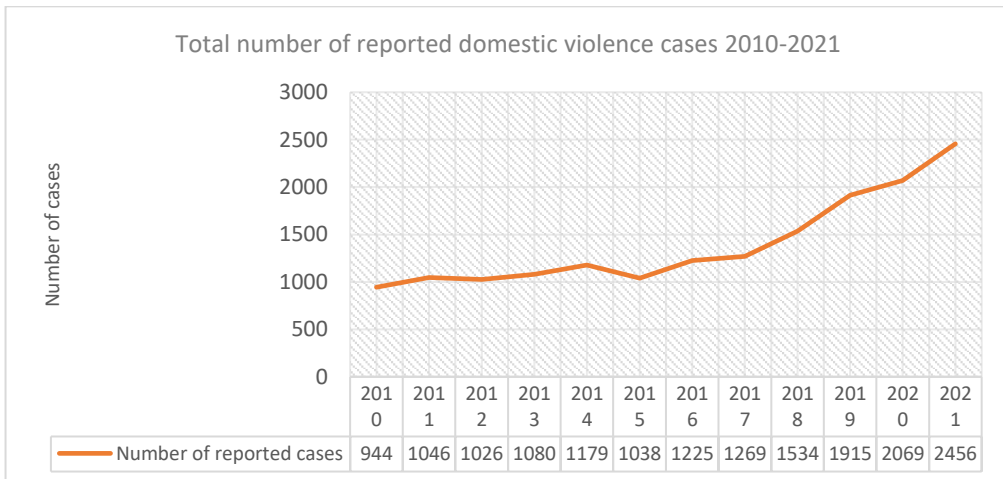
Methodology

In this study, we use a mixed-methods approach, utilizing quantitative and qualitative methods to investigate gender-based violence (GBV) during the COVID-19 pandemic. Quantitative methods include statistical data on domestic violence from Kosovo Police. These data provide information on the number of domestic violence cases reported from 2006-2021. We use these data to measure the trends of domestic and gender-based violence before and during COVID-19. The qualitative methods are used in analyzing the government measures related to COVID-19 and policies on gender-based violence. To provide contextual information, we also include reports from various local and international organizations. Using an intersectional approach, we pay special attention to cases and experiences of women from minority communities whose multidimensional identities make them more prone to discrimination.

Analyses and Discussion

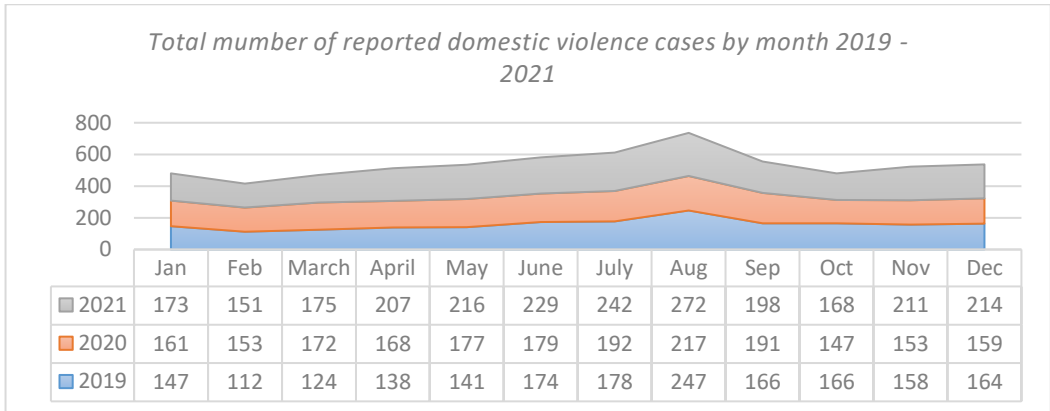
Institutional Data on Domestic Violence

The epidemic of domestic violence¹ in Kosovo has been widespread for many years. The institutional data on reported cases show that domestic violence has had a drastic increase between 2010 and 2021. In terms of percentage, this increase is 147% in reported domestic violence cases between 2010 and 2021.

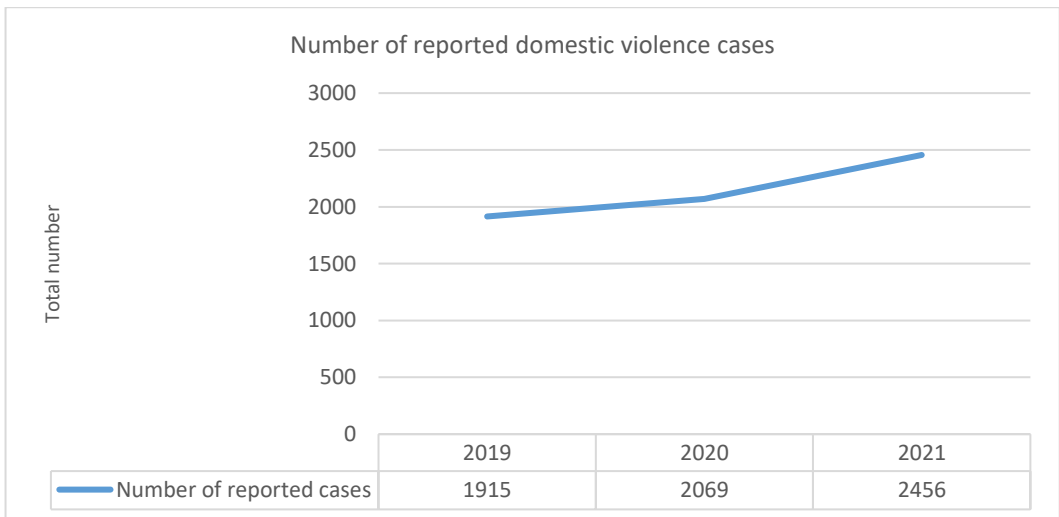


¹ Domestic Violence, among others, includes also acts of physical, sexual, and other forms of violence perpetrated against women. Kosovo institutions and laws capture data within the terminology of domestic violence, therefore the data analysis in this research will use similar terminology.

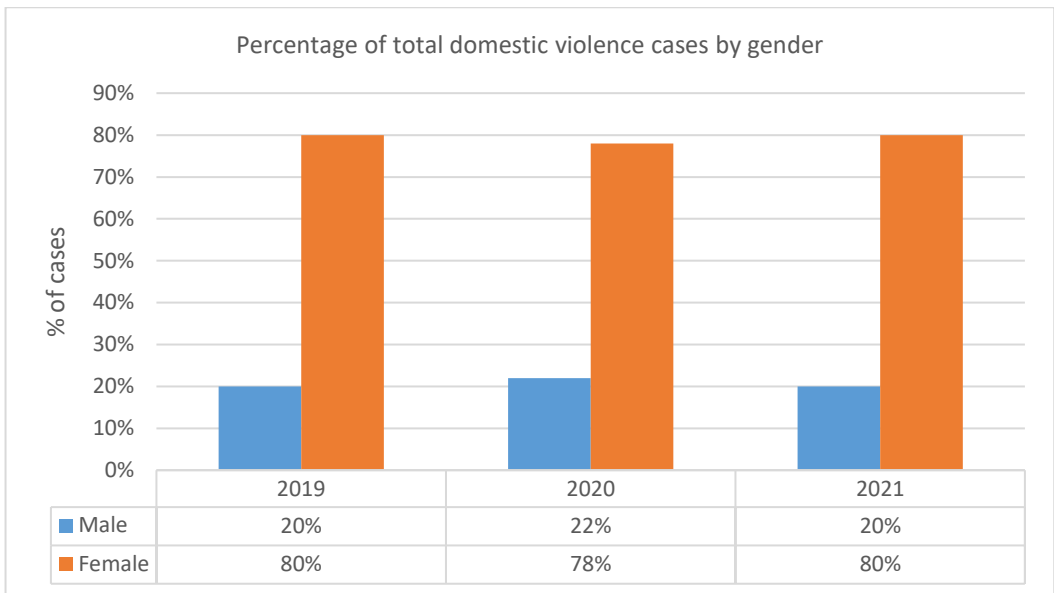
Domestic violence during COVID-19 pandemics has continued to increase. The Kosovo Police data shows that in the first seven months of the pandemic, or between March 2020 to September 2020, the reported cases of domestic violence increased by about 11%, when compared to the similar period of the previous year in 2019. Moreover, the increase seems to follow similar trends in 2021.



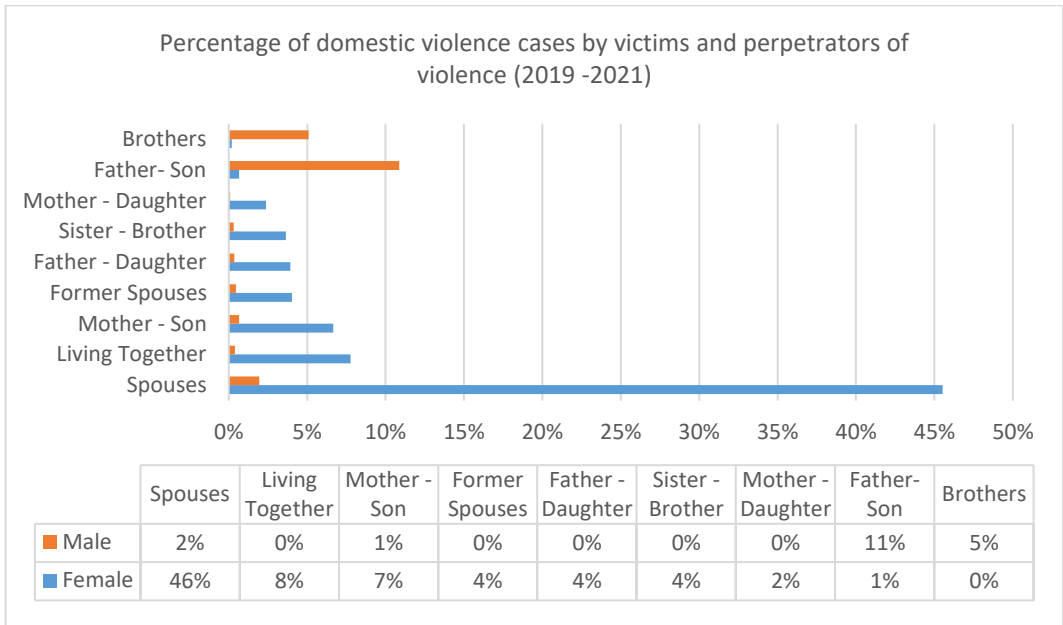
However, the total number of reported cases in pandemic years in 2020 and 2021 increased by 28% compared to the pre-pandemic year of 2019.



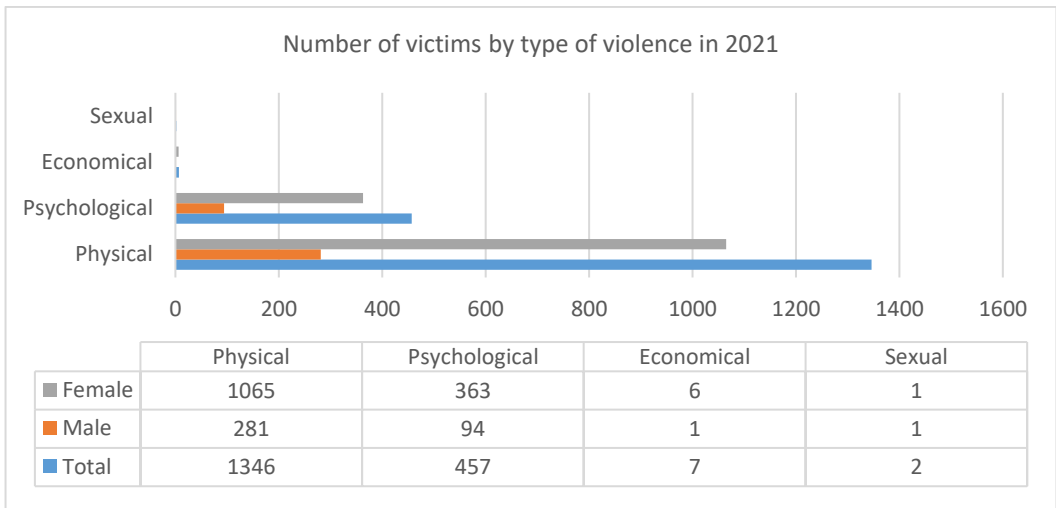
Women remain disproportionately affected by violence. Of the total domestic violence cases reported in 2021, 80% of victims were women. In 2020 there was a slight decrease in this percentage, where women made up about 78% of victims, whereas, in 2019, women made up 80% of victims of domestic violence in Kosovo.



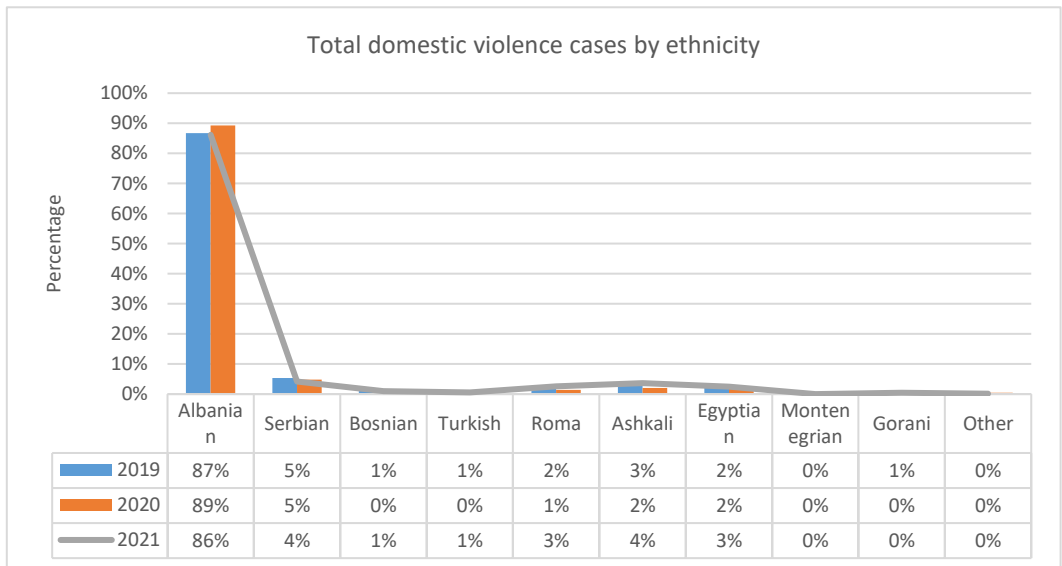
When looking at the perpetrators of violence based on the reported cases between 2019-2021, in most cases the violence is exercised by men. For example, 46% of reported cases are from women who experienced violence from their spouse, compared to 2% of cases reported where the victims are men. Women who live together with their partners are victims in 8% of cases compared to 0% of men. Former spouses also engage in violence towards their former wives, where women make up 4% of reported cases of domestic violence compared to 0% of men. The violence is common in other relationships within the family, for example, mothers experienced violence from their sons in 7% of reported cases, and daughters experienced violence from their fathers and brothers in 4% of reported cases. Violence between men within the family is also common. For example, violence among fathers and sons makes up to 11% of reported cases, and violence amongst brothers makes up to 5% of reported cases.



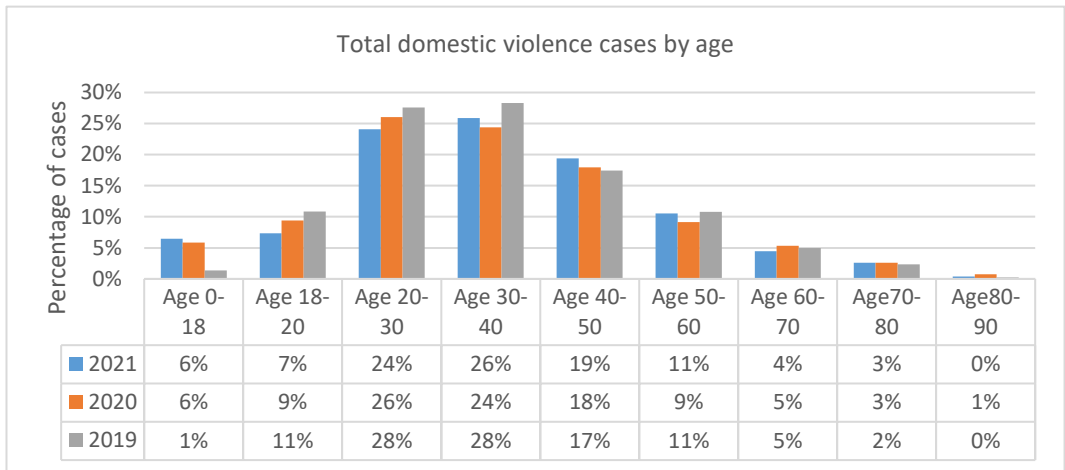
The most common type of violence is physical and psychological violence within families. From all the reported cases in 2021, about 1065 women have experienced physical violence compared to 281 men. Women also experience more psychological violence whereas in 2021 about 363 women reported psychological violence compared to 94 men. Economical and sexual violence is less common compared to physical and psychological violence.



When data analyses are performed by ethnicity, Albanians make up the biggest share of domestic violence cases or 87%, 89%, and 86% of cases between 2019-2021, followed by Serbians with around 4%- 5%, Ashkali between 2% to 4%, Roma and Egyptians between 2% to 3%, Bosnians, Turkish and Gorani show between zero to 1% of reported cases of domestic violence.



Domestic violence in Kosovo affects all ages but some are affected more severely. The most affected group are those between the ages 20 to 30 and 30 to 40 years old. However, during the pandemic years in 2020 and 2021, there has also been an increase in violence against children, aged 0-18 and elderly over 70 years old. The effects of pandemics in closing services for children and elderly (daily cares centers and other elderly services), as well as other economic and social stressors within families, could explain this increased violence against children and the elderly. This is an important area to examine by scholars in the future, to untangle more thoroughly the causes of exacerbated violence against children and the elderly during COVID-19 pandemics.



Institutional Measures during the COVID-19 pandemic

The challenges of crisis-management during COVID-19 from the Kosovo government and the attention given to intersectionality issues were overshadowed by the political instability that led to two changes of governments during the first months of the COVID-19 pandemic in 2020. The falling of the government on March 25th, 2020 complicated Kosovo’s initial response to the health emergency that was declared on March 11th, leading to overall weak coordination of the crisis management and overlooking of citizens’ needs in various sectors due to shifted attention toward new elections and forming of a government (Gerguri, 2021; Distler, 2020).

The Kosovo institutions undertook several measures to prevent the spread of the virus during the COVID-19 pandemic. The state of health emergency was declared on March 11th, the day when the first case of COVID-19 was declared in Kosovo. Strict measures were enforced to shut down all public and private institutions, retail businesses, restaurants, and service industry, cancelations of flights, closure of all land borders, and the restriction for movement of citizens and private cars within specific short-term timeframes only, mainly for essential or emergency needs (Government of Kosovo, 2020). Many countries globally have been comforting the COVID-19 spread through emergency measures; however, these measures did not always consider the different needs of women and men and vulnerable groups of the society (Wenham et al., 2020). This was true for Kosovo as well, since the government measures to prevent the spread of the virus were mainly one size fits all and lacked gender-based analysis, and often overlooked the needs of the most vulnerable groups (KWN, 2020).

One of the vulnerable groups affected negatively by the COVID-19 measures in Kosovo were the victims of domestic violence and gender-based violence. The isolation and

quarantine at home increased the risks of exposure to violence, particularly for women and children, as they were trapped with the abusive perpetrators at home (CoE, 2020A; SGG, 2020). Additionally, COVID-19 measures affected services for victims such as shelters for victims of violence against women leading to decreased ability to shelter victims due to capacity, distance requirements, and quarantine requirements. For many shelters of violence against women in Kosovo, these measures were impossible to implement in a short time and the offering of services from shelter workers became problematic due to their fear of infection (KWN, 2020). As a result, the Ministry of Health which was leading the works and decisions on the management of public health emergency in Kosovo took a decision that the stay-at-home orders and strict curfews did not apply to citizens that are experiencing violence and decided to provide temporary shelter for all victims of domestic violence and gender-based violence in student dormitories in Pristina (Ministry of Health, 2020). The later measure aimed to prevent the risks of the COVID-19 virus spread in the shelters of violence against women, therefore the victims of domestic and gender-based violence were quarantined in student dormitories for 14 days and then transferred to specialized shelters. With this action, the Ministry of Health guaranteed a temporary quarantine location and security for victims of domestic violence and gender-based violence, however, this location of quarantine did not offer additional specialized services that are most needed and mandatory such as psychological support and support from trained social workers. Victims of domestic and gender-based violence experience trauma and support from specialized service providers is of utmost importance to ensure their health and wellbeing.

Furthermore, the Ministry of Health shared information about this temporary shelter decision with various institutions and organizations publicly, which increased the vulnerability of victims as disclosing their sheltering location could expose the victims to additional threats and risks. The non-disclosing of the shelter locations of victims of gender-based violence is recommended by international conventions, to ensure the safety and security of the victims (CoE, 2021).

Gender-based violence within the domestic violence domain

Gender-based violence and violence against women in Kosovo continue to be treated within the domestic violence domain, leading to concerns that it does not address entirely the nature of the gender-based violence or violence against women in the country. The current law on Protection against Domestic Violence in Kosovo (Law No.03/L -182) sets rights and institutional mechanisms to prevent and combat domestic violence. It covers all forms of domestic violence occurring within the family nucleus, in the framework of coexistence between the members. As such, it does not include provisions of protection against gender-based violence which would recognize the aspects of violence perpetrated against women for the mere fact of being one (KWN, 2021). The statistical reports on total cases of domestic violence

indicate the gravity of gender-based violence, showing that women made up 80% of the victims in the total of the reported cases in 2021 (Kosovo Police, 2021). Also, Kosovars continue to consider violence, particularly domestic violence, a private matter, and as such gender-based violence often continues to be hidden, without ever being reported (OSCE, 2019). Moreover, cases of gender-based violence occurring outside the family nucleus, as they may occur in other countless settings become difficult to be treated within the justice system when the law focuses solely on domestic violence.

Moreover, the National Strategy on Protection from Domestic Violence and its Action Plan 2016-2020 is well developed and includes objectives with estimated costing and financing sources (Ministry of Justice, 2016). However, by definition, this strategy and its objectives focus on addressing domestic violence and do not address other forms of gender-based violence (KWN, 2021). This approach contributes to insufficient understanding of gender-based violence among institutions and other service providers, which may operate on basis of the domestic violence definition (Krol et al. 2018). Finally, addressing gender-based violence limited to the domain of domestic violence is a barrier to recognizing a much broader social problem, that of power imbalances and gender-based discrimination in Kosovo society. The gender-based violence that occurs in many families in Kosovo reflects patriarchal values and predefined gender roles that have been harmful to women for many years now (Farnsworth et al., 2008).

Positive developments in enhancing legislation to address forms of gender-based violence in Kosovo occurred in 2019 with the amending of the Criminal Code of Kosovo (CCK) that incorporated criminal offenses in compliance with the Council of Europe Convention on Preventing and Combating Violence against Women and Domestic Violence – Istanbul Convention, such as domestic violence, sexual harassment, and female genital mutilation. Also, as of 25 September 2020, the Kosovo Assembly has approved constitutional amendments that enable direct applicability in its legislation to the Istanbul Convention¹. This important milestone mandates Kosovo institutions to amend relevant laws to comply with the Istanbul Convention provisions on covering gender-based violence or violence against women in all prevention, protection, and combating domains (CoE, 2020b).

Conclusions

COVID-19 pandemic has been challenging for many countries around the world because, in absence of a vaccine or treatment, Governments were forced to take strict measures including quarantine and social distancing to contain or reduce the spread of the virus. These measures have been difficult for vulnerable groups within societies

¹ The IC is now applicable under Article 22 [Direct Applicability of International Agreements and Instruments]

since they often rely on services that cannot be provided without social contact. Women in Kosovo have been disproportionately affected by COVID-19-related measures because they are vulnerable to domestic violence, and the quarantine measures-imposed isolation at home, and increased the burden of stress and economic uncertainty, leading to women being more exposed to violence perpetrated mainly by male members of the family. Moreover, previous research suggests that women in Kosovo live in a society dominated by patriarchal values where limited socio-economic opportunities for women preserve traditional gender roles and there is in general a tolerance towards violence against women in situations when women do not perform in the expected roles.

The reports from the Kosovo Police on the total reported cases of domestic violence in Kosovo show that the trend of domestic violence has more than doubled since 2006. Also, in the first seven months of the pandemic, there has been an increase of 11% in domestic violence cases. Overall, since the pandemic started in March 2020 and until the end of 2021, there has been an increase of 28% in domestic violence cases. Women are in 80% of cases victims of domestic violence, whereas most perpetrators of violence were men members of the family including spouses, former spouses, partners living together, fathers, and brothers. Also, data show that during pandemics, trends of violence against children aged 0-18 and elderly over 70 years old have increased. This shows that pressure within families during pandemics has drastically increased, with women, children, and the elderly having been mostly affected by domestic violence. While issues with domestic violence against children and the elderly are beyond the scope of this study, we assume that a deteriorated mental well-being, closure of schools, along with social and economic uncertainty during pandemics has led to these groups being a target of domestic violence. Lastly, when intersectionality considerations are considered, the data on domestic violence cases reported to Kosovo Police show that Albanians make up the majority of reported cases of domestic violence during a pandemic. Also, there has been an increase in cases of domestic violence reported by Serb, Roma, Ashkali, and Egyptian communities in 2020 and 2021 when compared with 2019.

The political instability that predominated the political landscape in Kosovo during the very first months of the pandemics has influenced the priorities and effectiveness in managing the pandemic. The actions taken by the government were focused on containing the spread of the virus, often not taking well analyzed or informed decisions about how the confinement and social isolation actions would influence domestic and gender-based violence. Even when the government responded to calls for finding quick sheltering solutions for the victims of domestic violence, these actions did not enable sufficient conditions and treatment for the victims as required by law.

As the COVID-19 pandemic measures are eased in Kosovo with vaccine and more treatment becoming available, there is a critical need to review the true impact of the pandemic on gender-based violence and other groups in society whose multilayered social identities has put them at greater risk for experiencing violence, including people with disabilities or special needs. Children, the elderly, and women from Roma, Ashkali, and Egyptian communities deserve special attention since the data analysis in our study shows that they have also been among those disproportionately affected by violence during the COVID-19 pandemic.

Kosovo should enhance the legislation to untangle gender-based violence from the domestic violence domain. This is very important because previous research informs that when the focus is shifted and gender-based violence is addressed as such, the societies begin to address issues that enable male dominance and their violence towards women. This includes disentangling the patriarchal social order which enables asymmetries of power within genders and enables institutions to address the multidimensional nature of power that men exercise over women, even in cases when violence is not directly exercised. Lastly, incorporating intersectionalities within government actions in Kosovo is critical at any time, but especially when faced with public health emergencies, considering that gender intersects with other social factors leading to making some groups more vulnerable to violence and other forms of discrimination.

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