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Medicine of the Future: The Power of Artificial Intelligence (AI) and Big Data in Healthcare¹

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ABSTRACT: Artificial Intelligence (AI), Robotics and Big Data revolutionized the world. Digitalization opened unprecedented opportunities and potentials in healthcare. No other scientific field grants as much hope in the determination of life and death and fastest-pace innovation potential with economically highest profit margin prospects as does medical care. The currently ongoing digital disruption enabled big data-driven tailored personal medical care. Efficiency, precision and better quality work are beneficial advancements of AI and big data in the healthcare sector. Decentralized preventive healthcare and telemedicine open access to personalized, affordable healthcare. The currently ongoing COVID-19 crisis draws attention to international differences in healthcare. The article presents digitalization in the healthcare sector in North America and Europe in order to derive inferences on opportunities to establish a leadership in digitalized, tailored healthcare solutions for individual well-being and public care.

KEYWORDS: Access to healthcare, Advancements, Apps, Artificial Intelligence (AI), Coronavirus, Corruption-free maximization of excellence and precision, COVID-19, Big data, Decentralized grids, Economic growth, Europe, Healthcare, Innovation, Market disruption, Market entrance, North America, Pandemic, Robotics, Targeted aid, Telemedicine

We live in the age of big data. Information sharing has grown exponentially in the last decade. In the medical sector, big data allows early disease intervention and reduces adverse reactions of patients due to lowered medical errors and better understanding of comorbidity. Novel technology can cross-link healthcare providers and professions and intensify research collaborations through social networks. Disease prevention is enabled through the pre-identification of risk factors for populations. Heightened patient safety is offered through directly delivered information and better prediction of outcomes by understanding demographic challenges and health trends around the world. Transmission pathways and knowledge dissemination improve the efficiency and effectiveness of healthcare (Puaschunder 2019b, 2020b).

The AI healthcare revolution features unprecedented big data generating, computational power and information storage capabilities. Big data and computational power hold unprecedented scientific and financial opportunities, such as sophisticated

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crowd understanding, trends prediction and preventive healthcare control, e.g. genetic testing. The use of big data has improved the effectiveness and quality of healthcare to unprecedented dimensions (Puaschunder 2020b). In the currently ongoing introduction of algorithmic analysis of healthcare data, the emerging potentials of automated control hold extraordinary opportunities for improving human life (Puaschunder 2019a). Big data and decentralized information sharing grids grant access to targeted aid to a wider community as ever before (Puaschunder 2019c, d). Novel technologies offer luxuries of affordability and democratization of access to services as they will be – on the long run – commercially more affordable and readily available to serve all humanity in ways outperforming any human ever having lived (Hayes 2018).

With AI and inferences derived from big data serving economic purposes with unprecedented excellence, the question arises how to reap the benefits of AI but also regulate this new market development to handle potential societal downfalls and minimize risks, such as privacy infringements and social stratification based on big data insights? As emerging global trend, big data derived inferences raise high expectations but also grave concerns (Cellan-Jones 2018; Sofge 2015; United Nations 2017). In the healthcare sector, novel technologies open gates to unprecedented genetic monitoring capacities that coupled with social monitoring through biometric screening implies novel ethical predicaments. With the dramatic growth in diversity and entrance of emerging technologies in today's societies, the socio-economic and ethical complexity of these challenges is on the rise (Meghdari & Alemi 2018). Scientists, policy makers and practitioners have turned to demand the creation of a framework on AI ethics.

The big data revolution in the healthcare sector varies in the international arena. This report addresses AI and big data in the healthcare sector from an international perspective covering North America and Europe and a particular focus on the European Union being at the forefront of developing guidelines on the use of AI for the benefit of humankind (<https://digitales.wien.gv.at/site/stadt-wien-entwickelt-strategie-zum-einsatz-kuenstlicher-intelligenz/>). Technical advancements and big data insights – at the same time – increase costs for a whole-roundedly healthy lifestyle. Particularly in Western Europe, the currently tipping demographic pyramid of an aging population coupled with obstacles to integrate migrants long-term to rejuvenate the population and boost economic output impose challenges for policy makers and insurance practitioners alike to finance public healthcare. Studies in the US found that 70% of all health related costs are accrued during the last few weeks of peoples' living. In Austria, healthcare cost are expected to double in this decade. This predicament of rising costs of digitalized medical care of an aging Western world population, demands for innovatively generating funds and fiscal space to finance the most innovative global healthcare solutions. The following article addresses innovations and advancements of AI, big data and robotics in Europe and North America in order to derive inferences about the diversified advantages but also shed light at ethical cliffs we may want to face in the introduction of digitalization for global healthcare.

Europe

In Europe, the European Union is at the forefront to create a responsible, trustworthy AI, which falls in line with key ethical and legal principles to uphold highest social standards (Renda 2019b). The European Union accounted for 8 percent of global AI equity investment in 2017, which is 1 percent of this investment in 2013. However, member states varied widely in terms of investment levels. Start-ups in the United Kingdom received 55 percent of the European Union total investment between 2011 and mid-2018, followed by German (14 percent) and French ventures (13 percent). This means the remaining 25 countries shared less than 20 percent of all private AI equity investments received in the European Union (OECD 2015, 2019).

While North America and Asia appear to have financial interest and leadership advantages at stake; Europe appears more trying to fill a niche in the alignment of AI with economic, social and environmental goals, such as outlined in the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). While medical data is more available in Europe to maintain national security in universal healthcare providing territories, the general data access and reaping benefits from individual consumer data appears more protected in Europe than any other continent. International companies that offer products to European citizens are subject to European legislative privacy protection.

The massive amount of information collected will keep challenging privacy. Governments are now updating their privacy legislation to respond to privacy concerns fueled by the public outcry against massive data breaches and the unfettered use of data by large companies. Consumers have become increasingly concerned with the potential misuse of their personal information. In 2015, the European Commission conducted a survey carried out in 28 member states of the European Union that demonstrated that roughly seven out of 10 people expressed concern about their information being used for a different purpose than the one for which it was collected. The EU and international regulators have taken an active interest in AI, not only recognizing its benefits but also being mindful of potential risks and unintended consequences. Based on human dignity of privacy, which The Lisbon Treaty traces back as a quasi-human right, the European Union incepted the General Data Protection Shield (GDPR) in April 2016 as a comprehensive set of rules designed to keep the personal data of all EU citizens collected by any organization safe from unauthorized access or use. Aimed at strengthening the rights of natural persons and to harmonize national laws on data protection, companies must now be clear and concise about their collection and use of personal data, and indicate why the data is being collected and whether it will be used to create profiles of people's actions and habits. In other words, organizations must be transparent about the type of information they collect about consumers and how this information will be used. Around the world, internet companies have to become attentive to GDPR, which establishes attention to data minimization, care of sensitive data, respect for the right to be forgotten, data portability and data protection by design. This regulation is regarded as the foundation for EU data protection rules and has direct impact on all issues related to big data in healthcare.

Critics contend that the implementation of data administration remains at the national level. So far, the GDPR is believed to have raised the regulatory costs of new technologies – a trend which is expected to rise in the near future. GDPR presents an obstacle to developers looking to design more complex and sophisticated algorithms. GDPR appears to hit small and medium sized companies harder than large companies that have higher data-retrieved other financial and legislative support to comply. Human privacy can be – as in North America – infringed upon in the state of emergency and for national security purposes. Future legislative advancements are expected to concern taxation of big data generated revenues (Madsbjerg, 2017).

Transparency and communication are key pillars of the European Union (Mantl 2015, 2016). Digitalization requires to stretch the expertise of the European Union in the legal, ethical and design of communication, big data and AI (Mantl, Ochs & Pacheco 2006; Mantl & Winkelhofer 2013). As for AI and robotics, the EU is on the forefront to have laid a concrete foundation of its AI policy since 2016, when the European Parliament adopted its first draft resolution on “Civil Law Rules for Robotics.” That initiative called for attributing both “rights and duties” to smart autonomous robots (EGE 2018). In the pursuit of a digital single market strategy (Mantl 2016), the European Commission leads the communication and directive on AI. In April 2018, following a political agreement between 24 member states and Norway on

cooperation in AI, the European Commission Communication on “Artificial Intelligence for Europe” adopted a strategy for the EU to lead the way in developing and using AI for good and for all, building on its values and its strengths. Thereby the Commission made explicit reference to the GDPR as well as to Article 2 of the Treaty on EU, which mentions explicitly “human dignity, freedom, democracy, equality, the rule of law and respect for human rights, including the rights of persons belonging to minorities; and a “society in which pluralism, non-discrimination, tolerance, justice, solidarity and equality between women and men prevail.” The Communication also announced the adoption of a series of initiatives on AI, including the creation of a High-Level Expert Group on AI (AI HLEG), as well as the launch of an AI Alliance, which quickly attracted many adherents – 2,656 participants had registered as of 4 February 2019. The AI HLEG, counting 52 experts, was tasked with the definition of ethical guidelines, a first draft of which was published in December 2018; as well as the formulation of policy and investment recommendations by mid-2019 (Renda, 2019b). This report stresses the importance of future ethical guidelines on AI alongside granting an analysis of the possible content of the policy and investment recommendations (Renda, 2019b).

The European Group on Ethics in Science and New Technologies, an independent advisory body of the President of the European Commission, produced a statement on Artificial Intelligence, Robotics and ‘Autonomous Systems’ (EGE 2018), which stressed the importance of human dignity, autonomy, responsibility, justice, equity and solidarity, democracy, rule of law and accountability, security, safety, and bodily and mental integrity, data protection and privacy as well as sustainability when it comes to civil law codifications on AI (Renda 2019a). Additional codification in this realm are the Asilomar AI Principles, the Montreal Declaration for Responsible AI, the General Principles of the Ethically Aligned Design, and the five principles for AI developed by the UK House of Lords (2018) and the Tenets of the Partnership on AI (2018). Together, these documents hold about 50 different principles (Renda 2018, 2019a, b).

Fundamental principles include the lawful conduct around AI and a non-maleficence principle the urgency to do no harm. Protection of human integrity and dignity, security and privacy are stressed. Responsible AI development is meant to ensure the complementarity with humans enabled through responsible governance of monitoring, control and feedback but also AI transparency and explainability. Lastly, sustainable AI endeavors target at good benevolence principles for the use of AI, such as harmony with SDGs and limited or zero carbon footprint, quality education and promotion of female empowerment for industry, innovation and infrastructure (Renda 2019b). As borderline cases for the application of AI with dignity are predictive policing, social credit scores, facial and body recognition, content filtering and conversational bots (Renda 2019b). Regulation is targeted at putting respective risk management tools in place. In the implementation, core values are accountability in data governance, accessibility and usability of technologies, human oversight, non-discrimination and respect for human autonomy, privacy and robustness in terms of security risks and safety (Renda 2019b).

Problematic appears that the UK credit score system uses phone data and rental payments to filter job applications and determine access to social services and targeted advertisements (Hall & McCann 2018; Williams 2018). The German universal credit rating system also tracks geolocation and health records to determine access to credit and health insurance (Schaer 2018). Internet appearances and social online media behavior (e.g. LinkedIn) becomes the basis to monitor tax compliance.

North America

The United States (US) have a corporate approach to AI grounded in R&D of tech giants and leading universities in the field. In May 2018, the White House announced its broad intention to maintain American leadership in AI via public R&D and removed barriers to innovation. Unlike the EU, US federal lawmakers have yet to establish regulations to govern the use of personal information in the AI world. Sensing the inevitability of data regulation, some large American companies are actively engaging in the introduction of regulation on AI, robotics and big data use in the United States. On January 18, 2019, Accenture released a report outlining a framework to assist US federal agencies to evaluate, deploy and monitor AI systems. More recently, the US government's Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency (DARPA) announced the so-called "AI Next" programme, a \$2 billion investment plan aimed at addressing the perceived limitations of current AI technologies, including excessive data-dependency, lack of explainability and contextual reasoning. The US federal government as a whole does not seem likely to adopt a common strategy for responsible AI any time soon (Renda 2019a).

The American privacy and big data approach is more sector specific. Commercial privacy is often discussed through an economic lens. US rights to data are mainly regulated by the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) and the Federal Trade Commission (FTC) that concerns to eradicate unfair and deceptive market activities and sanction privacy infringements (<https://www.lexology.com/library/detail.aspx?g=4284727f-3bec-43e5-b230-fad2742dd4fb>). The FTC uses a wide variety of data security measures. The split delegation of FCC and FTC, however, appears to heighten bureaucratic and regulatory costs while lowering the potential of industry control mechanisms. In general, corporations are obliged to inform the FTC about data protection and data integrity means. The US Congress most recently concerned big data revenue gains (Madsbjerg 2017). Institutional stakeholders on AI, robotics and big data frequently meet at the National Academy of Sciences.

In Canada, the intended use of data has to be appropriately disclosed and compliant with legislation such as the *Personal Information Protection and Electronic Documents Act* ("PIPEDA") (<https://www.lexology.com/library/detail.aspx?g=4284727f-3bec-43e5-b230-fad2742dd4fb>). The Breach of Security Safeguards Regulations under PIPEDA set forth certain mandatory requirements for organizations applicable in the event of a data breach. PIPEDA defines a breach of security safeguards as "the loss of, unauthorized access to or unauthorized disclosure of personal information resulting from a breach of an organization's security safeguards." Organizations will need to not only evaluate their compliance in terms of privacy legislation, but also ensure that their data handling practices are sufficiently secure to prevent cybersecurity breaches.

Start-ups operating in the United States account for most AI start-up equity investments worldwide as the United States accounts for 70-80 percent of global venture capital investments across all technologies (Breschi, Lassébie & Menon, 2018; OECD, 2019). In 2019, the U.S. President announced a nearly \$1 billion federal commitment towards AI research in seeking the competitive edge over AI (Castellanos, 2019). A White House plan calls for government agencies to develop ethical AI systems and shared public data sets for AI training to improve human-machine interactions among other initiatives.

International comparison

Overall, the EU has a competitive advantage over the US in the healthcare sector as for a historically-grown wealth of data on a homogenous population ennobled with an ethical

imperative focus. Due to a highly-skilled population, the European continent is a technological innovation leader and picks up technological advancements around the world quickly and efficiently. Europe has a post-war history of stressing ethical considerations in market-driven innovations that it bestows upon scientific advancements – for instance, more precautionary standards in releasing drugs. Europe has an extraordinarily homogeneous population and hosts a major part of pharmaceutical agencies that are relatively independent of market actors – as in the US, for instance, big data insights are regulated by the Federal Trade Commission (FTC) and the Federal Communications Commission (FCC), two agencies that are more market oriented. European citizens pay for free universal healthcare by automatic provision of data. In the age of information, in which big data has become the new untaxed wealth generation means, novel computational advancements can now retrieve medical insights from patient data that can be capitalized, especially for preventive medical care. Contrary to the US, within the EU healthcare is oriented towards preventive rather than emergency and reconstructive medicine and puts a human face on capitalism. The US medical market is more fractionated into public and private sector health and features a more market-focused approach, in which ethics often get sidetracked. Europe can therefore offer the world a big data-driven preventive medical care in the Western tradition with particular attention to ethics (Puaschunder 2020c).

Discussion

In deriving big data inferences in the medical sector, Europe could establish itself as leader on ethical big-data-driven innovation hub (Medianet 2020). An ethical mandate could be promoted of data insights to only be used for the benefit of people but not be turned against human beings. Europe is known for upholding the precautionary principle in many domains – such as climate change mitigation efforts – and especially in medical care and pharmaceutical interventions. Europe could therefore also push for AI and big data innovation under the guiding principle of attention to precautionary principles (Leisure 2020). A stakeholder survey conducted in November 2019 revealed that risks in the use of big data insights, AI and robotics in healthcare include: Data misuse and leakage leading to privacy infringements, as well as biases and errors. Big data insights open gates for health care pricing, stigmatization, social stratification, discrimination and manipulation (Puaschunder 2020a).

Big data in the healthcare sector should only be used with caution and targeted particular information release to avoid discrimination. For instance, only anonymized data slices should be made available to the public in order to avoid stigmatization, gentrification and discrimination based on predictable prevalence within population groups or certain districts (Leisure 2020). Most novel innovations may feature creative design solutions that represent targeted information without revealing a compromising grid of information that would enable to distinguish between sensitive groups (<https://www.berndplank.com/>). For instance, targeted healthcare information could be displayed without revealing a whole grid of information that reveals if certain racial groups or minorities are more likely and prevalent to exhibit certain diseases or psychological impairments.

Data protection through technological advancement, self-determined privacy attention through education as well as discrimination alleviation through taxation of data transfer values are recommended. Taxation of data transfer revenues will grant the fiscal space to offset losses and the social costs of market distortions caused by robots and algorithms taking over human tasks and entering the workforce in the medical marketplace (Puaschunder 2020b).

In order to enable a big data capitalization coupled with upholding highest ethical standards, the European Union should foster a fifth trade freedom of data to bundle AI and big data gains large scale (Horizont 2020a). While big data is primarily used in the US to offer more targeted consumerism, Europe should aim for building a data stock to retrieve information for preventive care leading the world with ethical imperatives in big data insight-driven medicine (Horizont 2020b). A fifth data freedom should focus on setting positive market incentives for sharing information within the European compound, but also provide the necessary tools for anti-discrimination and legal means against human rights violations stemming from big data and new technologies (Puaschunder 2020c). In the eye of the ongoing COVID-19 pandemic, big data insights and AI solutions appear as most innovative means to track global pandemic spread and thus to serve as early warning systems and long-term sustainable global healthcare solutions (Live-pr 2020).

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The Place of School Social Workers within Education Public Policy: The Portuguese Case

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ABSTRACT: Social workers promote justice and social change, work to optimize access and promote citizens' rights, among which is the access of all students to education. In Portugal, social workers presence in schools fluctuated throughout times, as a consequence of the variable appreciation the profession deserved in the successive public policies regulating the educational sector. Thus, two purposes guide this paper review: (i) to unfold the main legislative initiatives in the field of public education to reflect upon social workers participation in Portuguese schools, over time; (ii) emphasize the multidimensionality of the work accomplished by social workers in schools, conceptualized the open systems permeable to the diversity and complexity of the problems (failure, abandonment, indiscipline, violence, bullying, discrimination, ..., consumption) that encompass students' social origins and their needs. Resting on exploratory-descriptive research, this paper is based on the selective literature review from school social work's and educational policies scientific fields, subsequently subjected to content and argumentative analysis procedures. Main results emphasize the central role fulfilled by social workers in Portuguese schools, stressing out the ways by which political theoretical-methodological, ethical and technical-operational dimensions permeating social work practices, are mobilized to build critical professional projects capable of responding the challenges school social workers face nowadays.

KEYWORDS: social work, social intervention, school, educational policy, Portugal

Introduction

This work aims to present the partial results arising from research carried out in the scope of our PhD thesis in Social Work, which is in the stage of finalizing the design of the research project. The ongoing research stems from our growing interest in framing the presence of social workers in Portuguese schools, knowing and understanding the dimensions involved in the intervention that social work develops within the educational context, and the nature of social worker's professional practices used, namely to mediate socio-educational relationships between the various educational agents – the school, students, families and communities. We are convinced of the essential role social workers have in schools, the work that influences the increasingly complex and diverse socio-cultural environment of schools and their surrounding communities very positively, and which contributes decisively to safeguarding the access and attendance of all students to education, understood as an essential human right for the individuals' integral development and their participation in society as citizens with full rights..

From a methodological point of view, this paperwork rests on an exploratory-descriptive research, based on the selective literature review from social policies of

school social work and its research fields, subsequently subjected to content and argumentative analysis procedures. From the research field of school social work, we collected and analysed several master dissertations to understand the ways in which the intervention context is represented by researchers and social workers, and the framework that social workers use to explain their professional practices within the different empirical dimensions researched (student, family, organization, community, their practice's political focus). From the scientific field of political science, various legal instruments used by Portuguese governments to regulate the educational sector were reviewed, framing the professional integration of social workers in Portuguese schools.

The work here presented, thus, gives an account of the reflection we are conducting about social work intervention in Portuguese schools, and is sectioned into two parts that reflect on: 1) education as an intervention context for social work, revisiting, to this end, the main legislative measures adopted in education sector in Portugal; 2) the intervention nature of the practices which professional social workers adopt in education, emphasizing the multidimensionality of their professional action in schools, conceptualized as open systems permeable to the diversity and complexity of the problems (failure, abandonment, indiscipline, violence, bullying, discrimination, ..., consumptions) that encompass students' social origins and their needs. At the end, some concluding notes are made regarding the investigation conducted.

How Education Policy set the place for School Social Workers

The centrality of education in contemporary societies, as a promoter not only of the knowledge and skills necessary for the inclusion of individuals in the labour market, but also of trajectories of social inclusion tending to promote their integral formation and access to full citizenship, configures education as a right to be safeguarded by the State, which is responsible for ensuring equal opportunities for access and attendance through the creation of social regulatory policies and a system of public educational establishments for everyone to access.

The concern with access to education and with the population educational levels has long entered the majority of national political agendas as a goal for which it is urgent to establish goals and define political measures that guarantee their reach, despite the long historical path that has been necessary to achieve the transition from an elitist education perspective reserved for the most favoured social classes, to a democratic education, of public, secular and universal nature.

In Portugal, the great changes regarding education and the educational system occurred only after April 25, 1974, with the publication of the first Constitution of the Republic on April 2, 1976, in which education and teaching, as its necessary correlate, appeared safeguarded in articles 73 and 74 which, after successive constitutional revisions, refer, today, respectively, in article 73, points 1 and 2: “1. Everyone has the right to education and culture; 2. The State promotes the democratization of education and the other conditions so that education, carried out through school and other training means, contributes to equal opportunities, overcoming economic, social and cultural inequalities, the development of personality and the spirit of tolerance, mutual understanding, solidarity and responsibility, for social progress and for democratic participation in collective life”. While Article 74 states that “everyone has the right to education with a guarantee of the right to equal opportunities for access and academic success”, being the State the entity which should “ensure universal, compulsory and free basic education”, creating, for this purpose, a public system capable of “guaranteeing permanent education and eliminating illiteracy” and “guaranteeing all

citizens, according to their abilities, access to higher degrees of teaching, scientific research and artistic creation” (Constitutional Law No. 1/2005).

The State's legislative intervention in education, initially in the sense of establishing the principles that regulate it and ensuring the existence of a public education network, had to be progressively expanded as the school population expanded and diversified, as a result of the obligation teaching; the school gradually became a reflection of the heterogeneous society that characterizes us and the different profiles of the students who attend it carry their life stories and social and family complexities with them, guided by socio-economic and problematic inequalities stem from social change and the escalation of the social issue (Martins 2018).

Historically going back to the origin of the first political measures adopted, in our country, to face students' academic failure, understood as the problem that in the school context best expresses the learning difficulties manifested by students from socioeconomically disadvantaged family contexts and exclusion environments, the Portuguese government used, from the end of the 1980s, the following programs/measures (Ferreira and Teixeira 2010):

- The *enlargement of compulsory basic education for nine years*, and the creation of: support and educational supplements (Cap. III) to promote school' success (24); support to pupils with special educational needs (25); psychological and educational support, and vocational guidance (26) – later complemented by Legislative Decree no. 98-A/92, of August 20, which pointed to the equal opportunities of access and school success enshrined in Law no. 46/86, of October 14;
- The Interministerial Program for the Promotion of Educational Success (PIPSE): formalized on December 10, 1987 and published on January 21, 1988, was designed with the purpose of reversing school failure through the cancellation of dropout and dropout rates, and the reduction of failure and repetition rates;
- The creation of *Schools of Priority Intervention* (including the schools of PIPSE) regulated by Ministerial Order no. 119/ME/88, determined that the classification of school of priority intervention depends on their localization in a degraded or isolated zone, with a great instability of the faculty, and the existence of a significant number of children with learning difficulties and systematic underachievement;
- The *Program Education for All (PEPT Program 2000)*, created by Resolution of the Council of Ministers no. 29/91, of August 9, focused on accelerating the universalization of access to basic education for nine years, accompanied by the decisive enlargement of secondary and higher education levels.

Consisting of an increasingly diverse population, school environments have become more complex and are increasingly affected by problems (failure, abandonment, indiscipline, violence, bullying, discrimination,..., consumption) that mirror students' social origin and the shortcomings and problems which accompany them from their families, raising the need for intervention and compensatory support, only possible through the creation of “territorialized and networked responses with municipalities, health centers, employment centers, Social Security, student and family associations and other society associations” (Carvalho 2018, 5).

The democratization of education as the guarantor of equal opportunities of access to education , initially conceived and organized by a centralized administration, based on the idea of uniformity, tends to give rise to the acceptance of students' diversity and heterogeneity, making evident the need to decentralize decisions, delegate powers and give autonomy to schools, in order to involve all actors and local partners in the

elaboration of educational projects aligned with their needs and the resources available in each community (Ferreira and Teixeira 2010).

The perspective that solving problems experienced in schools requires the establishment of partnerships and the construction of local dynamics oriented towards the social and school integration of children and their families, has, in our country, as its first corollary in the politics of *Educational Territories of Priority Intervention Program (TEIP)*, published by Ministerial Order no. 147-B/ME/96, of August, 1. Conceived with the clear purpose of combating school failure and the early abandonment of students who attended schools located in geographic areas characterized by their social, cultural and economic weakness, the TEIP educational policy was a measure of positive discrimination affecting a given geographic unit, aiming at school and educational success and the promotion of equal access for all students, through the creation of a network of educational establishments of different levels of education, favouring the relationship of the student and the family with the school and including the school community and different partners from the local community in the schools' educational project, integrating local actors through the establishment of partnerships (Barbieri 2003).

The second generation of the Program, beginning in the 2006/2007 school year (1st phase), focused its focus on school and social exclusion and urban violence and included 35 non-grouped clusters/schools in Lisbon and Oporto, which benefited exceptional measures to combat school insecurity, indiscipline, failure and dropout (Barreiros and Serra 2018, Ferreira and Teixeira 2010, Tomás and Gama 2014). Two years later, with the publication of Normative Order No. 55/2008, of October 23, already called TEIP2, the program was expanded to a further 24 groups of schools/schools not grouped in other urban areas and rural areas, selected based on result indicators from the educational system and social indicators of the territories in which the schools are located. Finally, in November 2009, the Program included another 45 groups of schools/schools not grouped, making a total of 104, considering the three phases of TEIP2 (Barreiros and Serra 2018, Ferreira and Teixeira 2010, Tomás and Gama 2014).

The third generation of TEIP, triggered by Regulatory Decree no. 20/2012, of October 3, covered 137 schools not grouped/grouped schools around the country, which applied for and negotiated their improvement plans (formerly known as Projects) with the tutelage (Ministry of Education and Science) in the light of the guidelines and complying with the rules established for the preparation of program contracts or autonomy contracts to be granted (Ferreira and Teixeira 2010). Preserving the principles that guided the elaboration of the Program – combating absenteeism, early school leaving and indiscipline the third generation of TEIP has reinforced the articulation between schools, social partners and local training institutions, and the creation of conditions for a qualified transition from school to active life (Mendes 2017).

In order to join the TEIP Program, non-grouped schools/school clusters had to negotiate their Educational Projects, setting out the positive discrimination measures they planned to adopt to meet the objectives established by the Program, taking into account the social context in which they were inserted, resources available in that educational territory and the articulation of interventions by its various local partners, and, in return, being able to require the additional availability of financial and human resources (socio-cultural animators, psychologists, sociologists, teachers for educational support and social workers) (Ferreira and Teixeira 2010, Tomás and Gama 2014).

Figure 1 summarizes the territorial expansion of TEIP's coverage along the Regional Directions of Education (DRE), in its last two generations, between 2007 and 2012.

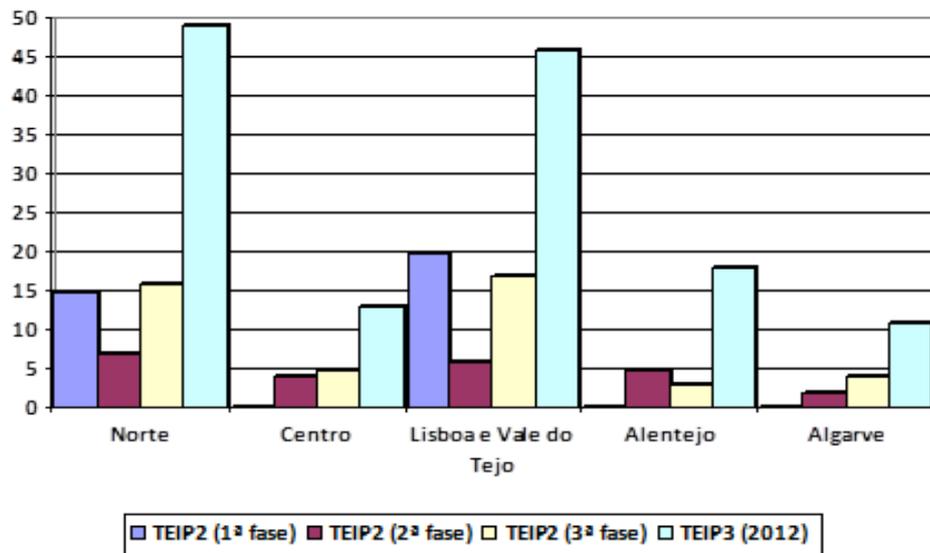


Figure 1. Territorial expansion of TEIP2 and 3's coverage along DRE
 Source: Adapted from Mendes 2017, Tomás and Gama 2014

Going back in history, it is nevertheless possible to identify other moments in which Social Work had, prior to the TEIP Policy, been called upon to intervene in the Portuguese school context, namely in the period of the first Republic, in 1911, when school hygiene services were created in schools. Even so, it would be necessary to wait a few more years for the professional presence of social workers in Portuguese schools to be formalized, a fact that occurred in 1971, following the creation of the *School Social Action Institute (IASE)*, having then been admitted to schools, twelve Social Assistants, with a performance aimed at providing economic aid to students from disadvantaged social classes and to participate in support structures for students. Between 1975 and 1978, IASE was restructured and the Pedagogical Medicine Centers emerged, in which Social Workers were integrated essentially to promote a better integration of students and intervene in the articulation between students, families and schools. Later, in 1991, with the publication of Decree-Law No. 190/91, in May 17, the Psychology and Guidance Services (SPO) emerged, which could include in their technical teams, a professional to be selected among psychologists, specialists in educational support, guidance counselors, and Social Workers. The creation of the career of Senior Technician of Social Work, in the same year, integrated in the group of careers of senior technical staff of general regime, allowed professional regulation within the scope of public administration, despite the integration of social workers in the technical teams of SPO came to occur very residual, with most of the technical teams being composed of psychologists (Branco 2015a, Branco 2015b, Martins 1999, Mendes 2017).

From 1990 onwards, political programs aimed at education have assumed, as we have seen, a territorialized orientation and focused on combating the high rates of absenteeism, failure and school dropout, of which TEIP were the first example.

Within the same perspective, in 1999, the *Integrated Program of Education and Training (PIEF)*, governed by Joint Order no. 882/99, published on October 15, and subsequently revised by Joint Order no. 948/2003, published on September 26, was assumed as an educational response to fight the exploitation of child labour, slanted towards the reintegration of children and young people (between 15 and 18 years) in regular school paths, with a view to fulfilling compulsory schooling and its entry into the labour market, providing, for this purpose, the elaboration of a personalized

education and training plan, adjusted to the interests and situation of young people, which would prevent their preparation and acquisition of skills (Joint Order No. 948/2003). To assist in the implementation of the program, a position of a Technician of Local Intervention (TIL) was predicted, who should be specialized in the areas of psychology or Social Work, or holder of a relevant *curriculum* in the area, having submitted an application, would be selected to carry out the social diagnosis and monitoring of each of the minors.

As the existing adjustment between the functions to be performed by TIL and the skills profile that characterizes the training of social workers is evident, the truth is that the number of social workers who will have been hired to accompany minors in the PIEF classes is unknown, knowing only that in 2015/2016 there were 156 of these classes distributed by 95 schools in the national territory (DGE 2017, Mendes 2017).

Formally legislated since 1998, by means of Decree-Law no. 115-A/98, of May 4, *Autonomy Contracts (CA)* is a political program that transfer powers and responsibilities from the Ministry of Education to schools, enabling them to decide on administrative, financial, strategic, pedagogical and organizational matters, taking into account their educational projects. However, it was necessary to wait for 2008 so that the first 22 CA become formalized with the publication of Decree-Law no. 75/2008, of April 22, later amended by the publication of the Decree-Law no. 137/2012, of July 2 (Decree-Law no. 137/2012). In 2017, the number of schools with concluded CA already totalled 212 (Mendes 2017).

The legislative changes that have framed the Autonomy Contracts, since their formalization, have given schools greater freedom to manage curricula and make the hours of some subjects more flexible, making them responsible for the necessary creation of strategies and measures to enhance the participation of families and local partners in the strategic management of schools, through their openness to the outside and involvement with the communities around them, benefiting the quality of education and expanding citizenship, inclusion and social development. The expansion of the number of CA has been accompanied by the hiring of social workers who intervene in mediation between schools, students, families and local communities, in order to meet the objective's set, alongside their classic intervention in the field of support and social action for students in need (Mendes 2017).

The *National Program for School Success Promotion (PNPSE)* approved by resolution of the Council of Ministers no. 23/2016, published on April 11 2016, established that schools should outline their strategic action plans, curricular and organizationally adjusted to their reality, in close liaison with local educational partners – community institutions and local training bodies – aiming at improving educational practices and student learning, and educational success (2016). Authorized to allocate technical expertise to the program's implementation, most schools hired psychologists, having only an exceedingly small number of them requested social workers.

Although, as Mendes' study claims (2017), the number of social workers in schools is very low (112 to 811 groups of schools/schools not grouped), translating, of course, very worrying ratios *per* student, and mirroring what may be considered a “divestment in the profession and its goals in the area of education” (Carvalho 2018, 6), education was, in a sample of 1604 social Portuguese workers, pointed out as the third sectorial area where more social workers work, showing that the activity of social workers in education is not limited to schools, since it occurs in other organizations, such as municipalities, public institutes, universities, associations, ..., ministries, in which educational projects are developed (Carvalho 2018).

Due to the socio-historic inscription of the profession, social workers are professionals who promote social justice and change, acting to optimize the conditions

of access and safeguard citizens' rights, so the work associated with ensuring equal access for all students to education, as a human right to ensure, legitimize their presence and intervention in all organizations where education constitutes a field of activity or work. The path traversing the analysis of the adopted social policies in Portuguese education has served the dual purpose of knowing the evolution that guided the perspectives on education and its goals, and, concomitantly, of knowing the legal-political context framing social worker's participation in Portuguese schools and justifying their presence, even residual, and intervention.

The nature of the intervention and the Professional Practice of social workers in schools

As a result of public policies adopted for the educational sector, one may find, nowadays, an increasingly number of social workers working in Portuguese schools, who, integrated into student and family support offices, cooperate in multidisciplinary teams composed of other professional profiles, such as psychologists, teachers, social educators and/or mediators.

Reducing the scope to literature references surrounding school social workers dimensions of intervention and professional practices, we find references to four levels of intervention: students; families; the organization; and the community, dimensions in which we may situate several practices (Table 1).

Table 1. Dimensions of social worker's intervention in Portuguese schools

<p>Student (Allen-Meares, Montgomery and Kim 2013)</p>	<p><i>Intervention covering the entire school</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Actions to raise awareness and prevent problematic behaviours and promote appropriate social behaviours
	<p><i>Intervention with groups</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Actions aimed at students at risk (emotional, behavioural, psychosocial and learning)
	<p><i>Individual intervention</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Case management and advocacy of child and family
<p>Family (Bye and Alvarez 2007)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Work with the family to capture your prospect about the problems • Help the family understand academic and behavioural expectations of the school, as well as the services that it offers; • Inform the family about the resources available in the community and support it in the access to them; • Recognize and affirm the strengths of families • Streamline groups of parents/carers on different themes • Promote dissemination actions that facilitate the knowledge of the school by parents • Provide information on new learnings • Represent the families so that their voice is heard in decision-making on education (advocacy)
<p>Organization (Frey and Walker 2007)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Planning the intervention intended to all the pupils of the school following an interdisciplinary approach (along with other professionals and services, both within and outside the school), through the needs assessment and the design, implementation, coordination and evaluation of intervention projects (discipline, conflict resolution, <i>bullying</i>, racism and xenophobia, mental health,

	..., violence)
Community (Wilson 2007)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Develop collective actions that contribute to the creation and strengthening of sustained partnerships between the different members of the Community, and the identification and response to needs • Involve all members and community groups in reflection and creation of an action plan identifying the needs, objectives and strategies to improve student's educational performance • Support the community in social change, particularly in response to social problems

Source: Own elaboration

The social, emotional and behavioural support and guidance of students and their families is at the main core of school social worker's professional intervention, emphatically pointed out as justification for their presence in schools, highlighting their key role on counselling, crisis management and problem solving, as in the reflective mediation processes in which they engage with students and families, and from which, together, they anticipate and find solutions adjusted to each problem situation (Barreiros and Serra 2018).

However, beyond the actions developed in their performance while mediators of student/family and school/family relations, it is up to the social workers to develop intervention strategies that minimize the expressions of the social issue that swarm in schools that weaken students, families and other educational agents, and support the access, permanence and educational success of children and of young people – although some of them are not directly related to the teaching-learning process.

Considering the various actors in the educational process as representatives of different systems that interact and interact with each other, the approach used by social workers in schools must be holistic in relation to the systems and environments that surround students, taken as the focus of the intervention, so social workers must develop services and interventions that mobilize the resources available in social policies to ensure the students' educational success, from a micro, meso and macro perspective (Amado and Pena 2018).

Due to the identity inscription that historically marked the appearance of the profession, social workers are specialists in social policies, and their presence in schools is justified by the facilitating role they can assume in the process of articulation or articulated management of the education policy with the other social policies, although the conditions of accessibility to a social policy retroact, in most cases, on the conditions of access and quality of participation in other policies. Thus, their performance in terms of the management of educational policy can contribute to guarantee the students' full protection, insofar as their theoretical methodological and ethical-political knowledge allows them to interpret the social relations established between the different agents (students, families, teachers, school), in the overlap that these relations have with the social realities that underlie them (territory, community, society), and act in order to have the appropriate measures to minimize or suppress social issues in schools.

The political dimension of the social workers intervention refers to all practices involved in the design, implementation and evaluation or reform of social policies, in order to improve their ability to respond to the needs of the subjects to whom they are addressed, which, in the context of schools, implies that social workers intervene with the systems that prevent equal opportunities of access and attendance for all students, underlining the macro-dimension of their intervention, more directed at issues like

social inequality, poverty and exclusion from the labour market, health and housing (Wilson 2007) and the development of communities that establish the social fabric of the territories where schools are located.

In schools, social workers, when critical and reflective, intervene to achieve equal access and opportunities for students to the right to education, mobilizing available resources in educational policies and other social policies that transform the conditions that determine their possible disadvantaged or oppressed position (Freire 2018). Such orientation presupposes a holistic analysis of the students' social reality as well as their families, school dynamics, the community and the territory in which the school is located, knowledge that should take into account "native theories" or, if we prefer, the narrative that the subjects present to report their position, not neglecting that this same narrative is the result, on the one hand, of the lived experience and, on the other, of the structural conditions that determined it.

The reflected and reflective relationship they establish with students and families should result in an analysis that promotes a process of raising awareness among students / families / employees / teachers about the factors that determine their situation and how they can, through their behavior, empower themselves, change that situation of disadvantage and promote a change in their disadvantaged condition (Carvalho 2018).

As we had the opportunity to mention, the recent education policies in our country have allowed the integration of social workers in schools, in line with the decentralizing principles that guided them. Now these professionals are seen as possessing the skills necessary for structuring educational projects, involving educational agents and local community partners, that articulate in an integrated way with the territory and the cultural-economic social reality that characterizes it, aiming to combat school failure and dropout. The development of social diagnoses and networking within the framework of the implementation of social policies is, therefore, one more aspect of the work of social workers who intervene in education, believing that, due to their holistic and critical perspective on the social reality, they can mobilize the school community around participatory educational projects adjusted to the needs and resources available in a given educational territory.

Conclusions

The educational policies that have been adopted in our country have opened space for the participation of social workers in schools and propose the decentralization and celebration of autonomy contracts that delegate to schools, organized in networks of schools of different educational levels around the territory where they are located, competencies to manage their resources according to the educational needs of the population and, according to these needs, together with local partners, organize their educational plans using existing resources and strategically planning their performance in the future, aiming the students' educational success.

With the perspective of education as a right whose access must be guaranteed, the political dimension of the intervention of social workers in schools is assumed to be fundamental for their expertise in social policies and for their ability to articulate the different existing social policies. In addition, due to the skills they have at the level of advocacy, interculturality, the establishment of partnerships with community stakeholders, and they also handle the work of social diagnosis of the various interacting systems, in addition to the holistic, critical and reflective vision that is necessary for the elaboration of an educational project for a territory and its community.

Invited to participate in the implementation of educational policies and to intervene in issues that, emerging in schools, are nothing more than manifestations of the social issue (social inclusion/discrimination, ethnic racial issues, intolerance to diversity, ..., social violence), social workers must make use of the triple dimension of their intervention framework (political ethics, theoretical-methodological and technical-operative), recreating and adopting new practices and new instrumentalities to respond to the challenges they are faced with.

Reflected, albeit briefly, those we believe to be the main dimensions of the work done by social workers in education and, more specifically, in schools, showing the importance of their presence in the context of the implementation of educational policies, we consider that their performance scope and the countless actions they do with students, families, the direction of schools and the surrounding community, show the importance of their emancipatory and markedly political approach, decisively contributing to the development of transforming strategies and enhancing the desired change in educational organizations, and in education.

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The Impact of Discriminatory Harassment on Gender Representation in Elected Office in the United States

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ABSTRACT: The United States has seen a dramatic increase in women serving in elected office in the past decade. This study looks at the types of harassment female politicians receive and reviews whether this harassment impacts the representation gap between men and women in elected office in the U.S. The findings suggest that women face more discriminatory harassment than their male colleagues. This harassment is most often due to their gender, but other factors such as race, religion, and their individual opinions on controversial topics play a role in the harassment as well. Of the seven women surveyed who are still currently in office, four said the harassment was worse during their campaign. During their campaigns, these women faced death threats, threats of sexual assault, stalking, vandalism of their homes and cars, home and car break-ins, racism, sexual harassment, anti-Semitism, and online harassment. The policy recommendations regarding online harassment and the Violence Against Women Act intend to mitigate the harassment that impacts gender representation in elected office in the United States. It is suggested that a gender neutral policy be created that addresses social media harassment of all politicians. It is recommended that next reauthorization of the Violence Against Women Act include a clause that would deem female politicians a protected class. The goals of this clause would be to mitigate the increased likelihood that female politicians have of harassment in comparison to their male counterparts and to increase gender representation in elected office in the U.S.

KEYWORDS: politics, gender representation, harassment, gender discrimination, elected office

Introduction

Discriminatory harassment of women in politics maintains the lack of gender representation in elected office in the United States. The plight of harassment keeps some women from running for office while others drop out once in office or even during their campaigns. For those women who choose to remain in office despite the harassment they face, continued service can become a constant battle against emotional, mental, and sometimes physical abuse. Discriminatory harassment can be a major deterrent for women running for elected office or serving in elected office. This deterrent contributes to the lack of female representation in the United States' local, state, and federal government bodies. Discriminatory harassment refers to the denigration of a person on the basis of a particular aspect about that person such as race, class, gender, or sexuality. This type of harassment can be experienced in multiple ways, whether through physical or emotional violence. The more emotionally abusive forms include threats, intimidation, unreasonable hurdles to success, dangerous rhetoric, and/or 'trolling' on social media. This study analyzes the various forms of harassment female-identifying candidates for local, state, and federal offices face when campaigning and once they assume office. This study will also analyze data collected from

people who have resigned from office or a have left a campaign due to discrimination. Data from women who have run for elected office and lost will also be examined.

The story of Kiah Morris originally inspired this research and thus, will be highlighted first and referred back to throughout. Kiah Morris was a State Representative in Vermont from the Democrat Party. She was first elected to the seat in 2014 and re-elected unopposed in 2016. In August of 2018, Kiah Morris announced she would not be running for re-election and resigned only a month later (Flynn 2019). In 2018, she was the only African American in the Vermont State House of Representatives (Estrada 2019). She faced a slew of racist threats on social media and in-person from white supremacists and other hate groups. "We had propaganda being left underneath the door of the Democratic Party. I had a home invasion, vandalism, even the woods near my house where we'd go and walk frequently as a family had swastikas painted all over the trees there," Morris said in an interview with *Vermont Edition*. Morris also noted that her seven-year-old son had also seen and was able to comprehend the online threats. In a post on Facebook, a user told Morris, "We will continue to fight against your efforts to make our town/state look more like your ugly mongrel son" (Estrada 2019). Of the legislators interviewed and surveyed for this research, three of the elected officials from Vermont also mentioned the plight that Kiah Morris and her family faced.

Currently, two policies exist in the United States that are able to protect elected officials from harassment but these policies also apply to all citizens who are either employed or identify as women. These two policies are: 1) the U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission's (EEOC) view of offensive conduct that violates Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the Age Discrimination in Employment Act of 1967, or the Americans with Disabilities Act of 1990 and 2) The Violence against Women Act, more recently reauthorized in 2013. These policies are not enough because of the unique and heightened threats to women seeking or in elected office. Therefore, women in elected office and those running for elected office need to be considered a protected class with specific policies implemented to protect them from the heightened and particular harassment they receive.

Background

The first Women's Rights convention took place almost 180 years ago in 1848. Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Lucretia Mott, and others active in the anti-slavery movement convened the convention that resulted in a Declaration of Sentiments modeled on the Declaration of Independence. The Declaration was the first written mention of the suffrage movement, a movement that would eventually give women the right to vote in 1920 with the addition of the 19th amendment to the U.S. Constitution (CAWP 2019). Although women couldn't vote until 1920, the first woman ran for office in 1866 Elizabeth Cady Stanton ran as an independent for the U.S. House of Representatives; she received 24 of the 12,000 votes.

The United States has yet to elect a female to serve in the role of President. The statistics become even more drastic when one considers the race and sexuality of women running for public office.

The impact of a lack of gender representation in politics is multifaceted. As with all issues of representation, a small number of women in politics subliminally discourages more women from running for elected office as they do not see themselves in the majority. Additionally, this small population of women in our elected bodies has been proven to impact policy and the economy (Schwab 2017: 1-361). In 2017, the World Economic Forum (WEF) found that broad gender parity in economic participation and opportunity, education attainment, health, and political empowerment and participation is reversing for

the first time since WEF began measuring gender representation. Although considerable progress has been made globally for gender equity, women are still financially equal to their male counterparts (Schwab 2017: 1-361). The WEF uses the Global Gender Gap Index (GGGI) to determine what the relative gaps are between men and women worldwide. This study will focus on the economic gaps measured by the GGGI. WEF found that, “the gaps between women and men on economic participation and political empowerment remain wide: only 58% of the economic participation gap [between men and women] has been closed [...] and about 23% of the political [achievement] gap [between men and women has been closed].”

The GGGI uses three ratios to calculate political empowerment: females at ministerial level over male value, females with seats in parliament over male value, and number of years with a female head of state (last 50 years) over male value. The GGGI uses five data points to calculate economic participation and opportunity: female labor force participation over male value, wage equality between women and men for similar work, female estimated earned income over male value, number of female legislators, senior officials and managers over male value, and female professional and technical workers over male value.

According to the WEF report, the United States has closed about 78% of its economic gender gap and has closed less than 12% of the political participation gap between women. (Schwab 2017: 1-361) This shows that while women in the United States are beginning to find themselves in similar economic positions to their male counterparts, the United States still has a lot of progress to make towards political equality. These scores, coupled with the U.S.’ scores from health and educational attainment, places the U.S. at a rank of 96, between Pakistan (95th) and Vietnam (97th) (Schwab 2017: 1-361).

A. Data on Current Gender Representation in the U.S. Congress

The United States is currently in its 116th Congress. This meeting of the U.S. Congress currently sees a Republican majority in the U.S. Senate and a Democratic majority in the U.S. House of Representatives. The chart below [Figure 1] is from the Center for American Women (CAWP) in Politics at Rutgers University. This figure shows the growth of gender representation across the United States from 1961-2017 (Dittmar et al 2017).

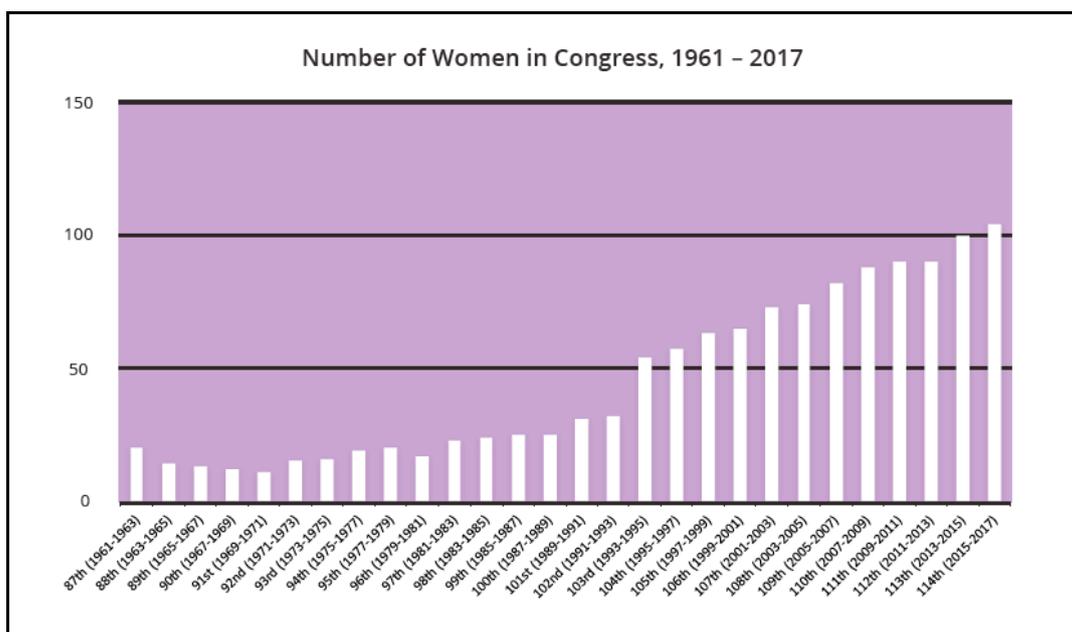


Figure 1. Number of Women in Congress 1961-2017

This report by CAWP interviewed various female legislators in the 16th U.S. Congress. According to CAWP, “Almost all believe women also bring different perspectives than men to their work in Congress because of their life experiences. They bring to bear a gender lens on various issues, not just issues that might commonly be considered women’s issues.” (Dittmar et al 2017). The United States is also seeing increased party polarization and CAWP spoke to female legislators on this. A majority of the women interviewed for the CAWP study reported that they believe women are more likely to work in a bipartisan fashion, citing frustration with the gridlock that party polarization creates. CAWP also spoke to women that did not find that support for bipartisanship was based on gender.

The greatest issue reported via the CAWP study was that women in Congress still struggle to be heard or feel as though they have a place in Congress. Representative Cathy McMorris Rodgers, a Republican from Washington state, said,

“I’m always trying to figure out how I can present in a way that will be heard more effectively. I certainly had those experiences where I feel like I say something and then someone else maybe says something very similar. I almost feel what I said wasn’t heard, right? But someone else around the table will be recognized for having said it, and that puzzles me. And so, I’m always trying to figure out how to present in a way that will be heard.” (Dittmar et al 2017)

Similarly, Representative Kathleen Rice, a Democrat from New York, said, “I think the biggest challenge for a woman is not to be kind of painted into a corner of, okay, so you’re a woman, so you can care about these issues that are women’s issues.”

While harassment is not the only reason why there are less women in elected office in the United States, it is a reason that warrants further study. Issues or hurdles such as representation, economic strain, parenthood, and educational attainment also play a role in the lack of female politicians in the U.S. The following section will discuss the current rules that exist in the United States that attempt to protect elected officials, of all genders and races, from harassment.

B. Current Rules against Harassment of Elected Officials

A common theme in rules or policies surrounding harassment, is that the alleged harassment must be proven to be severe or pervasive. There are not any laws that currently protect elected officials specifically from harassment. The following standards of harassment policy can be applied to politicians as politicians also qualify as employees and citizens. This standard is consistent with the U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission’s (EEOC) view of offensive conduct that violates Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the Age Discrimination in Employment Act of 1967, or the Americans with Disabilities Act of 1990. If the harassment is severe or pervasive enough that it creates a hostile or abusive work environment, legal action can be taken (EEOC 2020). The complication comes through when these harassment cases are brought to court as these policies exist to limit or cease harassment between fellow employees or supervisors and employees. While elected officials often work together and even in the same building, they are not technically colleagues in the sense that two teachers at the same school are colleagues; thus, these policies, in court, may not hold up for elected officials.

The EEOC has developed new guidelines in recent years due, in part, to the #MeToo movement that began in 2006 by sexual harassment survivor and activist Tarana Burke and gained notoriety in 2017 after the allegations against then prominent film producer, Harvey Weinstein. The EEOC has identified risk factors that increase the likelihood of harassment occurring in the workplace. The risk factors that the research found relevant to this case study are as follows:

1. Homogeneity – lack of diversity.
2. Workplaces where some employees don't conform to workplace norms – i.e. a single-sex dominated workplace culture.
3. Cultural and language differences – segregation of personnel with different cultures or nationalities.
4. Workplaces with “high value” personnel – Employees with high value (actual or perceived) to the employer (in this case, the “employer” is the U.S. public or voters)
5. Workplaces that rely on customer service or client satisfaction – constituents and/or voters. (EEOC 2020)

All of the elected officials surveyed for this research reported at least one or more examples of these risk factors taking place.

Of course, threatening public officials in the United States is considered a federal crime, the class depends on the level of official receiving the threat (i.e. a threat against the President of the United States is a Class A felony) (18 Sentencing Classification of Offenses § 3559). In order to qualify as a felony, however, the threats must meet three criteria: there must be a transmission in interstate commerce; there must be a communication containing the threat; and the threat must be a threat to injure the person of another (United States v. DeAndino, 958 F.2d 146 (1992).) Data that reports the number of threats an elected official receives, especially the POTUS, are difficult to retrieve as the Secret Service prefers not to report these incidents publicly. Additionally, with new communications technologies such as Facebook and Twitter, threats have become more common and harder to classify (18 Publicity Concerning Threats Against Government Officials § 879).

C. Violence Against Women Act

The Violence Against Women Act (VAWA) was passed in 1994. VAWA is considered a landmark piece of legislation. It sought to improve criminal justice and community-based responses to domestic violence, dating violence, sexual assault and stalking in the United States. It has been reauthorized three times, in 2000, 2005, and 2013. After expiring in December of 2018 during the 2018-2019 government shutdown in the United States, the bill faced reauthorization once again in 2019; though it passed through the U.S. House of Representatives, the bill has since been ignored by the U.S. Senate (Killough 2019).

While female elected officials are still, of course, women, they do not have specific protection within VAWA. VAWA does include protection against stalking, sexual violence, rules regarding the use of fire arms during threats, and provided grants to local lawenforcement for cybercrime protections, which are occurrences that have been reported by female elected officials. However, as these occurrences can often be heightened or more regular for women in elected office, it is necessary to have further protections for this specific class.

D. Social Media: Added Difficulty

Social media creates added difficulties to harassment claims as each social media website or application creates its own guidelines for what is deemed harassment or criminal. In response to the growing anecdotal evidence that female politicians and hopeful candidates face more harassment than their male colleagues, training groups such as VoteRunLead are changing their training programs (Margolin et al 2018). These groups train hopeful female politicians on how to handle trolling, harassment, and violence. They emphasize that these occurrences *will likely* happen and teach women what to do when they do happen. They

also stress that this type of training is in no way meant to deter women from running, but just prepare them for what is an unfortunate likelihood.

These organizations have seen an increase in women wanting to run for office since the 2018 election of President Donald Trump. These organizations have also noted that women seem more vocal about the harassment they face during their campaigns and in office due to the #MeToo Movement.

A study at the Georgia Institute of Technology examined the social media harassment policies of various social media platforms, such as Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, and LinkedIn. The study found not one of the fifteen social media platforms they looked at explicitly defined harassment. Twitter and Instagram did describe certain activities that would be taken into account when considering allegations of harassment. Within the platform-specific policies, the researchers found common words that were mentioned in connection with online harassment (Pater et al 2016).

	Abuse	Attack	Bullying	Defame	Eating Dis.	Harm	Hate	Impersonate	Intimidate	Libelous	Racist	Self-harm	Self-injury	Self-mutilation	Stalking	Threat	Torture	Vulgar
Facebook		X	X		X		X		X				X	X		X		
Twitter	X	X																
LinkedIn	X					X				X								
Pinterest		X	X		X	X	X					X				X		
Instagram	X		X	X	X		X	X	X				X		X	X		
Tumblr					X							X	X	X	X			
Flickr	X			X		X	X	X	X	X	X				X	X	X	X
Meetup				X		X	X		X	X	X	X			X	X	X	X
Vine								X				X				X		
Classmates	X		X	X			X		X		X				X	X		
VK				X							X		X			X		
Tagged	X			X		X	X			X	X				X	X		X
Ask.fm			X								X	X				X		
MeetMe	X					X										X		
Google+			X				X	X								X		

Figure 2. Words Used in Online Harassment Policies

Popular social media platforms are failing to create proper policies surrounding harassment for everyday citizens. With this knowledge, it is easy to understand how policies specifically addressing the harassment of politicians has still yet to be created.

Despite the growing research and media coverage surrounding social media’s influence on the increase in harassment, bullying, and hate speech, there has been no policies created to directly address the harassment of politicians (Jones et al 2013). This growing research also reveals that women face a disproportionate amount of harassment online in comparison to men (Simons 2015). While women are considered a protected class, female politicians specifically are not and therefore do not have specific policies or guidelines that can protect them from the online harassment they receive.

Methodology

For this study, an eight-question survey was utilized. The email addresses of public and elected officials are characterized as public knowledge and are therefore posted online or

can be obtained by calling state houses, town halls, and other public buildings. For those who have once served in an elected office or who ran and lost the race for an elected position, their emails were gathered through word of mouth. About half of the respondents reached out personally to the lead researcher and requested a longer conversation. The seven survey questions were as follows:

1. What elected position do you currently serve in, have served in, or ran for?
2. What is your gender identity and race?
3. Have you experienced discriminatory harassment? In your own words, can you describe the incidents to me? (If there were threats, did they come from U.S. citizens or other countries?)
4. Why do you think you experienced these incidents? Were they during your campaign or while you've been in office (or both?)
5. Have you needed help from law enforcement? If yes, has law enforcement been cooperative?
6. How did your family feel about you running for public office? If they were not supportive, why?
7. If you faced harassment, was it worse during the campaign or once you assumed office?

In total, thirteen women participated in the survey. The thirteen women surveyed included candidates, women that currently serve in elected office, and women that are no longer in office. They represented three different racial categories: white, black, and Asian. These women were State Representatives, State Senators, candidates for the U.S. House of Representatives, candidates for State Senate, candidates for Governor, and candidates for State Representatives. The female politicians reported experiencing social media threats, sexual harassment, vandalism, home invasion, burglary, stalking, racism, misogyny, anti-Semitism, death threats, and threats of sexual assault.

Limitations

There were a few circumstances that hindered this research that needed to be made known. Political officials have busy work days and many occurrences and duties they have to attend to; completing a survey for a study that will not directly benefit them is, understandably, not a top priority. Finally, the final portion of this research took place during the Covid-19 Pandemic. Reasonably, legislators had to turn almost their entire workload towards creating policies during the pandemic and could not spend time taking the survey necessary to complete the data collection. Due to the above listed caveats, this research is only based on thirteen data sources and no formal or statistically significant conclusions can be made.

Findings

The thirteen women surveyed included candidates, women that currently serve in elected office, and women that are no longer in office. They represented three different racial categories: white, black, and Asian. Each of the thirteen women reported experiencing harassment in a variety of different ways.

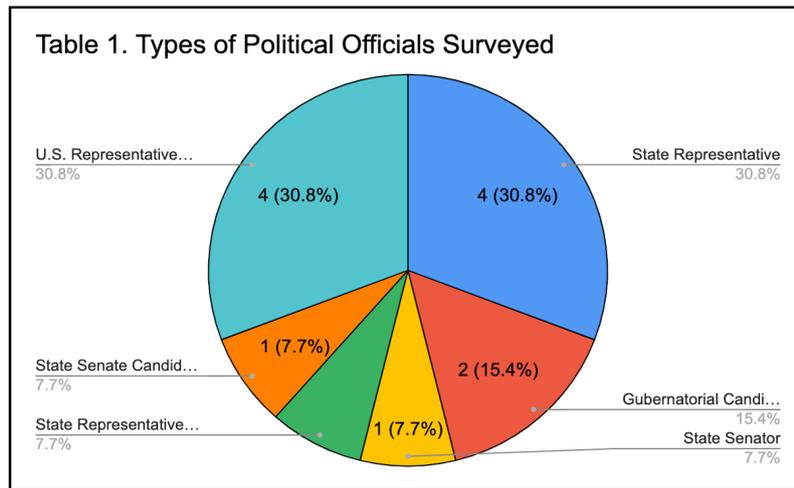


Table 1. Types of Political Officials Surveyed

There was a stark contrast in response to harassment between women who had children and women who either did not have children or had adult children. Those with young children took the harassment much more seriously or spoke to law enforcement at a quicker rate than those without children or with adult children. One of the women with adult children acknowledged this contrast and stated that had her children been younger, she would have considered not running for office at all. Four of the six women surveyed who have young children reported that some of the threats they received were targeted toward their children and that their children had been victims of some sort of bullying in school due to their mother’s candidacy. Of the seven women surveyed who are still currently in office, four of those women said the harassment was worse during their campaign. During their campaigns, these women faced death threats, threats of sexual assault, stalking, vandalism of their homes and cars, home and car break-ins, racism, sexual harassment, anti-Semitism, and online harassment.

The data shows the types of harassment those who were surveyed and/or interviewed reported experiencing. The female politicians reported experiencing social media threats, sexual harassment, vandalism, home invasion, burglary, stalking, racism, misogyny, anti-Semitism, death threats, and threats of sexual assault. Most of these experiences were during the campaign cycle, however for those who went on to win their seats, the harassment continued once they assumed office.

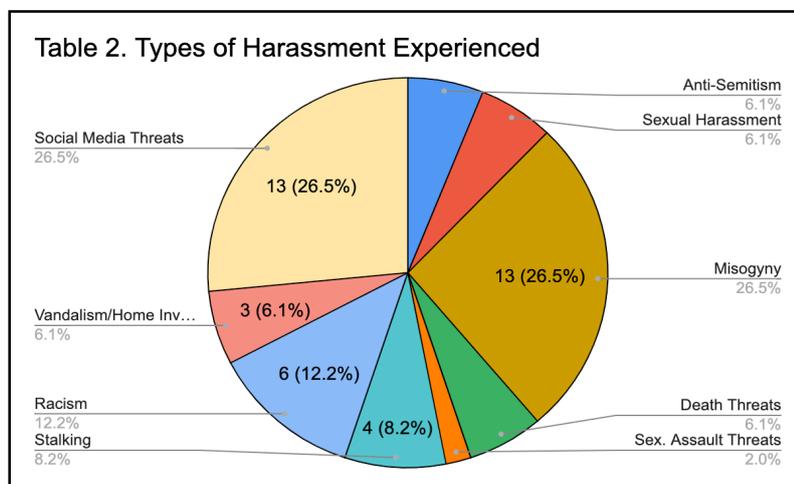


Table 2. Types of Harassment Experienced

Of the thirteen women surveyed and/or interviewed, only two decided to drop out of the race or leave office. For the eleven women surveyed who chose to stay in office, continue their campaigns, or are hoping to run for office again, they cited the harassment they received as a reason for continuing. This is not to say that they are in office or feel empowered *because* of the harassment, but *despite* the harassment. Many of the women surveyed said they felt called to run due to policies and general politics in the United States that they do not agree with that stem from misogyny and a largely patriarchal system of government.

A final common theme amongst the women surveyed and/or interviewed was that those who required help from law enforcement found that law enforcement was both understanding and efficient in their response. Of the women surveyed, local, state, and federal law enforcement became involved in four of the five reported cases.

A. Highlighted Anecdote: Christine Hallquist

Christine Hallquist was a gubernatorial candidate in Vermont in 2018. After winning the 2018 Democratic nomination for Governor of Vermont, she became the first openly transgender major-party nominee for governor in the United States. The research anticipated that Hallquist's publically reported harassment was due to her gender identity, however the data collected through an interview with Hallquist proved otherwise.

"As soon as I won the primary, I started getting threats from all over the world," reported Hallquist. "In fact, it seemed like I was receiving much more threats from overseas than the United States. The majority of those threats are because I'm a woman. I went into this thinking my gender identity as transgender would be the issue but it really experienced misogyny for the most part. I really believe it's the man's way of keeping women down."

Hallquist faced extreme amounts of discriminatory harassment. She received death threats from both U.S. citizens and abroad. At the time she won the Democratic nomination, her team had received about a dozen death threats by phone and social media (North 2018). Upon her interview in December of 2019, she had received a death threat a month prior, almost a year after her campaign ended. Hallquist said, "Even a month ago I received a death threat. We got a call from the Vermont State Police, the Capitol police, and Vermont Attorney General T.J. Donovan's office."

She told her team early on that she anticipated the more successful her candidacy became, the more threats they would receive. "My staff handled the calls. We would get calls daily," said Hallquist, "When we determined it was a credible threat, we involved the Vermont State Police and the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI). One of the first death threats I got was from a group called The Proud Boys. They are a white supremacist organization [...] They were one of the earliest and most regular of the death threats."

"When you throw homophobia, transphobia, and misogyny together, it becomes very aggressive," Hallquist said of those who threatened her. Despite all of these threats, Hallquist said that she plans on running again within the next half-decade. "This definitely isn't slowing me down," said Hallquist. What drives Hallquist forward, and many of the other women I spoke to, is the support from other women and drive to change the misogynistic tendencies and policies of society.

Hallquist also reported that her and her team downplayed the threats they received during the campaign as they didn't want that message to become a part of the campaign. Many of the women surveyed and interviewed for this research also reported that much of the threats they received and faced both during their campaigns and while in office were downplayed purposefully. This is an interesting point to highlight as it calls into question how many threats female politicians receive daily that are not reported to the

public. The research even spoke to female politicians who asked that their more alarming stories be kept private.

Policy Suggestions

A. Policy Suggestions on Harassment via Social Media

Research does not need to be completed to come to the conclusion that politicians receive exceeding amounts of harassment, whether in person or online. Politicians of all genders are public figures and thus are often subjected to name calling, threats, stalking, and general discriminatory behaviors. With this knowledge and the data collected from this study, it is suggested that a gender neutral policy be created that addresses social media harassment of all politicians. Additionally, this policy should include a clause that deems female politicians a protected class with a supplemental need for protection from online harassment.

Each politician should be required to sign a Code of Conduct when they are elected into office that discusses the correct way to interact with fellow politicians online. This suggestion comes from the data in this study that revealed that six of the thirteen women surveyed reported that they were harassed by male politicians, some of whom worked in the same building or district as the women they were harassing.

The U.S. Government currently has minimal jurisdiction in the realm of social media and enforcement relies almost solely on the harassment clauses created by individual social media platforms. As revealed in the study by the Georgia Institute of Technology, social media platforms have yet to create succinct harassment policies (Pater et al. 2016). Federal policy that requires social media platforms to create specific and detailed harassment policies for U.S. citizens and politicians would be a great next step. Additionally, a policy that would specifically address the harassment of female politicians would be a further step towards progress.

B. Policy Suggestions related to the Violence Against Women Act

The United Nations allows politicians to report cases of harassment, intimidation, and psychological abuse against politically active women through a specific channel. This channel, though, was not created until after 2016. In 2016, former Secretary of State Madeleine Albright pointed out that the United Nations then did not track acts of violence against women who engage in politics. As chair of the National Democratic Institute, she directed the nonprofit to work closely with the U.N. special rapporteur on violence against women to establish said channel (Margolin et al 2018).

Similarly, and specifically, in the United States there is currently no formal way of tracking the threats that female politicians, or any politician of any gender, receives. The Violence Against Women Act, though vital and beneficial for everyday women, does not have specific protections for female politicians. Female politicians, as noted from the data for this research, receive, in general, a very large number of threats during their campaign and while in office. The United States government needs to put in place policies that would serve to protect its very own members. It has become increasingly clear that gender representation is pivotal to continued political progress in the United States and a lack of protection should no longer serve as a deterrent for women who feel compelled to run for elected office.

Given the data from this study and the lack of protective clauses for female politicians in VAWA, it is recommended that next reauthorization of VAWA include a clause that would deem female politicians a protected class. The goals of this clause would be to mitigate the increased likelihood that female politicians have of harassment in comparison to their male counterparts and to increase gender representation in elected office in the U.S.

Conclusion

To mitigate the impacts of discriminatory harassment on female politicians in the United States, changes need to be made in current policies. Social Media platforms have a responsibility to their users and need to create more detailed policies to protect not only politicians in general, but also every user of social media. One suggestion to create this change is to demand that the U.S. federal government create a policy that requires social media platforms to create such policies and follow through on the enforcement of those policies. Additionally, should the Violence Against Women Act be reauthorized, it should include language that defines female politicians as a protected class in order to increase the protections they receive and add protections for online harassment specifically.

The impact of the gender gap amongst the population of elected officials in the U.S. is multifaceted. As with all issues of representation, a small number of women in politics subliminally discourages more women from running for elected office as they do not see themselves in the majority. This small population of women in our elected bodies has been proven to impact policy and the economy. This study revealed that despite the harassment, a large number of women are still persevering and maintaining their elected seats. The United States government should aid these women who choose to serve the country despite the emotional, mental, and sometimes physical abuse these women receive by incorporating modern policy and protections for them.

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Bibliometric Review Paper on Palatography

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ABSTRACT: This study makes an attempt to convey a bibliometric investigation on the public trends in Palatography literature published from 1940 to December 2019. For doing so, in the first part of the paper, using the Scopus database, the keyword “palatography” and “palatograph” were searched in the title of the documents, keywords, and abstracts within all areas of disciplines. In the second part, the search pattern was limited to the domains of “Art and Humanities” and “Social Sciences” including Language and Linguistics from 2010 to 2020. The data was collected from Scopus freely accessed at Alzahra University, and network analysis of research outputs was carried out to analyze the research trends in the Palatography literature. The quantitative analysis of the publications, i.e. publication years, authors, keywords, countries and affiliation, citation per year, subject area, documentation type, were investigated in both parts. Based on the results, Palatography and its applications are fluctuating in recent years. The results show that documents with the focus on Palatography in “Art and Humanities” and “Social Sciences” have deteriorated in citation rate, as the authors were researching in multidisciplinary zones. The top research keywords in all publications investigated in the first part of our study concentrated on “speech”, “palate”, “articulation”, and “tongue”. While, as demonstrated in the second part, the main focus has been on “dental”, “speech”, “palate”, and “phonetics”. The trends of publications on Palatography provide a perspective on the future of research and identifies potential opportunities and challenges.

KEYWORDS: art and humanities, bibliometrics, dental, palate, palatography, social sciences

Introduction

Bibliometrics, by definition, is a statistical, quantitative analysis of publication patterns in a specific field. It informs the readers on the number of papers on a certain subject or domain published in a given period of time; indicates active authors and their affiliation and relations with other authors; demonstrates the leading countries in the given domain; and above all, shows which areas in a certain domain is yet to be explored.

This bibliometric paper is intended to address the studies that have so far concentrated on the speech articulation and difficulties using the clinical method of “palatography” in the domain of phonology and speech therapy. Palatography is a useful means of collecting data concerning the shape of the mouth cavity as well as the contact between the tongue and the roof of this cavity during the production of speech sounds. The palatography involves a number of methods, the early form of which is known as direct palatography. As Ladefoged (1957) describes, in the direct palatography the investigator would spray a black powder on the mouth of the participant and s/he would articulate one word each tile. During the utterance whenever the tongue touched the palate, would remove the black powder, enabling the investigator to see via a photograph exactly which areas of the palate contacted the tongue. Another method consisted of an artificial palate made to fit the participant’s mouth and would be covered by a type of marking ink before it was worn by the participant. Once a word was pronounced, the device was removed and the investigator would record the areas where the ink was wiped

away. It would be easy then, to take a photo or draw the false palate. Comparing these two methods, it seems the direct palatography was more preferred since it would enable the researchers to investigate the utterances of many individuals with not much preparations. The second approach the biggest challenge was making the artificial palate. It was a skilled job and the researcher would need a custom-made palate for each participant.

Electropalatography (EPG), first introduced by Grützner in 1879, is an imaging technique that enables phoneticians and speech therapists to observe how and when the tongue touches the hard palate during the articulation. The instrument, palatograph, consists of an artificial palate –specifically designed to fit the speaker’s mouth- with 62 electrodes on one surface that is in contact with the tongue. The instrument is worn by the speaker on the hard palate and while they speak, the points of contact between the tongue and hard palate are recorded by the electrodes. The electrodes (Figure 1) are arranged in an 8*8 grid the first row of which includes 6 electrodes. EPG is especially useful to help patients with articulation disabilities or disorders produce proper speech sounds. Figure 2 illustrates the electrodes and the areas of the hard palate that touch the tongue when articulating /t,s,l/.

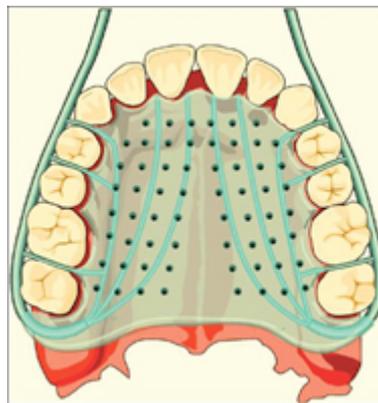


Figure 1. The schema of a palatograph.

Source: (contemplindent.net)

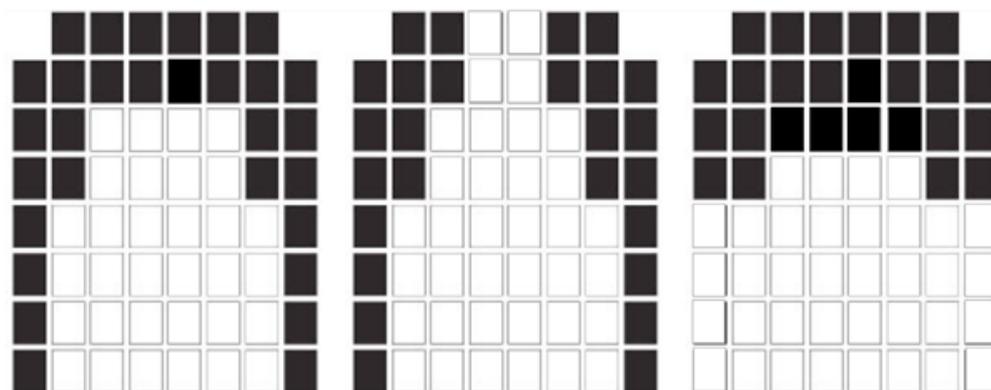


Figure 2. Palatogram of three speech sounds: /t/ in “teen”, /s/ in “seen”, and /l/ in “lean”. The contact between the electrodes and tongue is indicated by black grids (Vernhoeven et al. 2019).

Section 1. General search pattern. Methodology

We collected the data from Scopus on December 21st, 2019 where it was openly accessible. The main keyword “palatograph” OR “palatography” (TITLE-ABS KEY

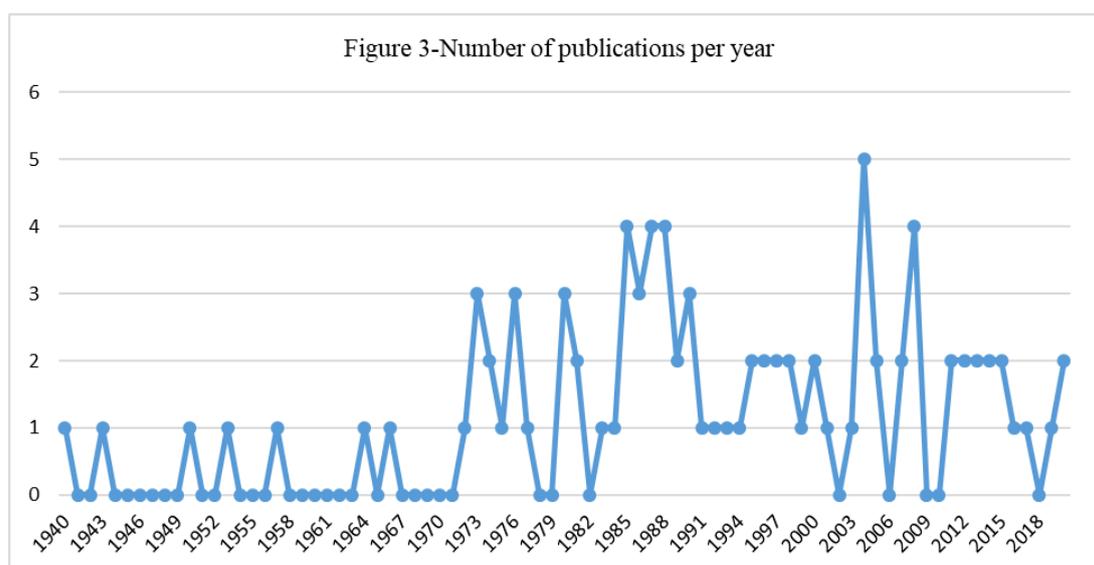
(palatograph) OR TITLE-ABS-KEY (palatography)) was searched in the article title, abstract, and keywords of the publications during the years 1940 to 2020. The result included 90 documents. The quantitative patterns of the publications, i.e. publication years, authors, keywords, countries and affiliation, citation per year, subject area, documentation type, are studied. Then, the search pattern is limited to categories of “arts and humanities” and “social sciences” between 2011 and 2020 (TITLE-ABS-KEY (palatograph) OR TITLE-ABS-KEY (palatography)) AND (LIMIT-TO (PUBYEAR , 2020) OR LIMIT-TO (PUBYEAR , 2019) OR LIMIT-TO (PUBYEAR , 2017) OR LIMIT-TO (PUBYEAR , 2016) OR LIMIT-TO (PUBYEAR , 2015) OR LIMIT-TO (PUBYEAR , 2014) OR LIMIT-TO (PUBYEAR , 2013) OR LIMIT-TO (PUBYEAR , 2012) OR LIMIT-TO (PUBYEAR , 2011)) AND (LIMIT-TO (SUBJAREA , "ARTS") OR LIMIT-TO (SUBJAREA , "SOCI")). In order to analyze the data quantitatively, Excel 2016 is used to visualize the statistical results based on Scopus analysis.

The resulting documents were further visualized by VOS Viewer (<http://www.vosviewer.com/>) on the basis of the keywords, the origin of the authors, and their affiliations. Figure 4 illustrates the number of publications per year, from 1940 to 2020. VOS Viewer enables us to restrict the keywords to the most frequent ones used by the authors or indexed in Scopus and to analyze how closely those keywords are related to each other.

As mentioned earlier, the Scopus database search rendered 90 academic papers where the keywords “palatograph” or “palatography” appeared either in their keywords, title, or abstract. Only 7 papers out of 90 were related to the methodology of palatography limited to categories of “arts and humanities” and “social sciences” between 2011 and 2020. In this paper, we focus on the qualitative analysis of all papers regardless of their annual citation rate and afterward as well. We investigate the methodological implications through the analysis of the seven papers that have addressed palatography method in particular. In the following sections, first, the title of the papers are analyzed and then, the research methods are surveyed.

Result and discussion

Publications per year analysis

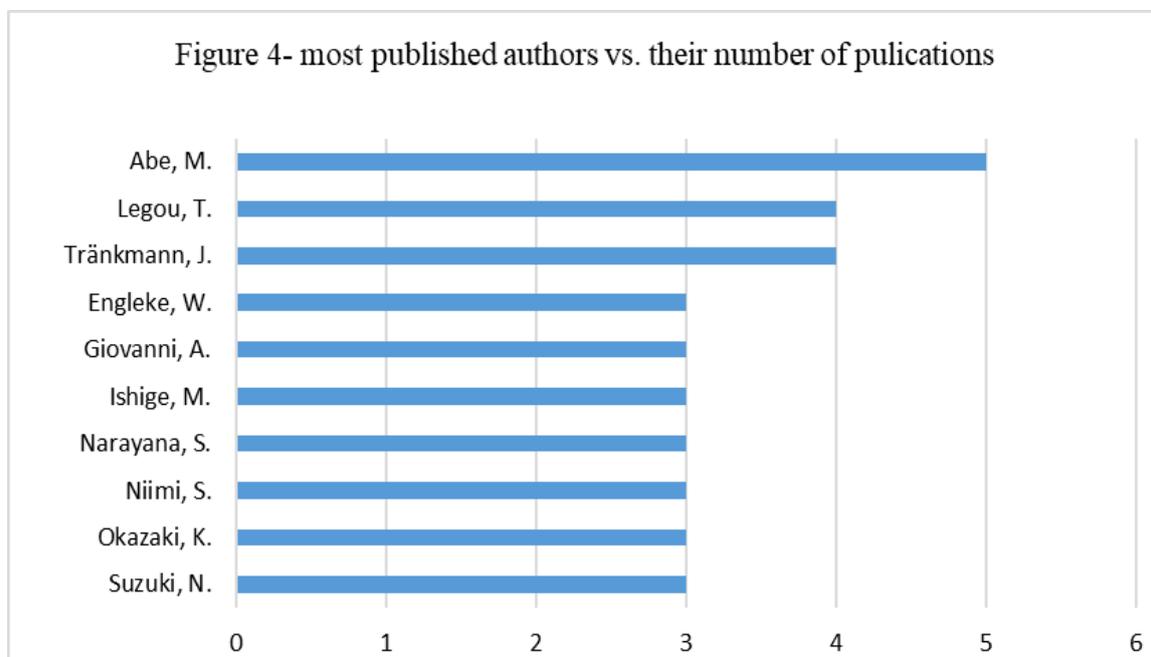


Analysis of publication years

Our investigation covers a period of 80 years starting from 1940. Although palatography and electropalatography as its sub-set were introduced in 1879, the approach did not come into attention for a century; only one paper at times was dedicated to the subject. The year 1972 was apparently a turning point (Figure 3), where the number of scholarly papers increased to 3 per year and from then on, more than one and up to five papers (the year 2014) were published each year.

Analysis of authors

Figure 4 illustrates the ten top authors with more than three publications on the theme “palatography”. As it is shown, Abe, M. tops the list with five papers. The next two high standing authors, Legou, T. and Tränkmann, J., have participated in four publications. These three writers together have produced about 14.5 percent of the total papers on the subject under question within the 80-year period.



Keywords analysis

Keywords are useful means for researchers who may wish to replicate specific surveys in order to examine the efficiency and the application of the previous methods in diverse settings and conditions. The quantitative analysis of keywords will help future researchers to scrutinize their research topic within the hottest domains. As far as “palatography” is concerned, the most frequent keyword in our corpus was “speech”, while the less frequent one among the top 5 keywords was “articulation”. The usage frequency of each keyword is depicted in Table 1.

Table 1. The top five keywords by their frequency of appearance

Keyword	speech	palate	human	tongue	articulation
Frequency	128	88	87	79	40

The density of the most frequent keywords within our corpus was visualized by voyant tools, an application that is freely accessible online at www.voyant-tools.org. As it is obvious (Figure 5), the more a keyword appears in the corpus, the thicker and bigger it is visualized by voyant tools.

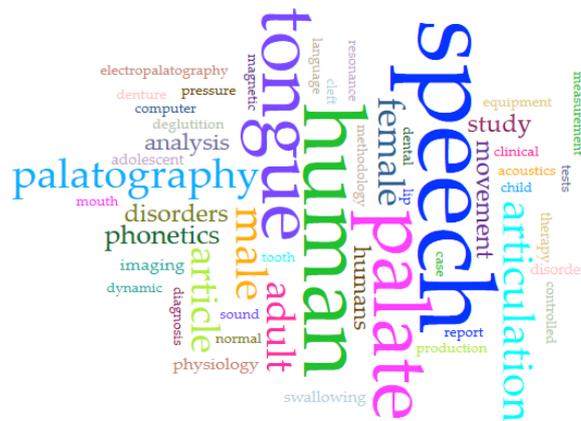


Figure 5. The density of keywords related to “palatography” research (voyant-tools.org)

Moreover, VOS Viewer is used to visualizing the interactions between the authors and indexed keywords based on the specific time periods. Those keywords with dark colors represent the keywords (e.g. speech disorder and diagnosis) that the scholars were interested in nearly 35 years ago. This can confirm the fact that most of the subject areas are related to Medical and Health issues shown in Figure 6. Keywords in blue (e.g. articulation and palate) are associated with the years 1990 and 1995. We can consider the years 1995 to 2000 a turning point, given the fact that authors used the most frequent keywords the most interactions with other ones. In this regard, human and tongue appeared in this period of time and studies based on Normal humans began in 1995, as well. Furthermore, the size of the keywords depends on the frequency of their appearance in the literature. Therefore, human, palate, tongue, and speech are the most frequent keywords and the rest with smaller sizes represent the less frequent ones in our corpus. The brighter colors represent the most state-of-the-art keywords being considered in the literature of the domain under study since 2000. These keywords include electeropalatography and dynamic palatography, leading to the fact that those techniques were applied in studies right after their advent.

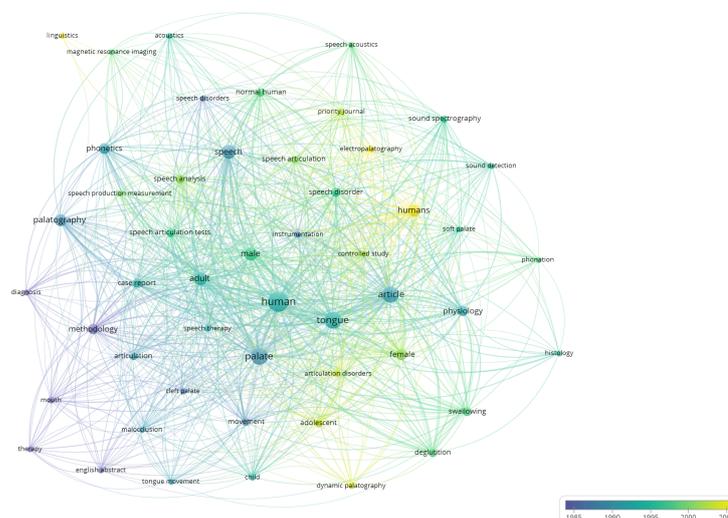


Figure 6. The diversity of keywords and their interactions with other keywords

Analysis of countries and affiliations

It is important for researchers to know which countries are the most active in conducting research programs on specific topics because it helps them find appropriate research partners and co-authors. For the same reason, being informed of the affiliation of the most published authors are important as well. Figure 7 below demonstrates the top ten countries that have been pioneers in the domain of palatography along with the number of their publications during the period under our investigation. As it is shown, Japan with 17, Germany and the United States with 14 publications each are the leading countries. These three countries have produced 50 percent of the total academic output worldwide.

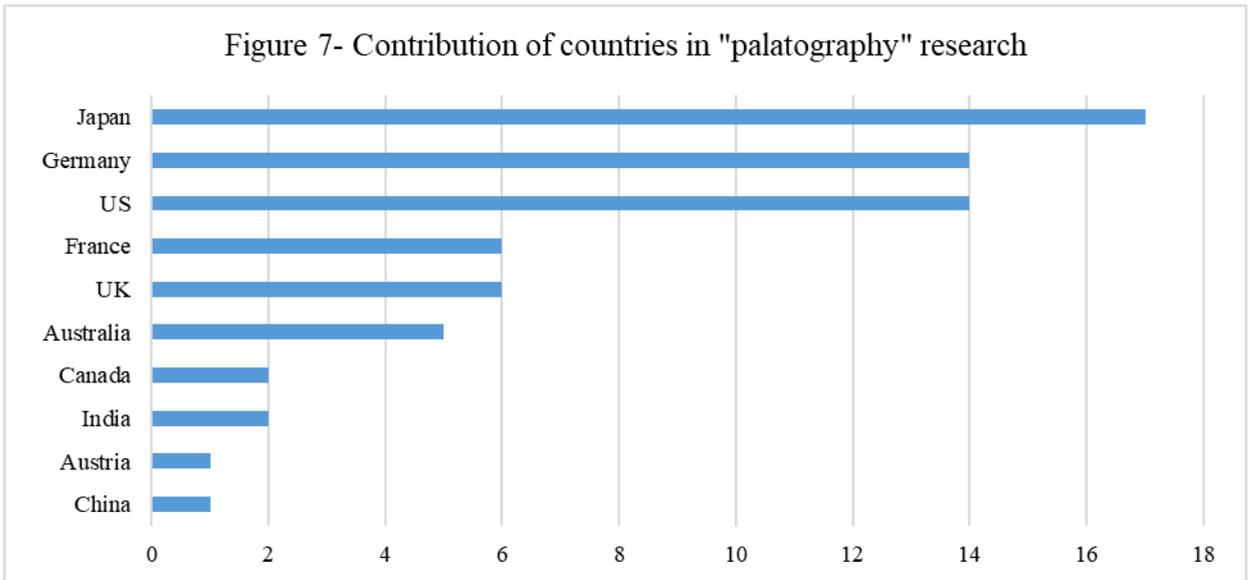
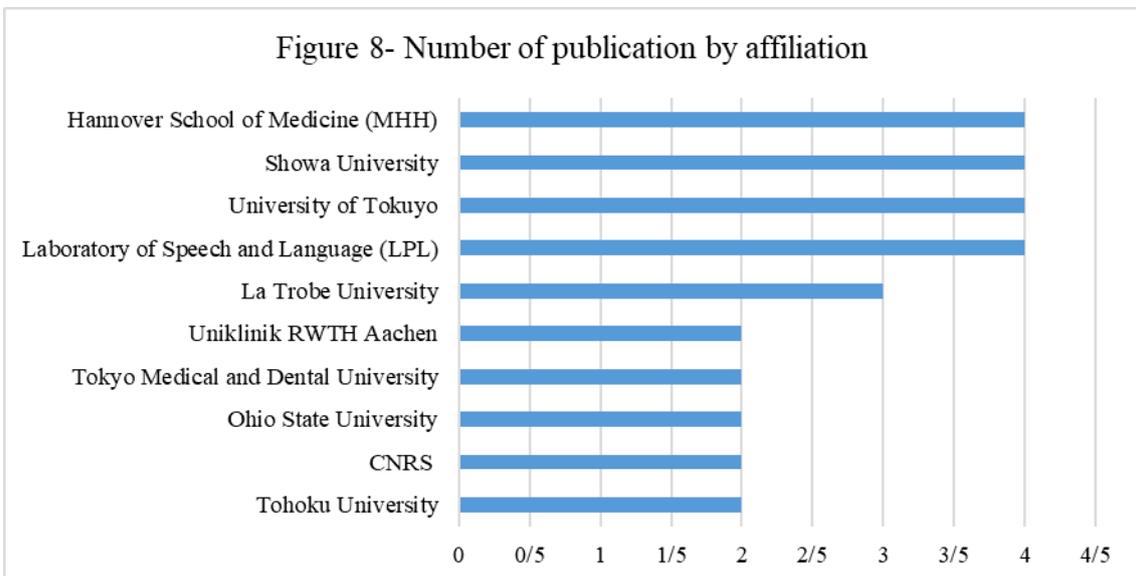
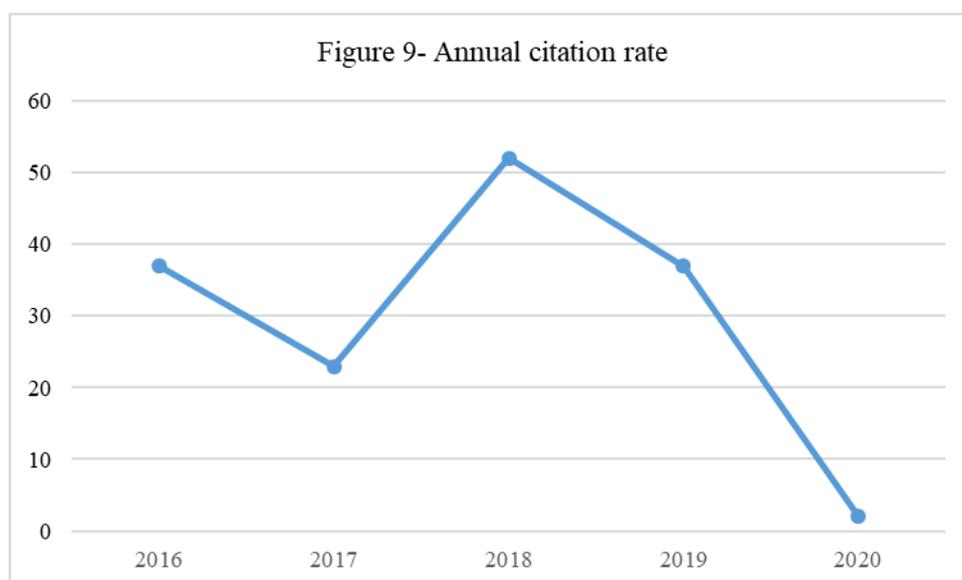


Figure 8 below presents the publication rate of the top ten universities and research institutes around the world. Hannover Medical School (MHH) in Germany, Showa University and the University of Tokyo in Japan, and Laboratory of Speech and Language (LPL) in France, with 4 papers each, are the top four institutes that have had the most contribution in the publication of palatography research worldwide. These four institutes have produced about 18 percent of the total scholarly work on palatography.



Citation per year

As mentioned earlier, our database consisted of 90 documents in total and Figure 9 below demonstrates the rate of annual citation to the whole database since 2016. As can be seen, the year 2018 with the total citation of 52 was the most cited year and the current year with 2 is the least cited year. This shows that the attraction of this field has a downward trend up to 2020.



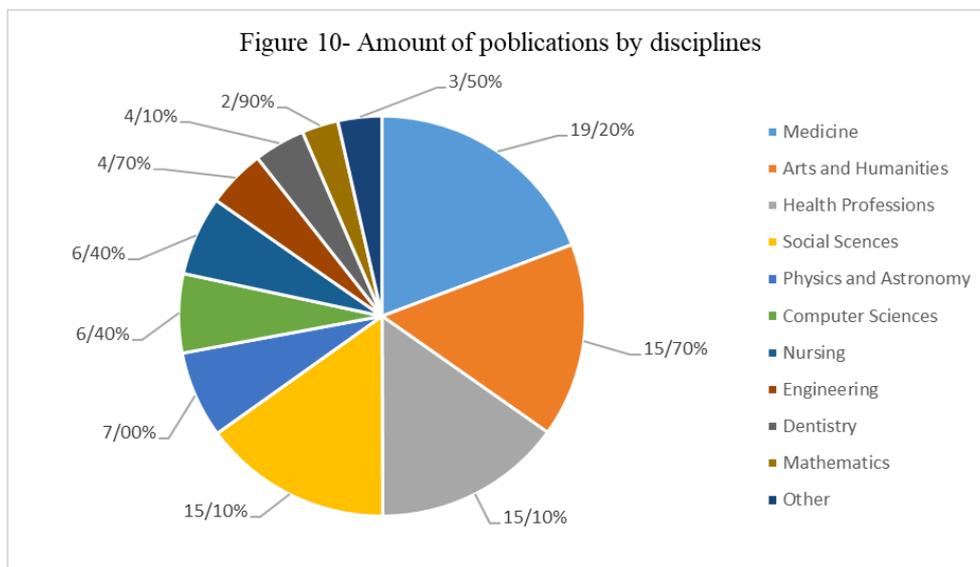
Interestingly, the most cited paper on palatography was published in a medical journal in 2003 and to date, it has received 205 citations. The two other top-cited papers with 51 and 49 citations were published in linguistics-related journals. Table 2 presents more detailed information in this regard.

Table 2. Top-cited papers related to palatography in all domains

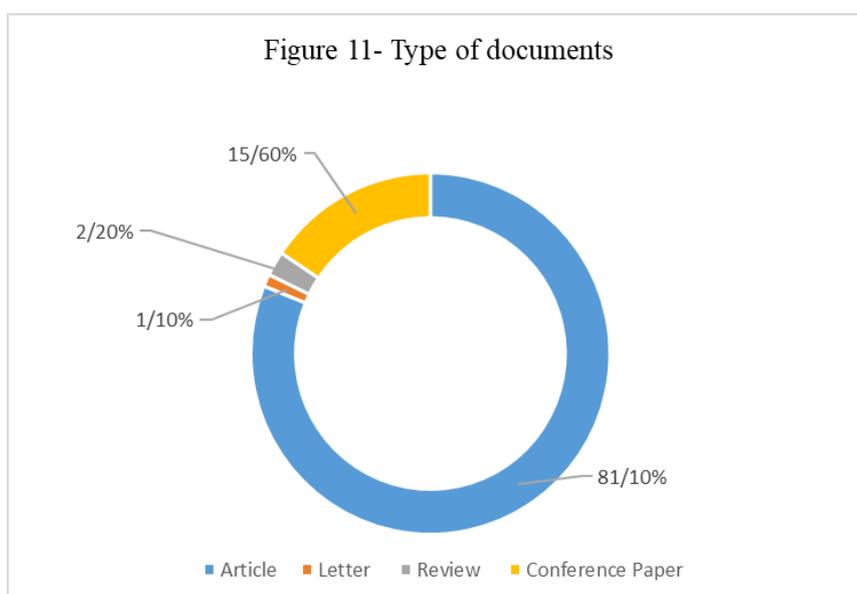
Title	Authors	Year	Journal	Citation rate
Tongue movement in feeding and speech	Hiiemae, K. M., Palmer, J. B.	2003	Critical review in oral biology and medicine	205
Articulatory and voicing characteristics of adult dysarthric and verbal dyspraxic speakers: An instrumental study	Hardcastle, W. J., Barry, R. A. M., Clark, C. J.	1985	International journal of language and communication disorders	51
Compensating for a bite block in /s/ and /t/ production: Palatographic, acoustic, and perceptual data	Flege, J.E., Fletcher, S.G., Homiedan, A.	1988	Journal of acoustical society of America	49

Analysis by subject area

Figure 10 presents the share of different disciplines in the whole research papers published during the 80 years starting in 1940. It seems that research domains related to “platography” and “platograph” include a variety of disciplines and interdisciplinary studies. The most dominant domain is related to Medicine with 19 percent. It shows that “platography” and “platograph” are studied to find remedies for medical issues. Besides, health professions enjoy 15 percent of the total. Moreover, 31 percent of the total subject areas is associated with Art and Humanities together with Social Sciences as interdisciplinary areas, covering language and linguistics research themes. This can show the importance of these areas in paving the way for the other areas by providing the infrastructures. Other areas are mostly related to Computer and Pure Sciences, such as Physics and Astronomy (7 percent), Computer Sciences (6.4 percent), Mathematics (2.9 percent). Interestingly, 4 percent of the whole subject areas pertains to Dentistry, having seemingly more interests regarding “platography” and “platograph”.



Analysis of documentation type



As it is demonstrated in Figure 11, five types of documents have so far been published based on the keyword of our focus -i.e. “palatography” and “palatograph”- in the present investigation. The majority of documents are articles making up 81 percent of the total literature in our corpus. One interpretation for scholars interested in this domain may be that this is a mature area to undertake further studies. While 15.6 percent of the total are conference papers presented in the conferences related to the issue, only 2.2 percent of the whole documents are review papers and the rest (1.1 percent) are letters.

Section 2. Limited search pattern

In order to concentrate on the studies related to Social Sciences and Art and Humanities, including Language and linguistics, the second part of this study investigates those papers resulted from the search pattern limited to these two categories during the years 2011 to 2020. The 10-year period is on the focus of our paper to be able to thoroughly investigate the related literature. The search pattern for this section was: (TITLE-ABS-KEY(palatograph) OR TITLE-ABS-KEY (palatography)) AND (LIMIT-TO (PUBYEAR, 2020) OR LIMIT-TO (PUBYEAR, 2019) OR LIMIT-TO (PUBYEAR, 2017) OR LIMIT-TO (PUBYEAR, 2016) OR LIMIT-TO (PUBYEAR, 2015) OR LIMIT-TO (PUBYEAR, 2014) OR LIMIT-TO (PUBYEAR, 2013) OR LIMIT-TO (PUBYEAR, 2012) OR LIMIT-TO (PUBYEAR, 2011)) AND (LIMIT-TO (SUBJAREA, "ARTS") OR LIMIT-TO (SUBJAREA, "SOCI")). In order to analyze the data quantitatively, Excel 2016 was used to visualize the statistical results of the Scopus analyses. The analyses include Publication years, Authors, Keywords, Countries and Affiliations, Subject Areas, Documentation Type, and Citation per year. Afterward, the most cited papers in this part will be compared to the most cited paper presented in the first section of this paper.

Analysis of publication years

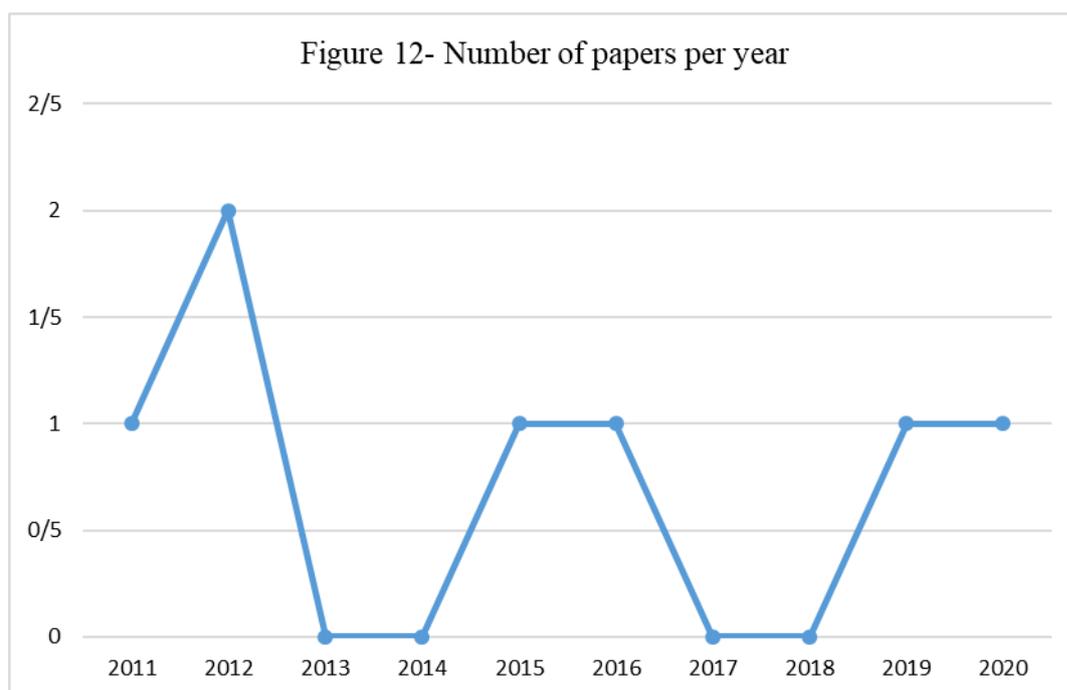


Figure 12 illustrates the dispensation of published articles limited to Art and Humanities and Social Sciences from the year 2011 to the first half of 2020. As can be seen, the year 2012 ranks the highest in terms of the number of publications. No publication was reported for the years 2014 to 2014 and 2017 to 2018. The rest of the years in the interval under our investigation had only one publication. Furthermore, the first half of 2020 has so far recorded one publication and we can expect an increase for the rest of the year. This result for the limited search pattern is very similar to the trend illustrated in Figure 1.

Analysis of documentation type

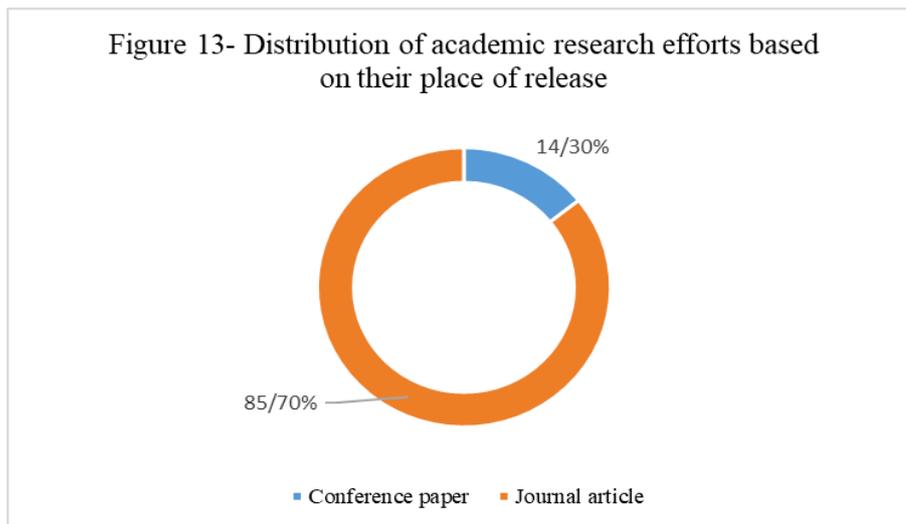


Figure 13 presents the diversity of the publication types. The issue under study has apparently been published either in journals (X percent) or conferences (Y percent). The trend is similar to the publications of the first section, where 85.7 percent of documents were journal papers and 14.3 percent were conference presentations.

Documentation by countries and affiliation

As can be seen in Figure 14, the brighter the color, the more active the country is in producing research output. As a result, in this domain with respect to Art and Humanities and Social Sciences, Australia, the brightest, is the most active country since 2010. New Zealand and Taiwan are the other two active countries in this field, yet less active than Australia.

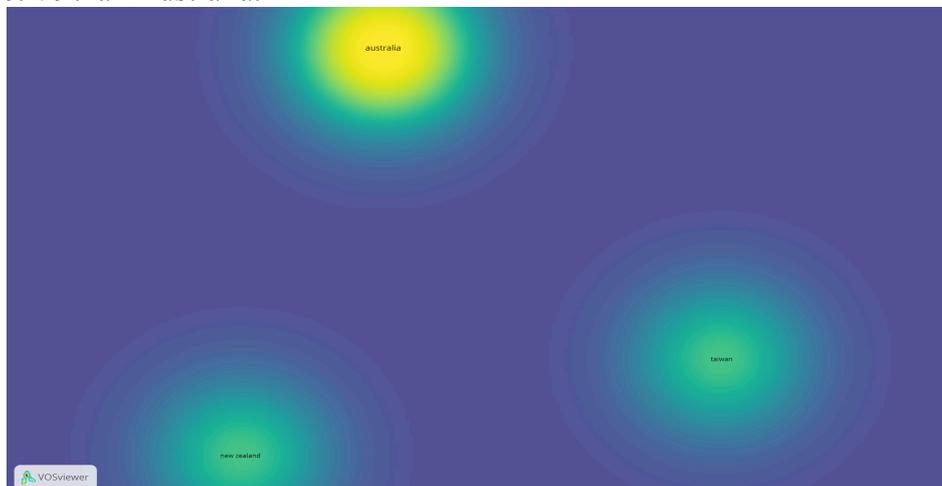


Figure 14. The most active countries in the domain Art, Humanities and Social Sciences

As far as the affiliation of authors is concerned, Australian universities are still the most active ones. La Trobe and Western Sydney University are the most active institutes with two and one publications respectively. The other institutes and universities illustrated in Figure 15 published one document in this domain.

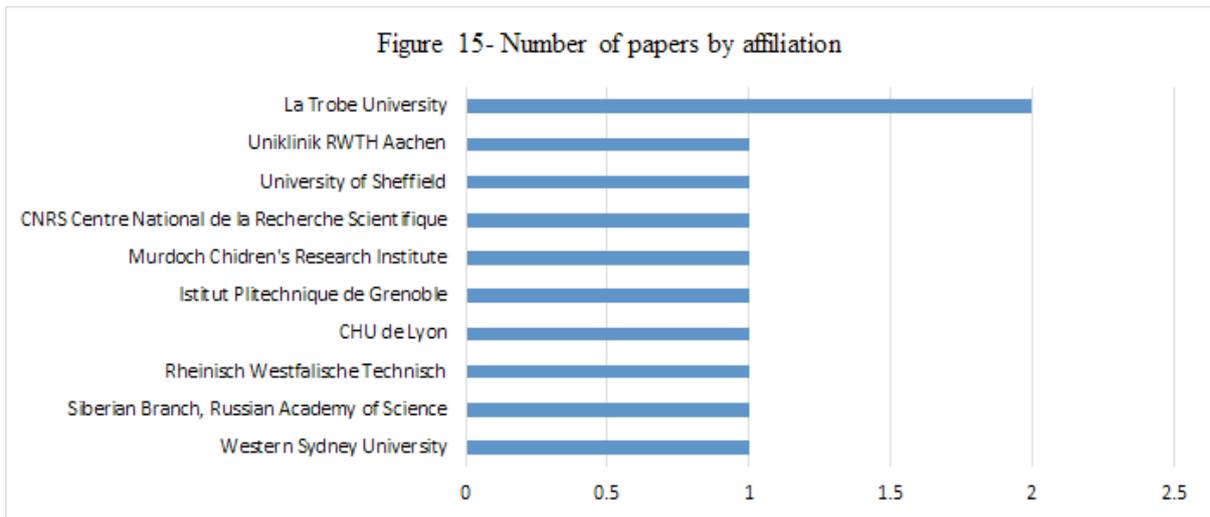


Figure 15. The number of publications by the affiliation of the authors

Analysis of authors

As can be observed in Figure 16, the most active author is Tabain, M. who has taken part in two articles out of the overall number of 7 in the field of “palatograph” and “palatography” restricted to the domains of Art and Humanities and Social Sciences. The other nine authors have participated in only one publication.

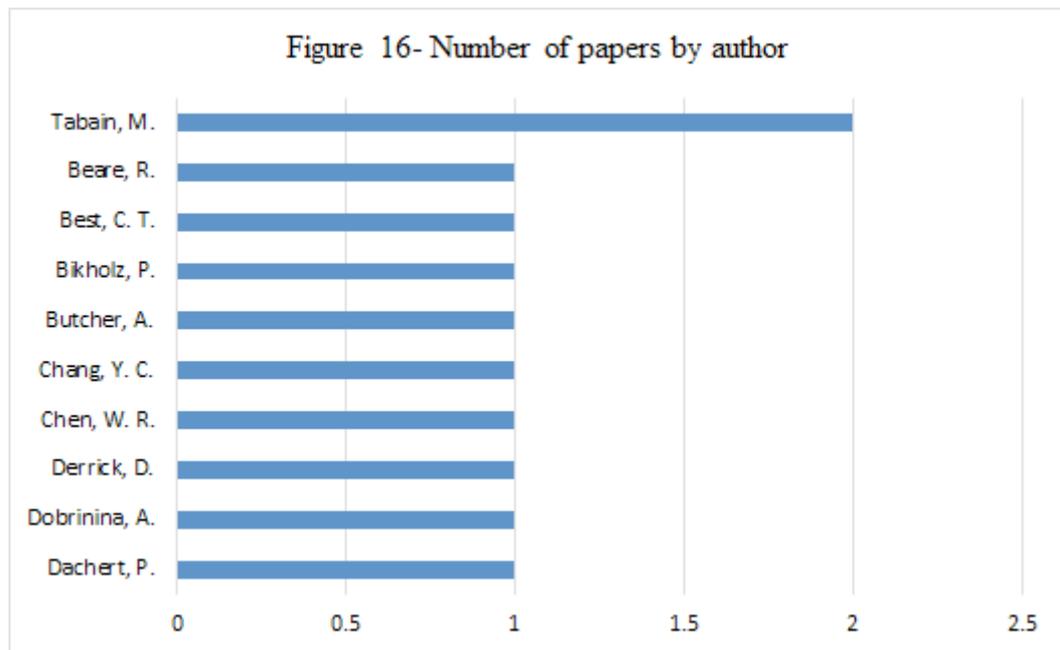


Figure 16. The share of the top ten authors in publications

Keywords Analysis

Keywords found in part 2 overlap to some extent with those of the first section (namely, speech and palate). As far as “palatography” is concerned, the most frequent keyword in our corpus, extracted freely by the accessible online tool at www.voyant-tools.org, was “speech” exactly the same as part one, while the less frequent one among the top 5 keywords was “palate” and “computer”. The average number of words per sentence is 215 in our corpus. Interestingly, “dental” has a pretty high frequency in comparison with the results in part one, revealing the fact that dental studies enjoy more attention in the domains of Art and Humanities and Social Sciences. The usage frequency of each keyword is depicted in Table 2.

Table 2. The top five keywords by their frequency of appearance

Keyword	speech	palate	dental	phonetics	computer
Frequency	10	5	7	6	5

Figure 17 below visualizes the keywords based on their frequency. Apparently, the focus of the studies in these two domains is on men and adults as the participants. Studies on dental issues are still more than those on the palate. The keyword “australian” shows the concentration of the research on the languages in Australia.

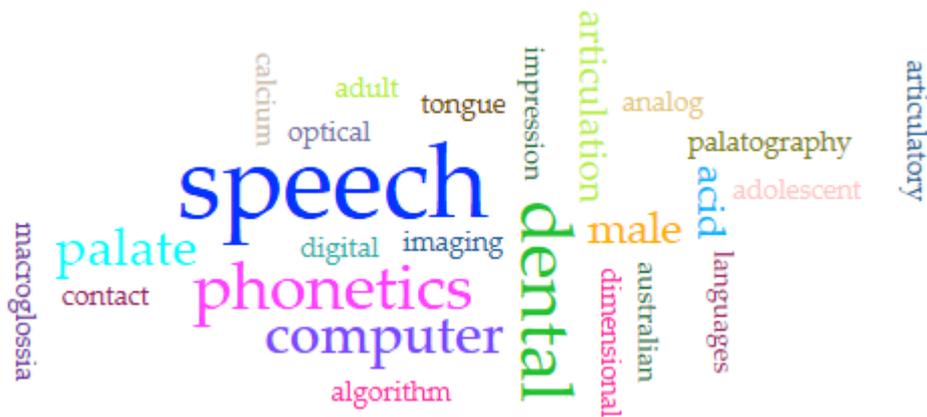


Figure 17. the density and variety of keywords in the domains restricted to Arts and Humanities and Social Sciences

Citation per year

As mentioned earlier, our database consisted of 7 documents in total and Figure 18 below shows the rate of annual citation in the whole database since 2016. As can be seen, the year 2016 stands significantly higher compared to the other years in terms of the number of citations -5 citations during the whole year. The trend follows a sudden fall in 2017 with 1 citation. But there is an upward trend in 2018 reaching two citations and since then, there is a decrease from one in 2019 to zero in the present year.

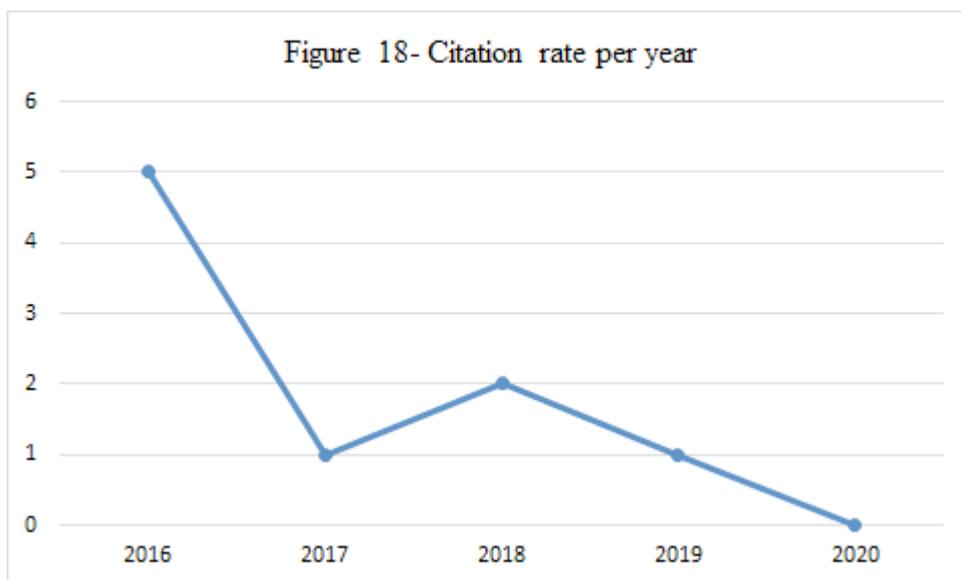


Figure 18. Citation rate per year in the domains restricted to Arts and Humanities and Social Sciences

A comparison between the three most cited papers of section 1 and section 2

In order to compare the top-cited papers in all domains (yielded by our keyword search of “palatography” and “palatograph”) with those of our search limited to domains Arts and Humanities and Social Sciences between 2010 and 2020, we present here Table 3 with detailed information of those publications. In the first part of the table, as it is clearly indicated, the highest-cited paper (205) belongs to the domain of Medicine and Medical Sciences and the other two with lower citations belong to Linguistics-related domains. However, the second part of Table 3 shows that still the top-cited paper (the second in the list with 14 cites) is indirectly related to Arts and Humanities in general and Linguistics in particular. The author of this paper, Tabain, M., is the most cited author in the domains limited to Arts and Humanities and Social Sciences, while he is the 18th in the list of top authors in the first section of our survey.

Table 3. Top-cited papers related to palatography in all domains vs. the restricted two domains

Top-cited papers in all domains					
o	Title	Authors	Year	Journal	Citation rate
	Tongue movement in feeding and speech	Hiiemae, K. M., Palmer, J. B.	2003	Critical review in oral biology and medicine	205
	Articulatory and voicing characteristics of adult dysarthric and verbal dyspraxic	Hardcastle, W. J., Barry, R. A. M., Clark, C. J.	1985	International journal of language and communication disorders	51

	speakers: An instrumental study				
	Compensating for a bite block in /s/ and /t/ production: Palatographic, acoustic, and perceptual data	Flege, J.E., Fletcher, S.G., Homiedan, A.	1988	Journal of acoustical society of America	49
Top cited paper in the restricted domains					
	Title	Authors	Year	Journal	Citation rate
8	An EPG study of palatal consonants in two Australian languages	Tabain, M., Fletcher, J.	2011	Language and speech	12

Conclusion

In this survey, we attempted to have a quantitative analytical view toward the publications that have focused on “palatography” as a clinical means of investigating the articulation of specific speech sounds as well as speech disorders for 80 years. The bibliometric study on this subject matter will help researchers target appropriate areas and avoid replications. Our investigation comprises of two parts; in the first part, we used “palatography” and “palatograph” as our main keywords to search all documents in the Scopus database. This search yielded 90 documents that included a variety of document types, such as journal papers and conference presentations. The quantitative analysis of the publications, i.e. publication years, authors, keywords, countries and affiliation, citation per year, subject area, documentation type, were investigated. In the second part of the survey, we restricted the same keywords to two domains of Arts and Humanities and Social Sciences from 2010 to 2020. This time our search rendered only 7 papers of both journal articles and conference presentation types. Additionally, the quantitative analyses were done, as well.

Generally speaking, palatography is a very useful means for linguists and phonologists who wish to closely examine the interaction of tongue-palate in the articulation of speech sounds and its differences across languages and language families. It will help scientists to delve into the differences in the human articulatory system. It is also a valuable method for speech therapists to identify the exact problem of their patients with regard to speech production.

Based on our analyses and findings, since the advent of palatography has yet to gain attention, especially in the realm of Linguistics and Phonology. The number of academic investigations in domains other than Arts and Humanities and Social Sciences is lower than what one would expect. This might be interpreted as the absence of willingness of therapists and scientists to share their clinical findings and experiments with their peers.

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Indian Muslim Mothers and their Maternal Subjectivity

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ABSTRACT: Maternal subjectivity is defined in terms of emerging agency of a mother as a woman within the interface with her child. It entails engagement with the experience of motherhood and womanhood to define a sense of self. In psychoanalysis, this ground of interaction with the mother is seen as a key influencer to the evolution of one's identity much before the phase of oedipal complex. For many years, the mother-child relationship was understood from the child's perspective but in recent times, due recognition has been given to the Mother as a subject as well. This paper is an attempt to capture her voice to address her dilemmas and efforts to negotiate with the fragmented self within her to contribute to her emerging agency. Existing work around maternal subjectivity has a predominantly western lens, theoretical underpinnings have been taken from the work of Jessica Benjamin and Alison Stone, but the effort was to capture the voices of Middle class Muslim mothers of adolescent daughters. In the Indian context, Sudhir Kakar has worked extensively to explore Indian Psyche; however the realm of the Muslim mother's experience is still on nascent ground. It has been found that contemporary Indian Muslim mothers struggle in their efforts to sync their agency with conflict coming from their mothered experiences, and contemporary societal realities. Exploratory in its nature, data was collected through in-depth interviews conducted with 10 mothers. This paper was developed on the analysis of two interviews conducted as part of the larger research.

KEYWORDS: Maternal Subjectivity, Indian Muslim Mothers, Intersubjectivity, Maternal Negotiations

Introduction

“As I struggle, I write the script of my daughter's struggles.” - Gaiti

The origin of this paper is located in the narratives of the Muslim mothers who shared their stories of motherhood and reliving the experience with their mothers. The focus of base research is around trying to decipher 'how does the mothered experience seep into their mothering, whether it is a conscious process or does it happen unconsciously and how does a mother deal with it? 'My reflection while mothering my daughter was that unconsciously my mother would creep in to influence the way I would engage with her or the situation. It is at that time the earlier questions emerged and I began to ask myself - Where was 'I' located in this? Was 'I' being subsumed by the ideal of being a mother or was 'I' retaining something of mine as a woman – how was this whole process unfolding and how was it defining my identity? Thus began my parallel inquiry into others as to how do they negotiate womanhood with motherhood. This paper is an attempt to capture this negotiation. It looks into two distinct narratives of mothers interviewed and encompasses my own reflection to bring forth the self fragments and how they work together in relation to the milieu, both internal and external.

The western theorising around maternal subjectivity is a recent exploration, and there exists no common story. Sudhir Kakar and Katherine Kakar (2007) in fact proposed that if one has to talk about Indians then one would have to take on the Indic lens; taking this idea forward, if one has to talk about the Indian Muslim mothers then one would have to expand the lens to include what it means to be a Muslim, especially in an Indian subcontinent. Sudhir Kakar has worked intensely in the Indian context - therefore has deep reflections about Indian psyche; however one finds that he has predominantly worked within Hindu culture and not delved much into the Muslim woman psyche. This is recognised as a gap that one attempts to address in this paper. One's interiority is also used to explore the inner life of the Indian Muslim mother. To start with an acknowledgment that even though the Muslim mothers practice a monolithic religion, there exist influences of elements of geographical majoritarian culture in their lives. This is one of the elements of negotiation for them as they raise their daughters. As a disclaimer, one does not claim generalisability in this work, but hope exists that experiences brought forth may help while one engages with the experience of the Muslim mother in different spaces.

Maternal Subjectivity - The evolutionary journey of a mother from being an 'object' to 'subject'

A sense of self emerges post negotiation with both past and the present. "Subjectivity is defined in terms of affect of language, a product of power relations, and a psychical construction predicated on the repression of a prior multiplicity of drives, affect, and mental elements" (Stone 2012, 3) . While talking about maternal experience it is this and the realisation that a mother is not just a mother but is a person in her own right that allows us to understand the maternal subjectivity. The exploration around maternal subjectivity is a fairly recent one, only made possible when it was accepted that intersubjective relations exist between the mother and child. The theoretical realisation of intersubjectivity facilitated the researchers to look at dyadic relationships, especially of mother-child as relationship between two subjects and not between a subject and an object. The definition that resonates closely to the one used in this paper is given by Juhasz (2003) "... the aggregate of subject positions or "representations", experienced by woman who is a mother which includes those as a daughter". There is, thus, a recognition that there are multiple identities that she lives through and her sense of self actually emerges from a combination of all these and how they interact with each other.

Benjamin (1988; 1995; 2000; 2004) proposed that maternal feelings are meaningful when others recognise them inclusive of intention and action for self as well. She gave up the notion of identity but focused the attention on the multiplicity of self-representation in the course of development, and on the mechanisms by which they play off and later one another. These become critical in facilitating a demarcation between self and the other. Here lies the basis of the argument that a mother has multiple identities, one of which is being a mother. This recognition of how multiple identities interplay becomes a matter of inquiry. In fact, Benjamin argued that if mothers are denied subjective agency and fathers do not allow their daughters to identify with their agency then latter is most like to be submissively attached to the mother (Layton 2008). This then becomes a cyclic phenomenon with possibility of transmitting from generation to the other. Is this the only reason behind the need to understand maternal subjectivity? My proposition is that apart from the need to break the cyclic phenomenon of submissive attachment, there is also a need to respond to increasing number of mothers experiencing dilemmas and struggling with maternal ambivalence.

There are multiple positions that one operates from as a mother if one has to establish an identity of one's own. It would entail acknowledgement of existing ambivalent feelings along with childhood experiences of being mothered. The ambivalent feelings emerge when the historical notion of motherhood which revolves around self-sacrifice and selflessness comes into conflict with current desire to think about oneself and one's choices. Knowledge about maternal subjectivity helps to give rise to resilience that allows a mother to beneficially use the feelings of maternal ambivalence to negotiate between her own and her child's needs.

In order to understand maternal subjectivity one falls back onto psychoanalysis - the reason being that the field traces the origin of the patterns evident in adults into their childhood. As Stone (2012) shares, "Even though psychoanalysis seems to be destined to position the mothers as the background within which these formations took shape, it is psychoanalytic orientation towards childhood that ensures that mothers are treated as the daughters of their own mothers" (31). Each individual's psyche has a layered history and through psychoanalysis one is able to understand the past and present, and how one shapes the other. This understanding would enable one to capture the mothered experiences that a mother brings to her mothering (Van Buren 2007). It also allows us to recognise that the process of re-enacting the maternal past is in part a process of loss whereby making memory work and mourning an intrinsic part of maternity and a way to identify with others. In fact, Benjamin has contested the traditional psychoanalytic view that primary task of the individual development is a progressive process of becoming separate from and independent of others, particularly the mother. This shift in the lens facilitates a deeper exploration of the mother as a subject in her own right.

Other than Benjamin, Stone (2011; 2012) has also argued that in order to recognise one's maternal subject position, one would need to negotiate with the western cultural norms that typically reject maternal body relations. This would require one to go back to one's own mothered experiences to re-situate oneself as a participant in one's relation. "With own mother in past and daughter in present, the mother regains full subjectivity through becoming active in generating meaning from her maternal bodily experience" (Stone 2012, 33). The interpretative framework has been informed by the work of Stone and Benjamin and used to deconstruct the narrative of the mothers to locate their subjective position. It is said that the mother's present day mothering is shaped by her past experiences with her own mother as they remember and re-imagine them.

Maternal Subjectivity of the Indian Mother

In India, mothers and daughters often share a compassionate and empathetic connection, especially because she is aware of her daughter's fate in her family of marriage where she is expected to be adaptive. As a result, re-experiences the emotional conflicts of her own separation when aroused at time of daughter's marriage. There is, as a result, an increase in her indulgence and solicitude towards her daughter to prepare her for adulthood. This may come in conflict with her efforts to focus on herself. Expanding on the Indian context, Kakar & Kakar (2007) interprets the position of mother in the Indian psyche in two forms. One as a mother, a discrete self, and the other as a diffuse and archaic maternal figure. He strongly recommends viewing of Indian women through the Indic culture lens which has resulted in giving due recognition to the influence of Caste. In India, the interplay of Caste and Gender within the strong patriarchal society manifests in such a manner, whereby a Brahmin woman would find herself superior to a Vaishya male and a Muslim woman would find herself comparably lower than a Hindu woman in societal hierarchy. This is their social reality and many who are working on

the Indian woman psyche find themselves required to contend with this along with the twin ideologies - one that seeks to defend the traditional vision of Indian womanhood, and another that aims to be free from the inequities of religiously sanctioned patriarchies. This is also reflected within the dilemmas experienced by the modern Indian women as they make an ongoing attempt to reconcile traditional ideals with modern aspirations (Kakar 1981). Building on his proposition, it is recognised that in conversations with Muslim mothers this nuancing may exist and requires sensitive engagement as only then one may be able to extract the dilemmas and allow an understanding of their efforts of negotiation.

Representation of the Indian Muslim Mother

For this paper, of all the interviews conducted, two have been picked up whose dilemma may be said to be representative of the experiences predominant among contemporary middle class Muslim mothers. Gaiti and Faiza (both names changed) are women who are exposed to the dominant societal narrative and find themselves at the cusp where the traditional ideas of motherhood are challenged by their daughters and the concurrent notions of womanhood force them to examine the idea of motherhood from that lens for themselves and their daughters. As transmitters of traditions and values they find themselves re-interpreting the memories of their mothers to position themselves as mothers. What does the maternal experience mean to a mother, especially being a mother of a daughter? Are there moments when there exists dilemma between motherhood and womanhood, especially for contemporary mothers? Are there any moments when a mother explicitly experiences her own mother as 'the third' while mothering her daughter? Does she revisit her mothered experience while mothering? While all these questions can be seen as anchor to be explored with Muslim mothers, the context of contemporary India becomes relevant as well. While personal stories are being shared, these are located in particular times and places. Therefore, a brief context establishment of the time period is essential as it helps in locating these women in a certain socio-political environment. This is not done in this article explicitly but dedicated space has been given to it in the PhD research.

The mother and her experience is central to this work. There is recognition that there are multiple variables that influence because she is embedded in her society, raised in a particular family, and exposed to a particular culture. The interaction between and with all these variables unfolds a particular reality for her. Therefore, this needs to be scaffolded. Maternal experiences in reality is about relationship between mother and daughter. Since I am interested in the subjective experience of the mother, I take the liberty of evoking the mother's perspective. Foregrounding her experience and allowing her to share how she has experienced the reality around her and what has she chosen to take forward in her mothering and why? This can be best understood if this narrative is located within the realm of psychosocial and examined with a feminist lens. Each individual is unique and in line with the post modernistic viewpoint the realities are diverse and experience of psychosocial intermingle questioning the effort to generalise. The narrative that only science has access to objective truth is shifting. There is increasing acknowledgment of complexities involved in the lives and societies. Within postmodern theory, the rejection of objective truth and the argument that all perspectives, particularly those constructed across boundaries of time, culture and difference (gender, race, ethnicity, etc) are fundamentally out of proportion makes it difficult to reconcile the world views. There is therefore need to recognise the subjective experience. Also because people who are experiencing a feeling are best source of knowledge (Bondi, 2014). The method and the methodological tools therefore

chosen here are aimed to best fit the nature of questions examined. Taking on the feminist lens has given me the flexibility to take on methodological tools that are inclusive, and supports my contention that individual subjective experience is as much critical and we can learn from it as well. It allows for creating a relational space.

Within this larger framework, it was recognised that the research questions and the framework necessitated use of qualitative methods to be used. The primary data was to come through the interviews conducted. This research is not about numbers, but about the depth of the experience and therefore, it was decided to explore a range of 10-12 interviews. Mothers who self identified themselves as belonging to middle class with daughters who have attained adolescence were approached to be part of the study. These were women who had spent at least two decades of their life in the city of Delhi. The geographical demarcation was necessary considering the cultural diversity that exists within India. Hence, these were women whose families were located in North India (area identified to be above Deccan plateau for this work). These women were approached through word of mouth. A conversation around the research topic was conducted followed by query whether they would be interested in talking about their maternal experience. It is recognised that one may say that this may be problematic as it is a version of convenience sample for research. However, this snowball effect strategy was deliberately used as one was conscious of reaching out and including women who wanted to share their experience. A third of the interviewees were personally known to the researcher and others were approached through word of mouth by the people who were familiar with the research topic or those who had been interviewed. This allowed for ease in establishing rapport as the conversation required the participants to explore both their present and past.

Catherine Riessman's (2001, 2005) work on narrative analysis was used to support the identification of embedded themes. She highlighted that gaps exist in standard interviewing techniques and the natural manner of holding conversations. In order to address this gap, she suggests that it is required to give up the control and let the interviewee lead and follow their association. The interviews were transcribed into narratives and examination of these narratives led to a realisation that participants tend to respond in an internal flow in spite of questions asked by the interviewer. It is from this flow that themes were extracted to illustrate the negotiations by Gaiti and Faiza in their mothering in the paper.

I can be myself because my mother gave me the permission.

"I firmly believe that it is not so important to ask how much time was a mother able to spend with her daughter (child?) and what she did specifically in that time but what the mother did with her entire life. How did the mother take on the various aspects of life, what kind of treatment she took from people around her, what were her dreams and how did she go about them...all these the child remembers. The girls learn from this how to be a woman and, I suppose, the boys would learn how to treat a woman." - Gaiti 2016 in response to a question, what does it mean to be a mother?

Gaiti, positioned herself as a feminist who defined motherhood beyond the ideal definition of someone whose primary role was taking care of their child's needs throughout life. The subject is generally the centre who gives meaning to his or her experiences through multiple means of expression. Maternity challenges the sense of being a unified subject, along with one's capacities to speak and make meaning. This happens because one is desirous of returning to the relational context of one's early childhood. Even though not seeing her as a role model while growing up, it is much later that Gaiti realised that unconsciously her mother has a strong presence in her life. She recollects her mother sharing with her that she would have left her husband if only

she was more educated. It was as if she was aware that not being financially independent restricts her ability to take care of herself and the children. This feeling germinated perhaps in her harsh circumstances of living with a mother who worked in people's homes after her father's early death during her childhood. For Gaiti, the need to be financial specifically and independent generally has become integral as a woman – ability to be financially independent gives her a sense of security and personhood.

The picture that Gaiti paints of her mother is that of a woman who chose to prioritise her womanhood over motherhood. Even though she had left school when in 5th class, she took time out to educate herself while taking care of her children. At home, an Urdu magazine used to come in, which she would find time to read daily. She also identified support classes to go in evening, but when found that people there wasted time gossiping, she challenged them to appreciate the value of time. For Gaiti, her mother was someone who took time out for herself, challenging the norm of that time that for mothers it is their children who are their primary concern (This remains to be a concurrent expectation from mothers). Her mother was her anchor, *“All my unconsciousness knows about being a woman was learnt from my mother...Even though I wasn't close to her and my father was my teacher of the world, it's politics and the large philosophical questions, it is ultimately who she was that shapes me as a woman.”* The middle class mothers, these days when exposed to the 'modern position of autonomous subject' (Stone 2012) may have difficulty in reconciling with the traditional idea of motherhood. There are standards that are not just culturally supported but sometimes also promoted by the parenting industry. Donald Winnicott was one of the first to propose the idea of 'good-enough mother' as someone who is able to prioritise the needs of the child and yet able to keep oneself in the background to enable the child to individuate. This idea of a mother got embedded as an ideal when introduced, something that mothers continue to compare themselves with. Often the conflict may arise because one feels that one is not spending enough time with own daughter and it has negative impact on her. But as Gaiti shared earlier it is the quality of interaction that becomes enriching for both. It is the manner of one's life that creates a roadmap for the daughter and if a mother sees herself as a person then her daughter will do so the same. *“Motherhood for her was not a huge production so we did not...she did not give us choice of various food, she made food, and we could either eat it or not eat it... also we never got food before time. So if she was reading newspaper and it was not the time for dinner or lunch one could not hope to get a snack from the mother (laughs)”* She cooked for the family, took care of the house, but her life did not revolve around it. Gaiti's mother gave her permission to relegate cooking as a non-priority role of a mother and putting oneself in the priority list. This was so because she challenged the norm herself and thus allowing Gaiti an allowance to see it as a possibility. Traditions, however, continue their hold on the middle class woman's mind in that she views domestic and maternal obligations as central to her identity. This is true of the housewife as much as of the high profile career woman. Traditional norms which demand that a woman's first commitment is to her children and the second to her husband, and this does not seem to be influenced by a woman's educational or occupational status (Kakar & Kakar 2007). A woman takes on child-rearing as the primary role as soon as she becomes a mother. If the ideas of what you want for yourself are deeply entrenched, then they come in conflict with the assumptions that are laid out as a role of the mother. It is because Gaiti can fall back on her mother who challenged the norms of her times that she is able to negotiate her personhood with maternal self even though alternate mother figures such as her sister in law and mother in law that she has included in her daughter's life provide a contrast to her daughter.

Our society attaches heightened moral value to motherhood with pressure to become the perfect idealised mother and mothers compare themselves to such fantasies. There are ambiguities of love and hate within maternal relationship. Mothers may struggle to accept the negative feelings that they may have for their children due to fear of being judged by the society. When the conflicting feelings are experienced, it is the manner of dealing with them that evolves the sense of self. “Mothers are required to internalise the split between maternity and subjectivity by regulating and policing themselves qua maternal-bodied” (Stone 2012). One may find that the problem of maternal selfhood and subjectivity is universal and unchangeable. This is recognised by Kakar as well when he shares - with respect to motherhood- that irrespective of whether she is working or not, the Indian middle class woman’s maternal role is not seen as an imposition but freely and joyfully chosen; motherhood remains the acme of a fulfilled life.

Gaiti questions herself, “*Why do I feel compelled to go on slogging?*” and in her question one finds a reflection of multitude mothers within Indian society. Rather than this struggle being located externally, it is more an internal one when it happens within the realm of family where one is up against generations of family values. There are ideals that one feels that one is competing against. These are struggles with feelings and it becomes a continuous struggle between love and concern, with demands of devotion and decency while Gaiti strives for respect as an individual and freedom to engage with what she wishes to. “*There is acknowledgment of others’ nostalgia for ‘family values’ along with the struggle against unreason and coercion that masquerades as ‘respect for elders’*”. One is raised as a Muslim woman. The moment you are born you are inducted into a specific culture that defines you as a Muslim. One may constantly contest established notions in relationships to create options for oneself that will create a new legacy for one’s daughter. “*With each act of negotiation, confrontation, conciliation and even compromise, I am writing the text for her unconscious.*” The maternal position develops with negotiation with both individual as well as social norms.

In fact, there are times when one may not want to be like own mother, and it is while one is raising one’s daughter that it is realised how much alike one is to own mother. All through my adolescent years in fact till I gave birth to my daughter and stepped into the shoes of being a mother, I had failed to understand my mother as a woman. She remained a mother for longest time and it is from that position I judged her. It is during multiple interactions with my daughter that I am often cognisant of the revisit to the dilemmas that I now face being on the other side. My mother was particular of ensuring that I am demonstrating traits and behaviour of being a ‘woman’ by constantly checking on the way I walked, or talked softly. And now when I see my daughter, her words come back in my head. I often find myself that the image that I may want my daughter adapt is perhaps societal influence coming from past, not responding to the present. In such moments, two things happen. One re-visiting my understanding of the woman who was my mother and how much of my behaviour is reflective of her and other being the quick edit when I am able to catch what it is doing to me at present. These editing moments are critical as they are the weighing moments of me as a woman and a mother.

Gaiti’s narrative highlighted that the tendency to believe that mothers occupied with their own emotions, responses and needs diminishes the capacity to care for others. It also puts motherhood in opposition to selfhood. This is being challenged, as only when one is able to negotiate one’s own needs along with others that one is able to counter the fragmentation within. Stone (2012) proposes that as mothers if one is able to look back into our memories and see our mothers as figures of difference, then one would be able to take on the maternal identity distinct from the way it is generally as - to be responsible for child care.

Motherhood and the Other's Gaze

The second narrative included in this paper is that of Faiza which highlights the observation that “in relation to her child, the mother re-lives her past relation to her own mother differently because she considers that her child is a unique other, distinct from own mother. What happens is that the past and present becomes mutually constitutive to form a living unity, so that the present repeats the past in a new shape, in the process altering the past's internal significance” (Stone 2012). One manner of reliving is through the re-evaluation of maternal body relations, so that each daughter is able to look at herself as a subject as well as look at mother positively in a society. This allows retaining the connectivity with mother along with a sense of subjectivity, without which one will lose the ability to produce meaning. A woman also internalises the specific ideals of womanhood and monitors her behaviour carefully in order to guarantee her mother's love and approval upon which she is more than even dependent as she makes ready to leave home, most often through marriage.

It is in bodily relations that often ideals of womanhood are located and also where one finds that majority of mothers are prone to become susceptible to the ‘gaze’ of the others. They often lose confidence in their own judgment and values. They abdicate their authority to others, be it within their family or to the external world. Faiza's conflict as mother is predominantly around the negotiation with the ‘other’ in her mothering. She has chosen to be a homemaker after completing her Masters in Business Administration prioritising her family and children over career. Her mother, as against Gaiti's, completed her graduation from a reputed college in Delhi and got married immediately into a relatively religious family. The liberal natal family, Faiza shares, was probably the reason why her “*mother was a strict disciplinarian towards her children with respect to the religious practice. Her attempt was to ensure that her lack was not reflected onto her children and therefore there were strictures during Ramzan (month of fasting) and around offering of namaaz (prayers).*” This consciousness has transmitted to Faiza as well who is sensitive to how others around her interpret her mothering. She did not see her mother as a role model for herself while growing up and was reportedly closer to her father like Gaiti. Immediately, however, she said that “her mother trusted her” as if sharing this ambiguity towards her mother to a stranger was unacceptable. Faiza is found to be conscious and restrained in what she shares about her relationship with mother and mostly what is communicated is positive. It is when she talks about her relationship with her daughters that the contrast begins to emerge - whether it is the depth of relationship that she has developed with her daughters, or the manner in which she is able to make the friends of her daughters welcomed in her home. One suspects that this may be a compensation for her experience of lack of warmth while growing.

It is not easy for a mother to interact with her daughter as it requires broadening of boundaries and setting up of new ones which is both emotional and psychological upheaval for both. There is a desire to keep daughter proximal, a reflection of both her own psychic desire and social expectation (Beauvoir 2010). This may be one of the reasons or outcomes of the struggle to expand from the identity of being a woman to being a mother. Faiza finds herself in the dilemma of how she will be defined as a mother when she sees her independent daughters on the basis of their behaviour and deport. She lives in an apartment complex that is dominated by affluent Muslim families. The conversation of women is still dominated by ‘what are the good Muslim practices, especially for girls’. This leads to conflict at home where her fears of how will her daughters get married if they continue to behave contrary to ‘good practicing Muslim girls’ are questioned by daughters, “*after all what are others going to do? Will*

they have an affair with our husbands or what?" She vacillates between her desire to live up to the expectations of others and the freedom she has allowed to her daughters. Now she finds losing control and battles with her daughters. Their choices and opinions dominate her wishes and her life revolves around her daughters. She is unable to negotiate and sometimes conflict results in days of silence between them and always ends up giving in as she sees motherhood her life time role.

Her mother had taken care of her daughters when they were young and she sees the same role for herself. There exist feelings of being taken for granted, but even the expression of this feeling is immediately curtailed as per the expected role of motherhood. The dominance of "being a mother" subsumes any possibility of thinking about herself. In one rare poignant moment, she said *"there is much that I have suppressed. I have lived till now suppressing what I wanted to do, when I was young then it was parents who determined what I would do and what I became. Post marriage my life has revolved around my husband and daughters where I am somewhere at the periphery. I want to make use of what I have studied but I do not know what to do because when I do think about it I feel as if I am being unjust to my daughters. They need me."* Gaiti had also shared that there are multiple battles that arise between her and her daughter, but she is able to stand her ground as somewhere she falls back on her mothered experience. Her mother's established clear boundaries could not be negotiated. With her daughter she feels that even though boundaries are established, but they are more tested by her daughter that she had even contemplated to do with her own.

Conclusion

What was common to both women was that they both rarely find space to even reflect and express their desires and wonder about their own identity which may be separate from being a mother. Both women have negotiated their fragmentation between womanhood and motherhood differently. At one level, Faiza has chosen to respond to the norm of motherhood and diluting their Muslim identity to respond to the desires of her daughters. This is not to say that the conflict does not emerge, it does in her frequent interactions with her Muslim friends. Gaiti, on the other hand, holds onto her identity and hopes that the daughter will understand the value of her sacrifice when she grows up. It is psychologically significant as to what we think has happened and not so much on the basis of what has actually happened. The stories that we tell ourselves about our past and our lives are indispensable to keep our existing equilibrium of ever-precarious sense of well-being and self-worth. Many women may want to mother but their challenges may be about the way they imagine the role of mother to be. If re-imagination was possible then one would be able to deconstruct maternal subjectivity.

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The Impact of Culture on Education in Africa: A Resolution from the Aristotelian Perspective

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ABSTRACT: Africa over the years has been struggling to catch up with other continents in terms of educational advancement. Many theories have been postulated in attempts to fashion out a better course for education in the continent. In spite of these attempts, Africa still lags behind. This work through a critical analysis aims at showing the great part culture has played in the slow growth of education in the continent. The work argues that some aspects of African (Nigeria specifically) culture need to be done away with, if education must thrive well in the continent. The work therefore, advocates the use of 'force training' as Aristotle postulated in his *Nicomachean Ethics* to change these dysfunctional aspects of culture so that the functional one would blossom. It is when this is done that education will blossom in Nigeria as well as in other countries.

KEYWORDS: culture, education, ethics. law, forced training

Introduction

Every human being is a product of culture; he/she is bred, nourished, and guided by it. Culture influences his/her activities, lifestyle, attitude and thought patterns, and even education. This influence on education has been the root reason why education has lagged behind in some areas and progressed in some. It is the reason why science progresses in some quarters of the world and retrogresses in others. The difference in culture is also the reason why funding of education is higher in some countries of the world and lower in others. It is the reason why much funds are spent in some areas on research and little or nothing is spent in others.

As shall be evident in this work, almost all aspects of culture have a direct bearing on education. This is not to say that, education does not itself exert an influence on culture. Education for instance could change the dressing style of people. It could also change the language of the people as well as their custom, as the stopping of the killing of twins in Nigeria, by Mary Slessor attests to. The relationship between education and culture is therefore, a symmetrical one; they both influence each other in turns. Thus, it could be said that, in every education, there is a mark of culture, and in every culture there is a mark of education. In other words, looking at the contents, quality, goals, etc; of education, one could discern the kind of culture that produces such an education. Also looking at a culture, one could discern the level of education of the people of that culture. The difference between the primitive culture and the civilized culture is in the level of education in each stage.

This paper focuses more on the attempt to unravel the influence of culture on education, with a view to determining the reason why education has taken a snail speed (as captured by Bisong) in the continent (Bisong 2018, 206-225). The understanding of the impact of culture on education would enable stakeholders to devise better means for

the provision of quality education to the citizens. This could be better done through the provision and proper implementation of good laws – laws that would force everybody to the right. Culture is the sum total of a given society’s way of life as moulded and shaped by prevailing circumstances and environment (Brown 1990, 21).

Culture is a derivative of the Latin term - *cultura* meaning "cultivation" (Harper, *Online Etymology Dictionary*). Etymologically therefore, culture denotes a process of cultivation or improvement. According to Mondin (1991, 146) “culture signifies, the totality of custom, techniques, and values that distinguish a social group, a tribe, a people, a nation.” It is an integral part of every society, and creates a feeling of belonging and solidarity among the people of that society. Culture encompasses various aspects of communications, attitudes, etiquettes, beliefs, values, customs, norms, foods, arts, jewellery, clothing styles, dance styles etc. It is culture that distinguishes a French man from a Spaniard, an Igbo from a Yoruba, and an Italian from an American (Chimakonam & Bisong 2013, 11). Culture is therefore, all those learned behaviours that characterise a people of a particular society. It is learned from parents, guardians, relatives, and other peoples in the surrounding environment.

Education is derived from the Latin word “*educare*”, which means “to draw out”, or “to unfold”. Thus, “etymologically education could be said to be the process of releasing the latent potential that were dormant in an individual” (Ikegbu & Bisong 2015, 258). According to Akinpelu, (1979, 176) “the word education describes what goes on in formal institutions of learning and non-formal agencies.” According to R.S. Peters as captured by Uduigwomen, education is the intentional transmission of something worthwhile in a morally acceptable manner (5). For Harris (1981), education “is a distinctively non neutral political mechanism or institutionalized process that largely provides and legitimizes the ways and perspectives by which and from which we come to know the world (2). Education is often divided into formal and informal education. Informal education is what comes from social agencies like the home, the family, the peer-group, the society, mass media, religious bodies, and so on (Uduigwomen 2009, 4; Bisong & Ekanem 2019, 22). Formal education is what comes from schools. When considering the formal sense of education according to Okolo (1989, 18), “we usually think of education and educative process in terms of schools and institutions devoted to learning and acquiring worthwhile skills and techniques for life.” This paper subscribes to education in the two senses (formal and informal). Thus it defines education as all that is learnt both in schools, at home, through the mass media and all other avenues of learning. We therefore, align our thoughts with that of Dickson (1989, 46), who sees education as the process of acquiring new knowledge and skills necessary for the better functioning of an individual in the society.

The Influence of Culture on Education

Different aspects of culture like beliefs, values, customs, dressing styles, techniques, tongues, ideologies etc exert powerful impact on educational standard of a society. This is perhaps the reason, why educational standard is not the same everywhere. It is also the reason why the quality, quantity, content and funding of education differ from place to place. This section therefore, examines the different ways culture impacts on education in Africa.

Culture Impacts on the Direction of Education

The world-view of a people determines how or what kind of education succeeds in that locality. For example, science education has remained stunted in Africa because of its peculiar understanding of causal relations. In Africa, almost all causal events are explained

in terms of the transcendental. This view of causality is influenced by the African general perception of the world. Africans conceptualize the world as that of “extraordinary harmony, one of synthetic unity and compatibility among all things (Unah 1995, 107). They see it as a world where everything is “dovetailing into one another” (Ijiomah 2006, 76). In this world therefore, the Africans see events as being “determined by the will of spiritual beings, the operation of automatic forces, and the self-willed actions of men and other animals, which follow in orderly and comprehensive sequence” (Akpan 2014).

Sogolo (2004, 182) believes that an African healer may attribute a disease to both a natural and supernatural cause at the same time. He will then go about treating the disease in these two apparently incompatible ways. This means that “an African believes in the empirical (natural) idea of causation following the Western rules of causation and also believes in supernatural causation, which is not analyzable in empirical terms” (Asira & Bisong 2015, 24). Sogolo divided these levels of causation into primary and secondary levels. The primary causes of diseases are ascribed to supernatural entities like the spirits, deities, witches, wizards, ancestors etc and the secondary causes are similar to the empirical causation of the Western type – that is, bacteria, virus, fungi etc.

A typical African therefore, explains causation from the point of view of secondary (empirical) and primary (supernatural) causes. It is thus, not uncommon to see a traditional healer, identify for instance, the secondary cause of an ailment as the consumption of some poisonous food, and also locate the primary cause to a malicious spirit or witch who influenced the individual to eat the poison.

This tendency to explain events in terms of the spirit inhibits the growth of science in Africa. The logic is simple: if the cause of event A is the spirit, and the world of the spirit is accessible only to few gifted people, then it is useless to attempt an empirical investigation of the cause of the event. This tendency to explain events transcendently is arguably the reason why science is less developed in Africa than the West. This is so because, “ultimate explanation of cause and effect based on mythological-metaphysical approach erects an artificial barrier ab initio between what is empirically demonstrable and what is considered humanly impenetrable areas (Gyekye 1997, 3). When causes are attributed to the spirits, then the mind tends to relax its quest for unravelling the cause, because the world of the spirits is considered humanly impenetrable areas. Africans therefore, rarely make an investigation into the causes of the daily occurrences in the world around them, as a result of their causal world-view that tends to explain almost all happenings in terms of the transcendental. The transcendental world is believed to be accessible only to few people like, the juju priests, sorcerers, fortune tellers and native doctors, who are sadly always unwilling to let others into the means to access this world. Thus, with the cause of an event thrown to the world of the spirits and the means to access that world closed up, and not open to everybody, an average African is scientifically incapacitated. Africa is therefore, not developed scientifically not because she lacks the intellectual capacity to do so; it is rather because of the cultural belief-system it is imbedded in.

The West has made giant strides in science, because its causal world-view gives individuals the encouragement to explore and investigate the world. The world in this cultural world-view is not something that is guided and controlled by the spirits. This world is rather controlled by physical laws that could be investigated and explained (Weston 2014). This kind of world is open for all to explore, since it is controlled and regulated by physical laws which, could be investigated by everybody and not a privileged few as is the case in Africa. This openness in the causal world-view of the West is a powerful encouragement to all to explore their world for themselves and not

to wait for juju priests and fortune tellers to do it for them. The result of this has been amazing and hair-raising inventions and discoveries that are rampant in the West.

Africa used her hands to close the windows and doors to scientific investigations, making her to suffer the ignominy of being a dependent continent – a continent full of scientific dwarfs. This lays credence to our thesis that, a cultural world-view of a set of people determines how education progresses in that area. Education and scientific education in particular has been slow in Africa, because its inhabitants lack the encouragement that ought to put curiosity into practical actions. It is amazing to know that, most Africans even the educated today, still believe that aeroplanes, computers, telephones et cetera are productions that are made possible through the knowledge that is gotten from the spiritual world. Thus, it is not uncommon to hear an African, laments in disgust: “the whites use their witchcrafts to produce aeroplanes, ships and the likes, why we Africans use our own to suck blood”. An average African still believes that the advancement in science in the West is connected to the powers of the supra-sensible world. This explains vividly why most Africans would never contemplate inventing anything, because they believe that this must be aided by the spirits.

This mind-set that has been corrupted by the cultural beliefs of the people must be corrected if Africans must take the giant steps that are taken by the Westerners in science - steps that have made science and technology to tower above every other disciplines. This correction of the mind-set must begin with the underlying basis – the culture of the people.

Culture impacts on Educational Distribution

As has been alluded to already, education too has an influence on culture. One way in which education has in the past shaped culture is in the area of distribution of education. In the past females were seen as good only for the kitchen and bed. Today they are in schools. Thus, the quantity of education has increased today, thanks to the influence of education. However, this aspect of culture has not totally died out. Though women today are not restricted to the home, but their education is still restricted by a culture that holds that too much education for a woman, would make marriage for the woman difficult. Thus, it is common to see women stopping at the Bachelor’s Degree level. For example, out of the twenty students who were my classmates in my Master’s Degree Programme, only one (Willie Yotakekeyu) was a woman. In my Doctorate Degree Programme, all the seven students were male. This trend cut across almost all departments of Universities in Nigeria and Africa.

Educational distribution in Nigeria, therefore, is still lopsided. The male gets more access to it than the female, because of cultural constraints. This lopsided nature of educational distribution in the country has made the female folks to fail to compete economically, politically and socially with their male counterparts. This is dysfunctional to the society, because women play an essential role in the economy of the country; if the full benefit of education is not allowed them, then their contribution to the society would not be effective. This culture that tends to limit the educational potentials of women needs to be substituted with the one that would liberate them to soar to great heights academically.

Culture and Funding of Education

The spending culture of a society greatly impacts on the amount of funds that is made available for education. Some societies especially the consumerist minded ones, see billions of dollars spent on research as abhorrent and waste of money. Funding of research is a form of risk-taking and only a society that is tilted towards risk-taking would sponsor scientific research. Nigeria and Africa as a whole, because of the supreme value attached to life, are

not attuned to the taking of risks. Thus, it is almost unheard of in Africa, that a private investor or group of investors invested in or sponsored a scientific or educational research. It is too much risk for them to take; after all some researches come out barren with no useful outcome. Even the governments in these countries do not take delight in funding and sponsoring of researches.

It is the people who help determine how their money is spent. Thus, if the people are not interested in research and educational advancement, the government would not be moved to fund educational researches. The influence of the society on the government is clearly spelt in the recurrent strikes action of the Academic Staff Union of Universities (ASUU) in Nigeria. ASUU has been able to twist the arms of the government on several occasions to improve funding of education. If the larger society has this interest and faith in research, they would be able to influence the government to fund researches, for it is only through researches that education would be advanced. It is rather unfortunate that the society is not interested in researches. A culture that is not interested in researches no matter the number and quality of infrastructures their educational system may have, would still be dwarfs, educationally.

Societal interest therefore, helps determine how their money is spent and only research that they like would be sponsored. Educational research and advancement largely hinge on the cultural values and interest of the people. For example, a culture that largely approves of stem cell research will sponsor it or encourage government support and thereby, stimulating advances in the field. However, a society that largely disapproves of stem cell research is unlikely to undertake such a venture and will discourage politicians who provide funding for that research. In this case, research on stem cells will not be done and thereby inhibiting growth of this scientific field. Education therefore, advances as it is led by the society. It is unfortunate that in Africa, no research seems to be supported; she has almost totally depended on the researches done in the West and other parts of the world.

The extent of funding also reveals the extent of civilization of a culture. Education therefore, cannot rise above the knowledge level of its surrounding community. For instance, it would take an enlightened society to fund scientific research on carbon dioxide mitigation or space craft. The funding of educational research on the mating habit of snails or the migration rate of birds would be greeted with mixed reactions in different societies (especially African societies) depending on their knowledge level. The knowledge level of a community therefore determines the level of growth in that area.

Culture impacts on the Quality of Education

Aminu (2001, 5) and many others believe that, quality of education could be attained through much financing. Aminu in particular holds the belief that first class education can only be attained with first class funding. He no doubt has a point here, but finance on a wrong culture yield no functional result. Thus, the recent clamour of the Academic Staff Union of Universities (a clamour that has led to series of strikes) for more funding of the Universities, though commendable, is nevertheless not the most potent solution to educational decay in Nigeria and Africa as a whole. It is the underlying culture of Africa that a stronger campaign ought to be directed at. For when a culture that defines personhood in terms of the amount of money, the individual has in his/her possession continues, education in Nigeria and Africa at large would continue to be detestable.

In Africa, and Nigeria in particular, a person is implicitly defined as one who has lots of money. This explains why Nigerians worship money. It explains why there is a mad rush for wealth. It also explains why corruption has plagued the country. What matters to Nigerians is money, the means to this wealth is not important. Money is

social existence in Nigeria, thus everybody craves after it to exist (Bisong & Ekanem 56). Ekwuru (1999, 100) supports this view thus:

Nigerians equate 'being' with 'having.' In this way, a man is not simply what he 'seems to be,' but what he 'seems to possess.' Being then is measured by the degrees of having, the more one has, the more he becomes, for becoming is manifested in possessing. Therefore, material acquisition and wealth are the two essential characteristic features that create the socio-cultural worth of the human person in the society.

Obiechina (1983, 31) corroborates the above view with his description of the Nigerian society as that where "mammon rules with unrestrained power. His flag floats from every public building; his breath blows through every public institution and fires every private passion." Inoka (2003, 55) confirm this when he asserts

This quest for wealth and luxury has become the matching order for most Nigerians. And like cancer, this quest has infected all aspects of our social lives. From public service, the police, the judiciary, the school system to the mass media, the traders on the streets and even the family which forms the nucleus of the larger society, the effect of this inordinate lust for vanity is seen to reverberate. In fact it has come to a point today in Nigeria that, it is not the work one does but the money one gets for it which is important.

All the observations above, made by Nigerian philosophers, point to one thing – that Nigerians see money as the greatest good. One, who has much of it, is the one who is conferred with the status of existence – he is recognized, exalted and honoured in all strata of the society including the churches.

As long as money remains the highest value of Nigerians, the quality of education would remain poor. This is because, people will tend to see education not as an ideal but as a subtle means to get to the ideal (money). Education itself is not important for its sake but important in as much as it leads to the summum bonum. This explains why Nigerians merely pass through universities just to arm themselves with the certificates to reach their lofty dreams of a lucrative job (dreams that many times do not manifest).

It is not poor funding but societal attitudes towards education that is at the root of the poor quality of education in the country. It is rather the societal attitudes towards education that has dragged education backward. This attitude has clouded the minds of teachers as well as students. The teachers teach not because they value the knowledge they impart but because of the money they hope to get. Most of the teachers would employ illegitimate means in order to match faster towards the societal definition of a person (wealth). Lecturers on a daily basis extort money from students through various means. Some would demand that assignment be submitted with money. And some openly sell grades for money. The students on their part, label a lecturer who is not ready to sell grades as wicked. They are ready to do anything for grades, including sleeping with their lecturers. The question is, why would a student go to school (a learning ground) to buy grades and certificates? Does this student value this education? No! He/she only values the certificate, because of the hope that this certificate holds for him/her (wealth). This is clearly where the societal ideals lies, certificates for money creation and not education for certificates. It is not education in actual fact that the people want but certificate and are ready to buy it. The lecturers are on their part ready to sell this certificate, because it is not education they value but money. According to Ikegbu and Bisong (2013, 261) "Nigerians go to school not for what it stands for (centre for learning; for gaining knowledge) but as the easier way to get at money."

Unless, this culture that defines a man as a person in terms of the money he has, is changed education would remain retarded. When the culture is shifted to a definition of a person as a person in terms of the quality of education in his head, Nigeria and Africa as a whole would begin to advance educationally. When money ceases to be the supreme value, that is the moment, stakeholders would go to school to get knowledge and not to grasp certificates. That is, the moment teachers would value knowledge and thereby put more effort in research to enrich themselves intellectually. That is the moment, the looting of money that is meant for education into private pockets would cease, as stakeholders would not see money as the ideal but education. When money is no longer the summum bonum, then lootings of all forms would reduce.

The Way Forward

Any worthwhile solution to the dilapidating educational condition of the continent must begin from the roots for it to be effective. Culture is the root of this problem. Therefore, some dysfunctional aspects of culture must be done away with for Africa to stand a chance of developing educationally. I believe that if Aristotle's advice in his *Nicomachean Ethics* is taken seriously by African governments, they would achieve their dream for education in their respective countries.

Aristotle just like Plato, sees man as a sort of hybrid between an animal and a god. On one hand, human beings have an animal nature with their actions if uncontrolled; being led by emotions and desires and on the other hand they also have a rational part. The rational part enables man to resist his emotion and desires and to act in accordance with moral virtues. Thus for Aristotle, when reason is in control of the emotions and desires virtue arises. He asserts:

Reason and appetite are in agreement in the vicious as well as the virtuous. However, in the vicious the agreement is the passion to reason. The virtuous are those in who reason rules, and rules without opposition (*Nicomachean Ethics* 1178b20).

He contends further:

Appetite ought by nature to obey reason for reason is what makes human to be human and not just animal ... what is decisive for virtue and its development is the subordination of appetite to reason (*Nicomachean Ethics* 1179a5).

Aristotelian ethics therefore, involves doing what is virtuous, and doing what is virtuous cannot be done without achieving a balance between reason, emotions and desire; with the reason ruling and the passions obeying.

The big question becomes, how does this balance arise in an individual? Do virtuous conducts arise by chance? In his answers to this question, Aristotle argues that virtue does not develop in man through the spontaneous operation of nature, although one by nature may have the capacity to be virtuous (*Nicomachean Ethics* 1103a30). Virtue for him is ingrained by habituation. Once a man has become virtuous by proper training, he will almost automatically make the correct choice with regards to conduct (*Nicomachean Ethics* 1103b5).

Aristotle believes virtue can only be gotten through habitation, which is the proper responsibility of the state; and since the state aims at the most supreme of all goods, it follows that the state is instituted to make men virtuous, to make them conform to what is highest in them by nature (Aristotle, *Politics* 1252a5). In other words, virtue which is based on nature requires making a choice between alternatives, and making of the right

choice depends on habituation; habituation depends on good laws that through pain and pleasure teach the right behaviour (<http://www.reasonpapers.com>). Thus, for the state or polis to be described as perfect, it has to realize its own true form, which is to provide all the conditions necessary for a complete human life (<http://www.reasonpapers.com>). That is, it has to provide the conditions necessary for virtue to thrive which is good laws. This is because:

The end of community, which is the fundamental justification for its existence, is the good and happy life, in the sense that the fundamental reason individual have for living in communities and for engaging in a wide variety of community relation is to lead good and happy lives, that is to realize themselves and be virtuous (Owens 1994, 70).

Aristotle's teaching that, virtue is a function of the state through the instrumentality of good laws which, through pain and pleasure, teach the right behaviour, brings up an important question: can a man be forced to be virtuous? Aristotle's answer this question in the affirmative, for if parents could force their children to be virtuous; so also the state through strong laws can force men to be virtuous. His argument according to Owens (1994, 75) is that

With time, right conduct become easier, through the development of reason and the emergence of the ability to properly see what is right for man by nature. But before then the force of habit, instilled through the laws or parental authority is necessary for the development of virtue.

Aristotle is of the opinion that man cannot be virtuous by chance, he must be forced to be virtuous by proper training. After the successful habitation, virtues will begin to flow from him without force, because then his reasons must have taken charge. This is because Aristotle believes that for the common man, passions rule the intellect. Such a man, he believes, cannot become virtuous by mere teaching; for teaching will not take root in him. Therefore, passions need to be forced by external laws to be subject to reason before the man would be made virtuous. After a considerable time when out of forceful habituation, the passions are made subordinate to reason, the man acts virtuously onward without force. But the passion has to be subdued first. He observes:

Arguments and teachings, I am afraid, are not effective in all cases; the soul of the listener must first have been conditioned by habits to the right kind of likes and dislikes, just as the land must be cultivated before it is able to foster the seed. For a man whose life is guided by emotion will not listen to an argument that dissuades him, nor will he understand it (*Nicomachean Ethics* 1179b5-10).

According to Aristotle therefore, men when allowed on their own, tend to pursue what is pleasant and pleasurable to them. But in order to become truly human one must be able to moderate the passions and allow reason to be in charge. Although this may be painful, but Aristotle believes that through the function of good laws, good moral habits are developed. Words alone, he says, cannot achieve this. For him:

Words only seem effective with those already in love with beauty and the noble. The many remain untouched. Words cannot turn them towards what is beautiful and good ... they obey the rule of fear not of shame, and shun what is base not because it is ugly but because it is punished (*Nicomachean Ethics* 1179b20-30).

He believes that "he who lives as the passions directs will neither hear argument that dissuades him, nor understand it if he does ... in general passion seem not to yield to

argument but force” (*Nicomachean Ethics* 1179b30). However, “once habituation under coercive laws has preceded, then words can have their effect and convert law-generated love of beauty into fully fledged virtue” (*Nicomachean Ethics* 1144a35).

Aristotle’s denial that the ‘many’ can become virtuous on their own is owed to his beliefs on the soul and its parts. According to him,

Appetite ought by nature, to obey reason, for reason is what makes human to be human and not just animals. In the many, the appetite or passions fails to obey reason, while in the continent or virtuous reason has the upper hand and the desires yield to reason. Clearly what is decisive for virtue and its development is the subordination of appetite to reason. Such appeals to reason could only work if reason were in control, but in such cases reason is ‘ex hypothesis’, not in control (*Nicomachean Ethics* 1119a20).

For Aristotle therefore, making men virtuous is not a function of teaching but of forced training. This is plausible because, if words and teachings were to be enough, then the teachings in the various religious houses would have produced unprecedented virtue in Nigerians. If words and teachings were enough then the various campaigns, lectures and symposia against corruption would have yielded fundamental results. Nigeria remains one of the most corrupt nation in spite of the educative efforts to turn her around, thereby proving Aristotle right. This training, Aristotle argues, ought to begin as early in youth as possible, because the passions would dominate reason if nothing is done early in life to correct it. He believes the training must start at home but needs to be backed up by the political power, because political power is less resentful (*Nicomachean Ethics* 1180a20-25).

Aristotle’s understanding of virtue, when applied to Africa is capable of changing the course of education for good. This implies that teaching and preaching would not change this negative aspect of culture that have laid a deadly siege on education in the continent. It is forced habitation through good laws that could change the statuesque. When laws like: for any student to graduate in science, he/she must discover something new is enacted and well enforced. It would build a scientific mind in students, majority of whom would succeed in their researches. These successes in discoveries by their own people would have a way of changing their beliefs that scientific inventions are product of the spirits. When a law is enacted (and duly enforced) that states that, both a lecturer and a student who are involved in buying of grades would be sacked and expelled respectively, then the teachers would be forced to lead better lives and the students would be forced to learn how to school without cutting corners (it should be noted that this laws are in existence but lack adequate enforcement). The laws therefore are capable of forcing an individual to do or not do a thing when properly enforced. This is exactly what Aristotle means by forced training through good laws. Through the functioning of good laws the people could therefore, be led out of their negative beliefs and attitudes. This implies that through strong laws, the spending trend of the country could be adjusted. Through strong laws the buying and selling of grades and certificates could be stopped. Through good and powerful laws the people beliefs could be shifted to the positive ones.

Africa and Nigeria in particular has relatively good laws, (though more need to be enacted and others amended) but the laws do not bite. In Nigeria, justice could be bought. It is thus, only the poor that are caught by the law. The rich buy their way out. The advice of Aristotle is therefore, that, the enforcement of the laws should be stronger, so as out of fear, people would do the right and by so doing habitation will be completed.

Conclusion

This paper has shown that culture exert a strong influence on education, and is at the root of educational stagnation in Africa. It believes that Aristotle's treatment of virtue and how they could be acquired when applied in the continent would be very effective in the lifting up of the level of education.

The paper advises that the aspects of culture that produce dysfunctional effects on education should be looked at, and appropriate laws formulated and implemented to forcefully guide the people out of their unproductive view of reality. This I believe, need to be seriously and urgently done, for funding alone on a negative culture would produce nothing but educated unemployable graduates; graduates that cannot stand tall among other graduates in other parts of the world.

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Correlation Context of Job Involvement and Organizational Culture

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ABSTRACT: The success of any organization depends on its culture, as it is invisible power governing the managerial processes. Organizational culture is the symbolic system of communication and connection in the organization including intangible linkages as beliefs, values, behavioral norms. It is the indivisible element of the organization in its unconscious set of programs, prescribing how to behave, act, communicate. Organizational culture is the sphere where managers deal with spirituality and leading values, attitudes. Work-related attitudes present an important managerial focus, they usually define work behaviors and actively influence productivity and overall employee performance levels. Managers perform within the “human-to-human” context, achieving effectiveness and efficiency of organization through and with other people. Human context makes human behavior important criteria for the company success. Job involvement in different interpretations can be viewed as psychological state, attitude, behavior. Some experts offer that job involvement is the level of psychological identification within the work or job. In other words, job involvement is the employee attitude on the place of the self in the work, like answering the questions, ‘how much I like myself doing this job’, ‘how much my identity finds comfort in this job’. The paper builds correlation areas of organizational culture and job involvement as important focuses in nowadays management.

KEYWORDS: organizational culture, job involvement, psychological identification with the job, correlation context

Introduction

In the year 2020, by the research data from LinkedIn Learning (T&P Theory and Practice 2020), the list of hard and soft skills shapes the important directions in development programs and managerial focus in organizations. The soft skills are presented by creativity, persuasion, collaboration, adaptability, and emotional intelligence (we cannot miss as well not long history of embodiment intelligence studies and concepts, like Mark Walsh research and projects (Embodied Facilitator Course 2020)). These skills prove the exaggerated focus on human dimension in organizational life and in business. The ideas of symbolic management, organizational culture power forces, and psychological states and attitudes like job involvement as identification with the work nature, again come to the limelight of organizational research.

Organizational culture

Organizational and individual aims and values alignment is a complicated process, but leading to organization’s effectiveness. Many times we do the values orientations exercise with our students, offering them to make a list of 10 values, and then to cross

some of them in different groups, and finally there are three values left. Then they need to work in small groups to offer the ways how managers can use organizational mechanisms to fit these individual values of their employees. Organizational culture is the context of these connections inside the company, it is widely regarded as the ‘humanizing’ component in business. It gives rise to an enabling atmosphere for airing mutual expectations between an employee and organization. This helps employees to trust each other, facilitate communication and develop organizational commitment. Culture can create a toxic or a healthy context for realization of human relationships in organizational life, and usually creates a strong framework for defining the spiritual frame of values organization stands for.

Organizational culture is determined by organization’s dominating values (Deal & Kennedy 1982) (Lauzen & Dozier 1994) accepted by the majority of employees (Wallack 1983) , as well as common norms and beliefs of organization’s member (Kroeber, Kluckhohn, Untereiner, & Meyer 1952) (Schein 1985; 1990) (Kotter & Heskett 1992) (Kotter 1996). Anthony Athos and Richard Pascale within the analytical framework of organizational effectiveness put shared values in the center, and assess organizational culture in the form of a philosophy that determines the ways organization would choose in its policy dealing with internal and external surroundings (Pascale & Athos 1981). Anja Krog (Krog 2014), citing Schneider (Schneider 2013) in the research, support the idea that most definition of organizational culture has a common denominator, - the idea of culture being something that is shared among organizational members. Within the systems approach in management, Fremont E. Kast and James E. Rosenzweig in the Academy of Management Journal paper “General Systems Theory: Applications for Organization and Management” (Kast & Rosenzweig, December, 1972) underline that the contemporary approach to systems emphasizes the multivariate nature of organizations and attempts to understand how organizations operate under varying conditions and in specific circumstances and ultimately directed toward suggesting organizational designs and managerial actions most appropriate for specific situations. Situation corresponds both to internal and external. In internal factors, following traditional vision of culture as consisting of the several layers (see Figure 1), and Edgar Shein’s (Schein 2004) organizational culture levels (see Figure 2), we can define the following: basic assumptions/values (like unconsciously accepted beliefs and values, moral principles, defining patterns), stated by management values/negotiated beliefs/norms of behavior, including ethical code (like what is important for our organization – e.g. fun, service, customers, happiness, profit etc.). They define behaviors and artifacts, - the visible expression of other elements, which usually become the focus of managerial analysis.

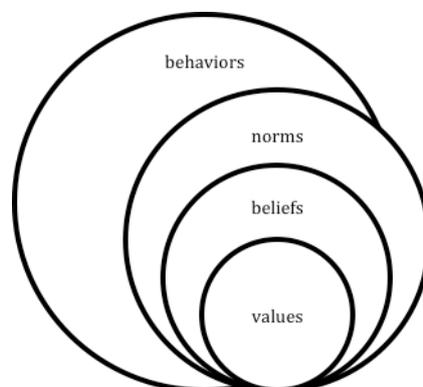


Figure 1. Culture Layers

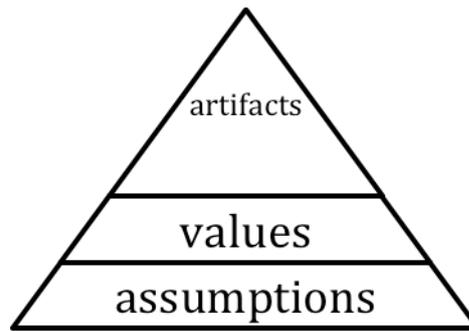


Figure 2. Organizational Culture Levels by E. Shein

Organizational culture, including these elements, is based on the symbolic meanings defining humankind, like primary sense (see Figure 3), as Yuval Harari states in his book “Sapiens” (Harari 2015), Homo Sapiens is transcended the biological survival limits, breaking the laws of natural selection, and starting the laws of intelligent designs. It changes the laws of the workplace and the nature of job itself, where the realization of job identity becomes more important than simplistic material motivation. Job involvement as psychological state and attitude become significant in understanding the correlation context with organizational culture. Organizational culture has a significant influence on different elements of business, life and management in organization. People is an important element in understanding organization, along with structure and purpose, so human capital is the most dynamic and invaluable resource of a firm, understanding what employee behaviors and attitudes are affected by the organizational environment is critical (Krog 2014). Symbolic aspect of organization in the form of employee perceptions, attitudes, behavioral and communicative patters in the organizational environment are linked to numerous organizational results (House, Hanges, Javidan, & Dorfman 2004), and one of them is job involvement. Job involvement is more psychological characteristic of an employee, representing the level of intrinsic motivation and identification with the job responsibilities and meanings. Management is always interested in improving involvement levels in the work place, as high levels of employee involvement have been linked to greater success, productivity and strategic performance (Perrin 2003).

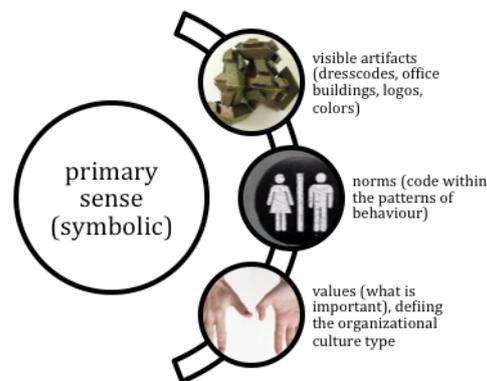


Figure 3. Organizational Culture Elements

Job Involvement

Job involvement is postulated as the measuring tool for the professional growth and it is how people see their jobs as both a relationship with the working environment, the

job itself and how their work and life are correlating. Aamir Ali Chughtai defines job involvement as the internalization of values about the work or the importance of work according to the individual (Chughtai 2008). Socialization of the employee is seen through the job involvement. An individual understands the values, abilities, behaviors, and social knowledge in dispensable for an organizational role through socialization and take part in as a member. Kanungo (Kanungo 1982) viewed job involvement as the cognitive state of psychological identification either in the context of a particular job, or with works in general. An individual's psychological identification with a particular job (or with work in general) in turn depends on the salience of his or her needs (both extrinsic and intrinsic) and the perceptions he or she has about the need- satisfying potentialities of the job (or work). In organizational behavior job involvement is understood as an attitude, the level of interest and commitment to the work tasks, however, it is important to differentiate it with job satisfaction, which stays for that the person is happy or satisfied with the job, with the responsibility for making the job correctly and following the organizational standards.

Job involvement is less important for the organizational effectiveness than job satisfaction, but is more important for the employee identity and organizational culture management. Involved employees find the connection of their values system with the organizational intangible relationships landmarks, as guiding symbols of the job, workplace, and individual differences correlation. Job involved staff have so much energy and they have enough enthusiasm to do their job tasks. M.Rama Kumari and V.Lakshmi Prasanna Kumari as well underline that employee involvement is creating an environment, in which people have an impact on decisions and actions that affect their jobs, moreover they believe that employee involvement has become a convenient catchall term to cover a variety of forms and organizational techniques. There are offered the examples of diverse forms as participative management, workplace democracy, representative participation, empowerment, quality circles, and employee ownership (Kumari & Kumari 2014). Some other scientists (Brown & Leigh 1996) suppose that work environment influences job involvement, and the characteristics as safety, support, meaning can increase the quality of job involvement in organization. Work environment is contextual, including organizational culture, which means that there is some obvious connection between job involvement and organizational culture.

Job Involvement and Organizational Culture Correlation Context

The relationship between organizational culture and employee job involvement can be explained social exchange theory (SET) perspective. According to the theory, as stated by Richard S Brenyah and Theresa Obuobisa-Darko, social behavior is the result of exchange process. When employees perceive the culture of the organization allows them to have good relationship with other members within the organization, where they have the needed support and power among others they tend to give their all, be dedicated and work with vigor (Brenyah & Obuobisa-Darko 2017). Anja Krog states the relationship of organizational culture and employee outcomes, which show that some cultures are more conducive to facilitating positive employee attitudes and behavior such as involvement than others; moreover, organizational culture in this research is viewed as a contextual variable, where some organizations provide their employees with more resources than others, depending on the characteristics or type of the existent culture (Krog 2014). According to Hobfoll (2001), different cultures types will have differing effects on job involvement. Some culture types will have a positive relationship with involvement, whereas other culture types will have a negative.

Some of the central characteristics of clan cultures are their focus on employee development, teamwork and collaboration, as well as trust in and commitment to employees (Cameron & Quinn 2006). Support, empowerment, and participation is key, therefore focus is put on fostering membership, affiliation, attachment and feelings of belongingness (Quinn & Kimberly 1984). Clan cultures actively offer job resources and create the tight connection and alignment of organizational and individual values, helping the employees to define their job involvement as positive.

Based on Cameron and Quinn (2006) research, adhocracy cultures have strong innovation, creativity, autonomy focus, they offer challenges and stimulate active search for fitting values among employees. Some experts underline that such a creativity focus help the employees to identify their job with growth, development and skills (Hartnell 2011). Development orientation in these cultures facilitate in employees the identification with their job, which means creating positive job involvement.

Hierarchy cultures are usually associated with rules, structure, procedures orientation, high level of efficiency and micro-management in the details how the job is done (Cameron & Quinn 2006). Hierarchy culture is based on the lack of autonomy and high level of control over employees' responsibilities and job tasks details. Employees are expected to work along with the standards and rules, stated by management, there are set power levels and efficient vertical linkages in communication. Hierarchy culture in this direction is less promoting positive job involvement, it underlines less importance of engagement and empowerment generally.

Market cultures state within the values competition and achievement, managers are usually demanding and focused on results. It is the culture with strong orientation on effectiveness in the meaning of achieving the goals and extending the standards (Cameron & Quinn 2006). Market cultures are highly achievement-oriented, goal-oriented and risk-taking, with the focus on aggressive performance (Hartnell 2011). Usually in these cultures there is a high level of stress, stressors become acute and create challenges in emotional labor, there is a chance of based on emotional dissonance behavioral deviations. Market cultures create less positive job involvement, more toxic in terms of high pressure and aggressiveness demands.

According to M. Rama Kumari and V. Lakshmi Prasanna Kumari, employee involvement is possible when the employees are more comfort with their job satisfaction, fringe benefits, motivational factors, empowerment and also flexible work schedules (Kumari & Kumari 2014). Employee involvement is more associated with the psychological identification with the organization, job involvement is more focused on the identification with the tasks and duties in symbolic and values way. So, organization culture definitely influences the extent of employee involvement, but how does it influence the positive or negative dimension of job involvement. For examples, employee can be highly professional and like the job very much identifying successes and life values with the mission, but disassociated with the organizational policies and values. The issue for the research is how the organizational culture can have the ability of foster job involvement of employees.

Conclusion

Job involvement is a psychologically-related attitude, it is the name of reflected identity of the employee's self-awareness of the job importance, how much is the fit of individual identity and job identity, as well as dimension of individual and organizational identity fit are realized in the organizational values, norms and artifacts. Job involvement intensity is correspondent to the correlation context created by the organizational culture type, some visible artifacts and norms accepted and promoted by managers. The future development of the theoretical and practical research is in the

following: how much is strong the influence of job involvement on organizational culture elements, and what is the cohesive primary sense, making the patters work strongly without conscious awareness.

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The Influence of Political Culture on Democracy in Parliamentary and Semi-Presidential Systems. Case Study: Albania vs France

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ABSTRACT: The governing systems are affected by how a country develops the elements of the political culture. Political culture differs from the approaches, recognitions, assessments or interpretations that are made to the political system itself. The measuring indicators of political culture are freedom, equality, democracy, civil rights, and individual responsibility. Political culture is influenced by a country's political, economic and historical conditions, but the way the government systems approach the political culture varies from country to country. The purpose of this research paper is to compare the impact of the political culture of two democratic but no similar governing systems. The first system is the system of the parliamentary republic where the case study will be the Republic of Albania and the second system is the semi-presidential system where the case study will be the Republic of France. The methodology used in this paper is the qualitative comparative analysis. Qualitative analysis will provide preliminary research information for both countries being studied. The comparison of political systems will be carried out through the indicators of political culture, which will be provided by the evaluation of the indices of international institutions. The semi presidential system of the Republic of France turns out to have the highest indicators of political culture. Measuring indicators such as democracy, civil rights, political rights, and equality show stability in the democracy of this country. Indicators for the Republic of Albania have significant differences in comparison to the Republic of France. Based on the study, it is concluded that the political culture has not managed to consolidate democracy in the parliamentary Republic of Albania.

KEYWORDS: parliamentary, semi-presidential, index, political culture, system

INTRODUCTION

Based on historical, geographical, economic, and political conditions, states have defined or adapted their own forms of government. The two forms of government addressed in the paper are: the parliamentary republic (Albania) and the semi-presidential republic (France). The Parliamentary Republic of Albania is defined as such in the 1998 referendum (OSCE report 1998). The referendum created the country's Constitution, which sanctioned Albania as a parliamentary republic (Official Bulletin 2018, 4) in Article 1 section 1. The semi-presidential system in France has its beginnings in 1958 when it was proposed in the Conseil d'État, the form of government "presidential regime", in which the presidency was "the keystone" (Knapp & Wright 2006, 59).

Governing systems are influenced by political culture. For political system theorists such as Parson and Easton (1965) "the concept of political culture incorporates all attitudes or behaviors of general culture that are important to the stability of a

political system." For Almond and Verba (1989, 16) "political culture becomes the frequency of different types of cognitive, sensory, and evaluative orientations toward the political system in general."

The understanding of political culture has changed over time. New theories of political culture have developed in dealing mainly with the rational choice approaches. (Ferraj 2007, 199). The new theories state that "in the analysis of cultural influences may also be include the political decision-making or policy-making, including political outlets such as welfare state savings, social savings and other public finances" (Lane and Ersson 2002, 6). Political culture should not be treated as a "rigid" concept but should be analyzed in some measuring components or indicators. The components (measuring indicators) of American political culture are: freedom, equality, democracy, civil rights and individual responsibility (Willson, Dilulio, Bose and Levendusky 2015, 94).

Similarities and differences between the parliamentary and semi-presidential system

There are similarities and differences between the two forms of government. Both forms of government, such as the parliamentary republic or the semi-presidential republic, belong to democratic governing systems. As such, they possess the principles of separation of powers. In other words, in both republics the powers are: executive, legislative and judicial. Both republics come to power through periodic elections. Liberty and rights, representation, guarantee of law and equality in all directions are included in the core of both republics.

As for the distinctive elements, they will be analyzed based on the comparison of the presidential and parliamentary systems treated by Shively (2012, 439). To begin with, we need to clarify that the main governing power in the parliamentary republic (Albania) is the executive power (through the prime minister). In the case of France, the semi-presidential republic has elements of parliamentary and presidential authority, with the dominant elements being that of the president. In this case, the president has the main weight of political decision-making. In the semi-presidential system, the executive and the legislature are responsible for enforcing the law, are independent and often compete with each other; while in the parliamentary system, the legislature and the executive branch are closely codependent. Although the president has the main weight in decision-making, the responsibility for politics is more difficult to identify in a semi-presidential system. Politics as a whole are more easily realized in the parliamentary system than in the semi-presidential one (the dependence of the authorities). The semi-presidential system, unlike the parliamentary one, has an important task, which is to control the executive. The political process is less flexible in the semi-presidential system than the parliamentary one. The presidents have a personal mandate, and the mandate in the parliamentary republic belongs to the ruling cabinet. In a semi-presidential republic, the president has direct responsibility for conducting foreign policy. The presidential cabinet is not made up of prominent party people but by experts in the field unlike the ruling parliamentary cabinet.

Comparison of political systems through measuring indicators

Above we discussed the main concepts of parliamentary and semi-presidential systems (similarities and differences) as well as the concept of political culture (meanings and elements of political culture). More specifically, the elements of political culture will be analyzed comparing official data. The data of a series of international ideas/indices, reports

or indicators such as the OSCE, the Freedom House Institute, Transparency International, and The Economist Intelligence Unit etc. were used to analyze the data of the components related to the development of countries, their political culture and the level of democracy as a reference

Table 1. Indicators of political culture

	PARLIAMENTARY REPUBLIC	SEMI-PRESIDENTIAL REPUBLIC
MEASURING INDICATORS	ALBANIA	FRANCE
Democracy Index	5.89 points (79 th place)	8.12 (20 th place)
Political rights	27 points	38 points
Civil Rights	40 points	52 points
Human Development Index	0.791 (69 th place)	0.891 (26 th place)
Corruption perception	35 points (106 th place out of 180)	62 points (30 th place out of 180)
Gender Equality	60.4 points	74.6 points

Source: Author

The democracy index according to The Economist Intelligence Unit calculated in Albania is 5.89, in other words Albania holds the 7th place. According to the rating of this measurement, Albania enters the hybrid regimes (hybrid regimes 4.01-6.00). France ranks 20th with 8.12 points, becoming a fully democratic regime (full democracy 8.01-10.00). The difference of 2.23 points is significant considering that this difference produces a difference of 59 countries. The escalation on the type of regime, hybrid in Albania and full democracy in France expresses the differences between the two countries.

Political rights and civil rights will be compared through the indicators of Freedom House. According to the rating, Albania receives 69 points; 27 points go to the political rights and 40 points to the civil rights, resulting in Albania being a country with partial freedom. France receives 90 points (38 points counted for political rights and 52 points for civil rights). According to the rating, France results being a country where citizens fully enjoy their political and civic freedoms. Even in this case the difference between the indicators of the two countries is obvious.

The Human Development Index will be compared through the Global Human Development Indicators (UNDP 2020) indicators. The Human Development Index is the multiplier of some indices such as: gender inequality, gender development and the multidimensional poverty index. According to the data, Albania's human development index is 0.791, ranking on the 6th place. France has an index of 0.891, being on the 26th place. The difference in ranking is 43 countries.

The Corruption Level Perceptions Index will be compared through the indicators of Transparency International. Albania receives 35 points in this assessment, being ranked as the country 106 out of 180 countries analyzed. For France this indicator is calculated at 62 points or scaled as the 30th out of 180 countries. The perception of the level of democracy is very different in comparison between the two countries. According to Transparency International, Albania stands 76 countries below France, indicating that Albania is a part of problematic countries in terms of the perception of corruption.

Gender equality will be analyzed through data from European Union reports. When it comes to gender equality, Albania receives 60.4 points based on the Gender Equality Index for the Republic of Albania (2019), while France acquires 74.6 points. Meanwhile the European Union itself has an average level of gender equality of 67.4 points. This shows the high level of gender equality in France, which exceeds the average of EU countries by 7.2 more points.

Conclusions

The historical, geographical, political, economic conditions have produced different systems in different countries. Political culture, unlike government systems, is internalized in society. So it does not come from outside but is built on the values and attitudes of the citizens. Comparing the elements of political culture in two countries that have different governing systems proves that democracy is achieved when the indicators of political culture are high.

This conclusion was reached after taking into consideration the evaluation of the measuring indicators. By comparing these indicators we can determine that the index of democracy defined France as full democracy and Albania as hybrid regime. As a result, political and civil rights have a higher level of achievement in France than in Albania. The perception of corruption shows the differences between the two countries. The perception of corruption is much higher in Albania than in France. Gender equality also had major disparities. It should be noted that the level of gender equality in France exceeded the average level of gender equality in the European Union. The Human Development Index, which indicates gender inequality, gender development and the multidimensional poverty index, showed that the inequalities between the two countries differed greatly.

Based on the measurements made through the indices of the indicators of political culture, we can conclude that France demonstrates a higher level of political culture, which also indicates a higher level of democracy. However, these indicators do not lead us to the conclusion that the governing system of the semi-presidential republic is better than that of the parliamentary republic, but show that societies with high political culture, such as France, possess a full democracy compared to "a hybrid democracy" that the Albanian society has.

In conclusion, the following recommendations are made:

1. Democracy in Albania must develop the so-called political culture in terms of representation and the freedom of rights.
2. Carefully anticipate the human development index. This index is very important as it includes the areas of equality, economy, and demography.
3. Albanian society must strengthen its role in individual responsibilities and gender equality.
4. To fight corruption in real terms; the perception about corruption in Albania results in high indicators.

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Towards Introducing a New Concept for Standard Arabic

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ABSTRACT: Arab linguists offer a specific concept of classical Arabic (ALFUSSHA), as they have made determined signs (Aldhima, afatha, alkisra and alsikun) a prerequisite for classical Arabic language for it. This concept has led to a revolution in linguistic and grammatical authorship movement such as linguistic correction which means people must return to the old Arabic, and linguistic renew which sees that the Arabic language needs to renew itself, because of the Persistence and difficulty in its rules. This research paper seeks to present a new concept of the classical Arabic language that goes beyond the description of grammarians. As the concept of classical is limited to the structure not to the words. This paper depends on the descriptive approach in order to reach the goal by standing on models of classical in Arabic: The Holy Qur'an and the levels of the Arabic language now. The results of this study show that the grammar of the Arabic language is not a condition of the Arabic language, and explain that the colloquial in its context may be more understanding than the standard Arabic language, and these results reject accusations to the Arabic language as a language threatened with extinction.

KEYWORDS: Arabic Language, Renew Concept, Arabized classical, non-Arabized classical

Introduction

The Arabic language in the modern era is based on presenting several levels of the Arabic language, taken from the old Arabic that extends to a thousand and four hundred years as the only standard in eloquent, and with the exception of this model is one of the dialects, but this research presents a new concept of classical to that it is found in The modern era has only two levels of Arabic: Arabized classical and non-Arabized classical, and that the context is what determines the required language level and not the language.

Arabic language has two levels: Arabized classical and non-Arabized classical

Modern linguistics which is represented by descriptive studies indicates that there are many levels of language. Mohammed Kamil Hussein has benefited from the descriptive studies. In his book "Modern Arabic Language," he divided Arabic Language into four levels: high classical, which is the language of literature, advice and wisdoms, reduced classical, revised slang and pure slang (Hussien 1988, 88). Nihad Al-Mousa detailed these levels as follows:

First: high classical represented in the language of the Holy Quran.

Second: (creative) classical by action represented in verse, singing, translated romantic drama (dubbed) and historical drama.

Third: correct classical by action represented in economic and scientific reports, documentary programs and newsletters.

Fourth: classical by power represented in written translated Arabic; power means that it isn't punctuated and its classic is subject to its reading.

Fifth: semi-classical Arabic represented in the language of satellite channels reporters which uses more Arabic.

Sixth: pronounced medium Arabic represented in the language of educated, cultured and specialized people in the various scientific aspects on the dialogue level.

Seventh: slang spoken Arabic dialects represented in entertainment local programs and Arabic films.

Eighth: hybrid spoken dialects in English and French (Amusa 2007, 104).

The researcher thinks that all of the previous levels refer in the spoken level to four levels: classical, eloquent, medium and slang; there is no difference between revised slang and reduced classical according to Mohammed Kamil Hussein (1988, 88) since the first one works on replacing some of classical sounds, methods of negation and questioning that replace its status in slang. There is also no difference between semi-classical and medium Arabic according to Nihad Al-Mousa that both of them fluctuate in using syntax. The researcher agrees with Nihad Al-Mousa that the language of descending is the classical itself because it isn't the language of humans. Moreover humans are unable to come with a similar (Surah), God says "If you are suspicious of what we descend upon our servant, then bring a surah like it and call your witnesses without God, if you are honest. If you do not, and you won't do, then fear the hell which its fuel is people and stones which are prepared for the disbeliever" (Surat Albaqarah, Verses 23-24).

The Quran text is miraculous in its rules, meaning and style and it was a challenge by itself to fluent Arabs to make a similar one. The Quran may break the rules of syntax for rhetoric reasons and thus it contradicts what the oriental says like Theodore Noldke who thinks that the Quran violated the rules of syntax that it conjuncts accusatively (assabireen) to nominative (almofoon) and it should be (assabiroon) (Noldke 2004, 2) as God says "And those who abide by their covenant if they covenant, and those who are patient in disaster and adversity" (Surat Albaqarah, verse 176), but here (assabireen) is accusative on specialization and the syntax is broken here for a purpose as Al-Sha'rawi said "God wants to attract attention to the merit of patience which requires a suitable verb, so God said (assabireen) as it means "I meant patients" and praised patients. Thus, the purpose of (Alkasr) here is to attract attention that there is something requires contradiction of syntax (Al-shaarawi 1991, 740), and "the shown contradiction here in this status is more eloquent than if the speech goes on the same style and it is a usual one on Arab style and their way of in speaking" (Under supervision of elite of great scientists, W.D, 47). According to that, Arabic language has three levels: classical, medium and slang which are applied to the language of human beings.

But what is the criteria that the previous levels were divided according to: the classical, medium and slang? The difference among these levels lies in syntax; the classical is Arabized, the medium and slang are non-Arabized. The reduced classical or medium may take its concept from variation of using syntax. Mohammed kamil Hussein called for lack of commitment of syntax only in places that can be ambiguous in the reduced classical (medium) (Hussien 1988, 70); fluctuation in using syntax is the line between the slang and high classical, and the solution according to him is to resort to (alsikun) which syntax is lost with it. The image of the reduced classical according to him in (lack of commitment of syntax only in the very clear cases) (Hussien 1988, 93).

Nihad Mousa describes the medium language that it is "a linguistic level in our contemporary life which emerged from the interaction of the acquired slang and the learnt classical and so it's a modern occurred level. This level is progressed towards classical in its dictionary and structures but it still closed to the slang because it isn't Arabized in general (Amusa 2003, 148). The level of syntax in speech raises it to the classical or slang.

The slang is free from syntax which differentiates it from the classical the slangs in its variance don't differ clearly from the classical Arabic but only in syntax; the slangs still have many vocal and structural characteristics that the classical Arabic has. Dawoud Abduh says "Nobody shouldn't say that the classical is different from spoken dialects since the vocal rules and rules of the word structures and the sentence structure (grammar) are combined significantly between the classical and dialects (Abduh 1990, 6). For example, the Jordanian slang according to a study by Dalal Al-Assaf and Suha Na'jah found that it still has a lot of classical linguistic methods such as (condition, negation, emphasis, exception, specialization, superlative, questioning, imperative and forbidding), and the dominant feature of these methods that they are free from syntax (Al-Assaf, Dalal and Na'jah, Suha 2015, 255-302). Regarding the aspect of utterances, some authors researched about their origin is classical Arabic in the slang speech such as Mohammed Ali Al-Disoqi in his book (Refining slang words), Ahmad Taymour in his book (The big dictionary of Taymour), Ahmad Issa in his book (The ruled in the foundations of the slang language), Mahmoud Taymour in his book (The classical slang) and Abd Almonem in his book (the dictionary of slang words of Arabic foundations and fact) (Al-Tinayyer 2008, 8).

So we are against two levels: classical and slang according to syntax in them, but is it true that syntax determined the classic of this language or not? To face the concept of classic among Arab rhetoric to show if syntax is a condition for classic?

The concept of classic among many rhetoric doesn't indicate any of syntax. The meaning of classic in language indicates clarity, emergence and appearing in meaning (Al-Jawhari 1979, 391) while the meaning of classic in terminology as Al-Girgany said "classic in singular means getting rid of repulsion of letters and contradiction of measurement. In speech: getting rid of lack of authorship and repulsion of words with their classic. For the speaker: is a talent that enables expressing the intended by a classical word" (Al-Jurjani, W.D, 141). Al-Razi said "classic means that the speech is free from complexity (Al-Abshihi 1992, 66). Ibn Al-Atheer denounces what is intended in using the strange words said thinking that it is the classic. The classic is emergence and appearing and not ambiguity and invisibility (Ibn Al-Atheer W.D, 185). The classic is also the clear utterances, understood and the common in usage among writers and poets because of its beauty (Al-Hashemi 2017, 9).

All of the previous definitions follow that classic is clarity, emergence and appearing and this what the Quran text is characterized with now and then; it is clear and understood for all. If some words are difficult to be understood to people because of their strangeness, it is little and limited in few words. Ibn Al-Atheer said "If we look at the Holy Quran which is the most classic speech, we find it easy and what it contains of strange words is very little and thus (Ibn Al-Atheer W.D, 178), syntax isn't a condition of classic as it passed previously.

This research leads us to a new concept of classic. Since the meanings of classic lead to clarity, emergence and authoring well which they are descriptions as Mohammed Rashad Al-Hamzawi said "they are often slang although some of them are ambiguous, and others are synonym on each literary language or non-literary; because what is understood from it not the specific model rules but to achieve speech contact between a speaker and a listener since there is a terminology between them whatever its linguistic level is to act what was between them talk (Al-Hamzawi 1986, 13-14). When any language is clear it is classic, the medium is classical and the eloquent is classical, and so we face two levels of the temporary Arabic language: the first is Arabized classical and the second is non-Arabized classical; thus if any language isn't clear and understood, it isn't considered to be a language in the researcher's perception. The narrow slangs, language of Craftsmen and industrialists among them, language of

doctors among them, language of engineers among them and language of programmers among them isn't considered a language if it gets outside of their surroundings; because it is full of terms and concepts that can't be understood by others as we see in medication prescriptions which couldn't be understood but only by a doctor and a pharmacist. Even the language of grammarians themselves is considered from this language. Abu Hayan Al-Tawhidi said "A Bedouin came to Al-Akhfash's house and heard the words of his people in the grammar, so he became puzzled and wondered, and whispered. Al-Akhfash said to him what did you hear the brother of Arabs? He said" I found you talking with our speech in ours that doesn't belong to our speech" (Atawhidi 2017, 333). The lack of the Bedouin understanding refers to grammatical terms he doesn't know.

The language could be Arabized and understood. The Arabized classical if it isn't clear and understood, it isn't considered to be classical, that syntax could be achieved but understanding is not. For example the verse that Tammam Hassan presented in the lack of syntax to indicate meaning which is understanding (Hassan 1994, 183).

Syntax is achieved but the if the meaning isn't classical it won't be achieved. What emphasizes this the common story about Abi Tammam when he met Abu Saeed Al-Dhareer who asked him why do you say verse that couldn't be understood? Abu Tammam answered him: Abu Saeed why don't you understand what is said of verse? (Asoli W.D, 42). The ambiguity may be a critical issue related to the nature of poets and their methods as some of them tend to easiness in meaning while others tend to ambiguity by hiding the meaning of his verse from the recipient. I wouldn't here to discuss this issue but what we see in poetry of modernity in modern times is an ambiguity reaches the degree of problematic and closure (Al-Qaoud 2002, introduction of the book). The recipient couldn't get the meaning because the meaning is closed to him and this interprets why do people move away from it which makes the temporary Arab poetry in a problem due to classic as the poetry is Arabized but not classical. If syntax is a condition for classic, we will except all Arab written texts which are not vocalized whether they are literacy or not, newspapers, journals, fliers and news reports ... from classic. If Nihad Al-Mousa called it classical by power, its classic is subject to its pronunciation, while it is classical not Arabized. Thus, the language of Arab media from its ocean to gulf couldn't be described as a non-classical language, and why millions of dollars are spent to convey a message with an incomprehensible language! So, we face two linguistic levels Arabized classical and non-Arabized classical.

But what Mohammed Kamil Hussein has called for studying the reduced classical as he said" The reduced classical is the language that I call to be admitted frankly and it's the common language among learners and it is medium between the revised slang and high classical which will be spread. We should study its characteristics and put rules that organize it in order not to be sleazy as the slang or difficult as the high classical (Hussein 1988, 88). He described an existence fact which is a result of the traditional grammar in a school and university. It isn't an independent language as " the grammar of this reduced classical need to viewed by the traditional model in order to understand its terms in addition to use it crossed with the rules and foundations of the old approach (Khalil W.D 88) as it describes how the Arabized classical is pronounced with (sikoun or accusative), or he used this plural or that one.

If we notice the fact of Arabic language, we find that it represents the first level of Arabic which is (the non-Arabized classical); the Arabic used in the Arab satellite channels isn't always the language which is taught in the educational institutions, but what used is what called the common language which is the one that used Arabic words. It consisted of foreign words or local dialects like the Barbarism language in countries of Morocco (Arab broadcast: The annual report 2014, 15). The non-Arabized classical

dominates every social series (except what is religious or historical), films and plays and everything related to entertainment: singing, programs, competitions, drama, sport comment, everything related to family issues such as make food and fashion and interacted marketing ads. and texts adv.

The total of channels according to the annual report of the Arab broadcast channels and the number of the channels where the previous subjects were one of their content reaches 1044 (Arab broadcast: The annual report 2014, 14) which makes 86% of the Arab broadcast channels is slang. This percentage may increase especially if we know that the channels directs for Arabized classic use non-Arabized classical as a contact language among them which appear in the language of dialogues and discussions. The Arabized classical is restricted to news. Summaries, news reports, programs of children, historical and religious series and documentary programs; They committed to syntax with all its vocalization. The researcher thinks that it restricts as it is a language of description which means it's a report language not a dialogue one. There is no single dialogue in the Arabized classical Arabic language; after the announcer reads the news or news report he soon returns to non-Arabized classical. But what determined when to use the Arabized classical and the non-one? It is the context.

The role of context in determining the level of the required speech

What the modern linguistic found which lies in functional linguistics or deliberative is the context which determines the required linguistic level knowing that the Arab rhetoric proceeded the functional in the idea of context about one thousand year. Tamam Hassan said "When rhetoric said (each status has its speech) and (each word with its peer has its speech), they reached two phrases that contain all of speech applied to the meaning in all languages not only in classical Arabic. They are suitable to be applied in the context of all cultures. Malinowski didn't know when he formulated his famous idiom (Context of Situation) that he has been proceeded with this idiom by one thousand year or more (Hassan 1994, 372); the context became a main part in determining the meaning and the meaning is still not understood without its context; this due to that the dictionary and functional meaning may mean plurality and probability which means not to satisfy with the meaning of the article whatever the article clues are available because these clues (abstract or verbal) don't fill by any way the current clues which derive from the situation (Hassan 1994, 334). The situation determines the accurate meaning of the sentence or text, and because the goal of the language is communication, the deliberative lies in "study the usage of language which doesn't teach the linguistic structure itself but it teaches language when using it the different status layers i.e. it is a definite speech about a definite speaker and directed to a definite addressee with definite words to achieve a definite communicative objective (Sahrawi 2005, 26) The context determines the level of language that the speaker and addressee are contacted but not the linguistic or grammarian, and thus, it is to be chosen between Arabized classical or non-Arabized according to the goal of language usage. The contexts of language are various common and private and private of elite which judges language right or wrong. Nihad Al-Mousa said in his book (The issue of change to classical) "I am writing in classical Arabic, but if a mate came we talked in public issues and I changed from classical Arabic automatically to a level of Arabic which isn't pure classical or pure slang, but it is a mixture of them that everyone who listens knows it. If I went shopping I changed to the slang when talking to sellers (Almoussa 1987, 13). If Al-Mousa used the non-Arabized classical in the status of the Arabized classical or the opposite, he would mistake in the context of the language not in the language itself and the message would be difficult to convey.

We present an example of the misuse of choosing a context which makes communication difficult. Sheikh Hamza Fathalla – God bless him – narrates that he came from a supervision mission of the region schools. When he reached the station courtyard, he searched for a man to carry him on his donkey to his house and saw a man pulling a donkey. He called him “hey man”! The man answered (yes). Sheikh Hamza said “Bring me a female jamsi donkey”! The man thought that he was talking a foreign language; The man came closed to him and tried to realize what he wanted but he failed. The man left and Sheikh Hamza went home and said the following verse: “We walked steps that were written on us, And who has been written on him steps should walk” (Hassan 2001, 70).

Each linguistic level has its path which the fact addresses and the nature of speakers not the linguistic or grammar. This indicates no knowledge about the rules of grammar, but according to what formal, social, scientific or cultural conditions require. It is difficult for the researcher to define the contexts that the Arabized classical requires since the contexts of non-Arabized classical were determined in advance, but it began to proceed them which thinks a context for the Arabized classical such as the education sector with its two branches: school and university, informing media and the language of formal speech in the local formal and international forums such as conferences and seminars.

Talking about the importance of a context in determining the level of required linguistic speech as it words. The ordinary people are interested in language as it’s a tool for communication but not as a system, since it is difficult for the latter to be controlled within special criteria which are valid for each place and time because of what the language has of complicated philosophy. At the time when language is perceived as an organism as (Zidan 2012, 12) it develops and matures then gets old and dies by the physiology meaning, it is perceived now as a group of gestures as appears in semiotics or psychology. The semiotics means the science of gestures or indicators because of the indicated epistemology background as Grimas’s expression that everything around us is in continuous broadcast of gestures. Meanings (the result of all gestures together) are stuck to everything... and they are stuck to all findings, organisms and rigid and human and non-human. We as addressees should show will to receive; in order that brain starts to in a complex operation intended to dismantle gestures nets of meanings around us (Al-Ahmar 2010, 8) where a gesture became a language and silence is also a language. A language is a gelatinous object which is formed according to the goal and objective and what it presents is more than what it needs. In this context we take what we need only, s, the description of a language as it is a system is difficult for linguistics and this what interprets the emergence of modern linguistic approaches in studying language.

The fact of Arab grammar in the modern era leads to the spoken level that corresponds to those who calls for the slang which their call represents an existence fact, thus they realized the function of the communicative language in the first rank, but they made a fault when they wanted to generalize it as formal language in literature, teaching and authorship and all levels. In summary, the non-Arabized classical even if it is a fact couldn’t be replaced by the Arabized classical because it lacks the steady structure and the clarity is an effect of learning Arabized classical in schools and read in books , newspapers and heard in radios on the in news.

The survival clarity of language is subject to learning Arabized classical especially the Arabized classical is characterized by steady criterion and grammar. Whatever the modern linguistic approaches develop as seen in a text, we still in need to perceive the structure of a sentence in its traditional form as Julia Christopheria (1997, 60) points to. This interprets the reference of all modern linguistic approaches to the

standard traditional grammar. The difficulty of grammar also started from this call isn't I justification to get rid of it. The difficulty of grammar doesn't restricted to Arabic language only but this disturbs languages in general. If the language is difficult doesn't mean to remove it since all science subjects (science, math and English...) are difficult, so does it make sense to remove it as a kind of renewal?

Here comes the role of a linguistic which is to overcome difficulties in front of learners of language not to destruct it in order to learn it. The difficulty is a result of many reasons the main of them are the dominance of philosophy on the thinking of grammarians and drowning in it. Therefore, some of the grammar renewal attempts sought to get rid of this difficulty under the slogan reducing the grammars by removing what the learner doesn't need so as to straighten his tongue through pronunciation and writing.

Conclusions

The conclusion of this study is that the Arabic language in the modern era has only two levels, namely: Arabized classical and non-Arabized classical, and that the linguistic context determines when each of them is used.

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Salient Factor of Voting Behaviour and its Relationship with Ethnic and Political Tolerance in Malaysia

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ABSTRACT: The study of tolerance become extremely important 60 years ago when Allport discusses the nature of prejudice due to the increasing multi-diversity society. Tolerance then has been observed as a critical key element in the multi-diversity society politically, ethnically, religiously and culturally ever since. The previous study demonstrated that tolerance has a constructive effect on social solidity and coherence. Nonetheless, it is found an insufficient amount of information on rational voting behavior when ethnic and political tolerance factors are involved. This study has been conducted to explore factors of rational voting behavior in Malaysia in regards to ethnic and political tolerance. A quantitative study uses a survey method with a questionnaire as a data collection technique involving three parliamentary areas is observed. Data then analyzed using Structural Equation Modelling (SEM) with 600 respondents were engaged in the study using multistage cluster and random sampling techniques. The result revealed that while political tolerance is not statistically significant with voting behaviour, but ethnic tolerance evidenced a substantial negative relationship. Ethnic tolerance and political tolerance both had a significant positive relationship. It also revealed that voting behaviour positively influenced by the level of education, a party supported and ethnic identity. Hence, it is clear that ethnic political tolerance has a considerable consequence on the rationale of voting behavior. However, the effects are diverse, in which identical and dissimilar ethnicities act as mediation elements. This study gratifies the aperture to the current body of knowledge and allows great connotation at a situation where ethnic politics are observed as the most important material and tolerance becomes a salient factor in managing Malaysia's society.

KEYWORDS: rational choice, democratic learning, election, ethnic relations, urbanism, and moderation

Introduction

Tolerance comes from Latin, *tolerantia* which means flexibility, the softness of the heart, broadmindedness, and volunteering. Tolerance also refers to the willingness to either accept behaviors and beliefs that are different from own, agree or disapprove of it. Tolerance also may consider as an idea, worldview, behavior, and ethics of accepting diversity. It exists in the space of similarities and differences. It also regarded as a indispensable requirement to achieve democratic and egalitarian aims (Widmalm, Oskarsson, and Hulterstrom 2010; Mohd Azmir Nizah Mohd 2017), and a higher priority and crucial for the working of a open and egalitarian society.

In the Malaysia context, studies of tolerance *per se* are infrequently equated to studies of ethnic politics and conflict (Horowitz 1989). Based on the premise of ethnic and cultural

diversity may increase tolerance (Korol 2017), the level of tolerance, politically and ethnically in Malaysia is expected to be high. Empirical evidence suggests that tolerance is important in contributing to social stability and harmony (Mohd Azmir Mohd Nizah et al. 2018; Nazri Muslim and Mansor Mohd Noor 2014), even when it involved modernization and urbanization as push factor (Pepinsky 2015; J.W.J. Ng et al. 2015). But, unfortunately, there are some amount of concerns religiously, politically and ethnically (Khadijah Muda, Khairul Anwar Mastor, and Fazilah Idris 2018; Mohd Azmir Mohd Nizah 2018). Furthermore, the theme of tolerance is very conspicuous and important especially when it involved Malaysia's national unity and integration agenda. Therefore, a study of ethnic and political tolerance is eminent in Malaysians.

As Malaysia consistently observed its democratic practice through elections, a thoughtful Malaysia's national voting behavior and various factors that influence the voters have been tremendously analyzed. A fair election system, voter influences, voter's ethnic politics, voting simulation models and voting pattern and trends were some of the areas of analyses that made (Fernando 2013; Mohammad Redzuan and Amer Saifude 2013; Rowden, Lloyd, and Gilbert 2014; Jason Wei Jian Ng, Vaithilingam, and Pillay 2015). Studies also substantiated that voters are likely to be more moderate in thriving times and traditionalists during difficult times (Ichino and Nathan 2013; Agomor and Adams 2014). In the case of Malaysia, where elite adaptation and consociationalism are adhered, the party politics itself, ethnic political issues, and the class affiliation that cuts across ethnic lines becomes salient as oppose to local ethnicity's favor. Therefore, because ethnic and political tolerance is very much important, and often it is measured with political behavior from the light of ethnicity, its relationship needs to establish then.

Thus, this study attempt to identify salient factors in voting behavior in Malaysia. It also attempts to establish a relationship between voting behavior and ethnic political tolerance. It is imperative because ethnic politics are perceived as the most important matter and tolerance becomes a significant factor in managing Malaysia's plural society.

Literature Reviews

Studies of tolerance and voting behaviour acknowledge that social status is one of the imperative variables, from the traditional partisanship theories (Dalton 2000; Lipset and Rokkan 1967). It signifies the growing importance of social across time (Wald and Calhoun-Brown 2014, 111; Font and Cowell 2013). Social status or social-economic status or class cleavages is important for the commonality profiling of respondents. Social status cultivates a stable power and prestige order, which tension and conflict may occur, but disclosed individual differences in the group arrangement. It confirms that social status is just important as social economic indicators that defined environment (Oliver and Mendelberg 2000; Font and Cowell 2013). It evidenced the obligation of presence socio-economic statuses for further understand society affiliates deed and perform in their social setting.

The short passage on ethnic political tolerance is therefore push for a further investigation of its inadequacy, and to scrutinize the connections on voting behavior. Given the social and political necessity, the study of tolerance is paramount to Malaysia in safeguarding national interest, state survival, and modernity, urbanity, and prosperity. Studies by Mohd Azmir & Paimah (2012) evidenced that urbanites espoused more tolerance ethnically. A classic study suggests that ethnic tolerance exhibited certain progressive social magnitudes on ethnic relations. Ethnicity turn out to be subordinate after societal objectives. An analysis by Mohd Azmir Mohd Nizah (2015), validate that urbanites showed a higher level of ethnic tolerance as compared to the non-urbanites. It also

established that psychosocial factors influenced ethnic tolerance level to a higher level among ethnics in Malaysia. It is consistent with the non-local context in various areas (Carter and Corra 2012; Carter, Carter, and Corra 2016; Sayan and Kalisch 2018; Li and Tong 2018) where urbanization does have an impact on ethnic politics and so does tolerance. Based on the recent statistic in 2019, almost 40% population of Malaysia that classified as Middle 40 (M40) and Below 40 (B40) are generally living in urban areas in Malaysia (The Star Online). By looking at the statistic and consider these two groups are the largest portion of the cake in Malaysia; their vibrant in politics are amicable. As what been mentioned by Aristotle in one of his famous statement of the roles and the size of middle class citizens in political community and public administration, which imbalance may contribute to an extreme disposition (Roskin 2014).

Political tolerance can be understood as a willingness to permit the expression of ideas or interest's one opposes that lays for an expressive society. The consequences of political tolerance have been explored on the determinants, nature, and level of tolerance attitudes. If the presence of political tolerance cannot be observed, the effort of building a democratic institution may be jeopardized. However, how and what ways ethnic political tolerance and voting behavior are affecting vice-versa remains opaque. This research is an attempt to examine the relationship between these two variables. Consequently, it is vigorous to study the level of tolerance among ethnic and its association towards their voting behavior in an electoral events. As Nazri Muslim & Mansor Mohd Noor (2014) suggests, education and social contact empirically improved cultural integration, but not in political integration. It is therefore revealed for the needs of political dimension analysis for scrutinizing group competitiveness. Ethnic tolerance from the perception and attitude components is the focal in this study. To date, a identical analysis of both ethnic tolerance perception and attitude is yet surfaced .

Ethnic political tolerance term surfaced in Cole (1977) works during the rising era of ethnic tolerance. Cole definition ethnic political tolerance as “an act to vote not in favor of a candidate of his ethnic background, but that he would also be sympathetic to similar claims of others” (Cole 1977). He argued that people act rationally in casting their votes regardless of ethnic identity. Two points can be withdraw; that is people think and behave according to their economic self-interest, and secondly ethnic political tolerance is influenced by urbanization and attitude. Ethnic politics in Malaysia often explains in terms of preferences, differences and ethnic factors in voting patterns (Lee Hock Guan 2013; Welsh 2016; Mohd Azmir Mohd Nizah et al. 2015; Saravanamuttu, Lee Hock Guan, and Mohamed Nawab Mohamed Osman 2015; Pepinsky 2015; Mohd Azmir Mohd Nizah et al. 2018). However, there are clear lacks on unity factors, such as tolerance (Mohd Azmir Mohd Nizah, Hishomudin, et al. 2017; Mohd Azmir Mohd Nizah, Ku Hasnita Ku Samsu, et al. 2017). Development and economy may affect the voting pattern, and there are other factors such as urbanization, modernization, and civic engagement, which may contribute to the voting pattern beyond ethnicity. As urbanism grows and so does the key condition for political tolerance.

These literature confirms that social status via the ethnic identity, education level, environmental, age, gender, religion, income level, and party preferences (Heath and Johns 2016) become an important socio-economic indicator that provides further information to the researcher to investigate ethnic and political tolerance and rationale for their voting behavior. Furthermore, as a country of a plural society, Malaysia consists of numerous ethnics groups in which possess their language, traditions, and religious norms and value systems. This eventually led to the elites for each ethnic group to unite among themselves for the mutual benefit (Moten and Islam 2014) echoed Lijphart's model of consociationalism (Lijphart 1977).

Three assumptions may be drawn from literatures. First, ethnic tolerance is a fundamental element in democratic countries, especially in a multicultural society. It paves for various studies in explaining factors and determinants of such perception (cognitive), attitude (willingness), and behavior (manifestation) with variety outcome. Secondly, political tolerance about acknowledgment, not acceptance. Political tolerance is predicted to have connection with ethnic tolerance. The more tolerant individual or groups ethnically, the more tolerated politically they will be. Several studies were confirmed with premise above. Thirdly, ethnic political tolerance level may give a cue to voting behavior. Stimulatingly, as urban population progressively increases, Malaysian scholars are still understudying ethnic political tolerances and its relations with voting behavior.

Despite various studies examining ethnic tolerance, political tolerance, and its implication towards voting behavior, but there is no empirical evidence that comparatively examines ethnic tolerance and political tolerance in Malaysia. A comprehensive and structured analysis of ethnic political tolerance amongst Malaysians in Shah Alam, Johor Bahru, and Bukit Bendera constituencies is yet found. And, there is no indicator of ethnic group political tolerance on voting behavior. Uses two broad Democratic Learning Theory and Rational Choice Theory as a framework, with two main concepts that include tolerance and voting behavior may serve the purpose of this study. Figure 1 represents framework for this study.

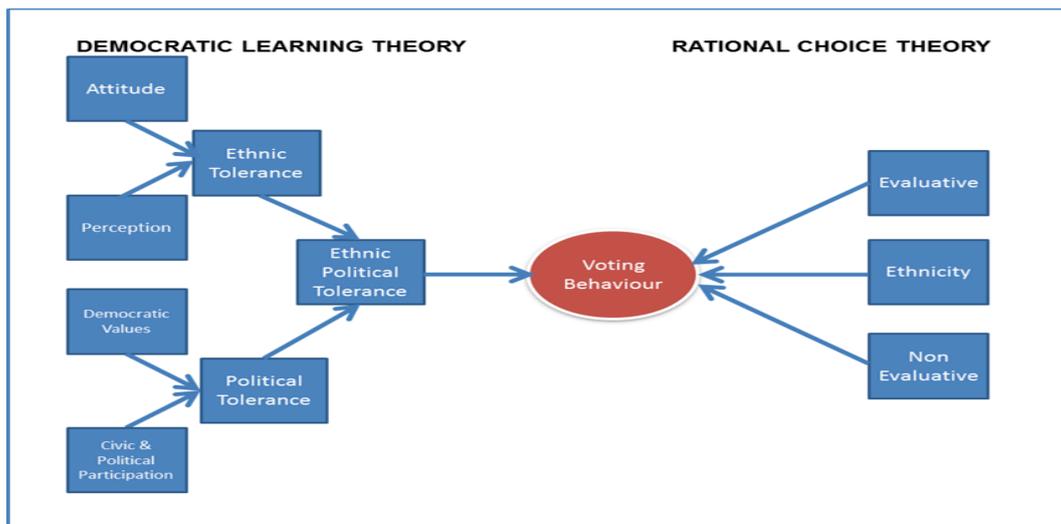


Figure 1. Proposed Framework

Methodology

This is a quantitative study, which involved data collection through a survey method, and then data were explored to attain commonsensical assumption through configuration relationship between variables. The survey was conducted for three months. Closed-ended with 10 Likert scales approach was used in the questionnaire. Four sections were created including demographic profiles, ethnic tolerance questions, political tolerance related questionnaires, and voting behavior elements. Data then aggregated to create a representative profile of the sample and cross-tabulated to explore the relationships between classifiable variables.

Using Structural Equation Modelling (SEM) method, 600 respondents were involved thus confirming with determining sample size, that is the ratio of the number of cases to the parameters being estimated, and from power, calculations being used to

generate minimum sample size estimates (Tonidandel, Williams, and LeBreton 2015). Table 1 below illustrates the value of each construct on the value of reliability, convergence validity, and discriminant validity (Hair et al. 2010). Based on Gaskin's (2012) Statistical Tools Package, there are no validity and reliability concerns for the measured constructs. This serves as an initial test of the research hypotheses.

Table 1: Validity and Reliability

Variable	CR	AVE	MSV	ASV
CVP	0.864	0.683	0.032	0.013
NOE	0.895	0.587	0.531	0.237
FDE	0.902	0.606	0.398	0.159
PRC	0.825	0.542	0.196	0.087
DMV	0.877	0.641	0.196	0.068
STE	0.899	0.640	0.531	0.207

Notes: CR= Composite Reliability ($p > 0.7$); AVE= Average Variance Extracted ($p > 0.5$); MSV= Maximum Shared Variance ($< AVE$); ASV= Average Shared Variance ($< AVE$).

Source: Researchers Data

Result and Discussion

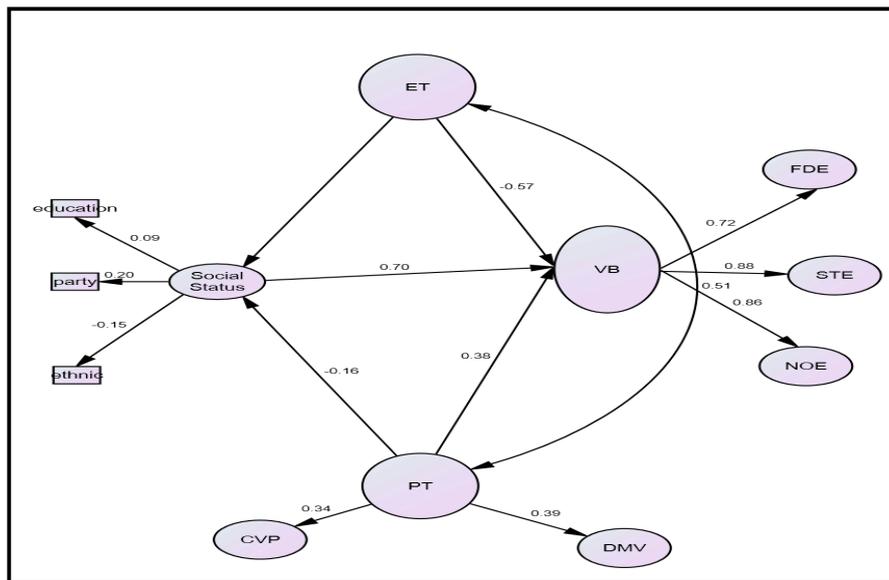


Figure 2: Ethnic Political Tolerance Model

The result showed a moderate negative relationship between ethnic tolerance perception and voting behavior with coefficient -0.57 . The result divulged that ethnic tolerance moderate negatively with voting behavior. It simulates that perception ethnic tolerance increases, their evaluative and non-evaluative voting behavior decreases. In plain, negative perception on ethnic tolerance, will results in less participatory in elections. A more complex situation occurred. Threat and conflict may induced negative perceptions on ethnic tolerance, which in turn effect the quality of votes. For Malaysia, this is zero-sum game as ethnic identity serves at best for party politics, but spiral effects may impede the society at large. It is somewhat contrary to Arwine & Mayer (2012) analysis, where increment of tolerance level, produces the augmentation of respects of human rights, support for the democratic government, and interest in politics. Nonetheless, to set a precise threshold for tolerance level is likely impossible due different cultures and society exposures. Thus, more studies need to be carried out to

measure the consequence of ethnic tolerance on voting behavior in Malaysia, where majority of literature is more from the western point of view, which certainly reflects a different culture factor. Ethnic tolerance is very much important for Malaysia's stability (Mohd Azmir Mohd Nizah et al. 2018), and study relationships between ethnic tolerance and voting behavior should be further explored ultimately.

A standardized estimates at .38 exhibit a weak positive relations between political tolerance and voting behaviour. Borrowing Weber (2003) terms of "social butterflies" and "rugged individuals", that defined striking disposition of citizen who is more likely to expose themselves and potentially challenge different views to the former, and citizens who are less likely to the latter. In plains, respondents may influence political tolerance directly, but not influence in voting behavior. Sokhey & McClurg (2012) describes a less likely correct vote exist due to weaker cue phenomenon among diverse network individual. Perhaps, logical explanation to that is respondents were more socially participate rather than individual. It is synonymous with studies of Weber (2003) and Verba, Schlozman, and Brady (1995) on social and individual contributions to political tolerance. The results of the 14th Malaysia General Election may explain it further. Additional towards that, the inconsequential relationship between political tolerance and voting behavior is of political tolerance is rather sociotropic, socially contacted fairly compared to individual. But, voting behavior, sounds socially participative, but in fact is individual participation in nature. Active engagement in campaigning, meeting, and discussing, is rather considered an individual contribution. Therefore, political tolerance significantly related to social participation, but it does not signify voting. The existence of perceived threat may decrease levels of political tolerance, decreased participation in electoral activities, as tolerance is a consequence rather than a cause for participation, and so does political tolerance is a consequence of voting behavior.

Relationships between social status and voting behavior showed a strong positive relationship (.70). It is indispensable to assess the relationship due to social statuses segregate society structurally from, either form the elites to the masses, from the rich to the poor, and from the majority to the minority (Streb 2008, 4). This is the society's reality fabrics. Thus, by acknowledging the relationship, noticing electoral behavior may provide some ideas for political scientists to understand a phenomenon involving voting behavior and beyond. Tolerance is greatly influence by social status (Arwine and Mayer 2012), and explanation on voting behavior is eminent. Therefore, $F(1,597) = 5.773$, $p < 0.05$ explains that social status has a relationship with voting behavior significantly. It parallel with several works that reported the explanatory power of social status towards voting behavior (Segawa 2015; Maznah 2008; Osman 2013). But, it also shows a diminishing influence of ethnicity and party in the electorate's decision (Segawa 2015; Osman 2013). Hypothetically, other factors such as issues, employment, economic stability, and national security also contribute to electorate decision.

A supplementary empirical study should be beyond votes as civic participation, democratic values, and perceptions intercept between tolerance and voting behavior. It is not mere direct influence between tolerance and voting behavior, but it can evidently witnessed through ballot activities and the election results. Researchers have recognized a variety of factors that affect ethnic tolerance, political tolerance, and voting behavior including perceptions, attitudes, democratic values, civic and political participation, evaluative and non-evaluative, and other demographic items as earlier discussion. Kasara (2013), Nazri Muslim & Mansor Mohd Noor (2014), and Muslim et al. (2012) have recommended the necessity for advance investigation on the political dimension of ethnic tolerance particularly with voting as electoral contest.

Conclusion

This study stipulated a dimension of ethnic tolerance, where the perception of ethnic-influenced tolerance plays major contribution, and due to low factor loading, attitude dimension was eliminated. However, one may not disregard the attitude dimension due to the statistical approach. Structural equation modeling was adopted in this study, perhaps attitude dimension may benefit researcher from other techniques such as multilevel models.

Civic, political participation and democratic values factors elucidated well the construct of political tolerance. Conversely, when it involved voting behavior, a weak positive relationship is founded, but it is not substantial enough. Although some literature highly considered political tolerance on the democratic system, it also proved that political tolerance might provide the wrong indication for voting. It worth noted that political tolerance is rather sociotropic, while voting is more to individuals, while electorate activities are social. Social status is consistent with the majority of ethnic tolerance, political tolerance, and voting behavior literatures. However, this particular study is only able to examine three factors, namely education, party, and ethnicity. Still, more significantly, the influence of ethnicity and party affiliation are diminishing over education. This outcome is identical with previous tolerance literature of the factors of education, manipulating ethnic and political tolerance. Yet, another factor that may subsidize to ethnic tolerance, political tolerance, and voting behavior.

It is hoped that this study will encompass our understanding of factors that influence ethnic and political tolerance and the magnitudes of ethnic political tolerance on voting behavior. From rational choice and democratic learning theoretic standpoints, these factors are salient and should be deliberated in determining ethnic political tolerance and its significance on voting behavior.

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The Tarantism Phenomenon in Italy

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ABSTRACT: Widely known as „folk revival,” the tarantism phenomenon (otherwise known as “tarantolism”) has gained a particular interest throughout time, both from a social and cultural point of view, given the fact that this movement holds a ritualistic and cultural background remarkably unique within Italian history. From the time of the medieval period, both nationwide, in Italy, and at European level, many researchers from various fields, such as literature, ethnology and even from medicine have analyzed the origins and the advancement of this cultural “syndrome,” gradually identifying a voluminous amount of historical sources. Thus, it is remarkable that a high volume of these studies have been brought to light thanks to the contribution of Ernesto de Martino, a notorious Italian anthropologist and historian in the '50s. One of the most important work written by the neapolitan analyst is titled “La Terra del rimorso” (“The Land of Remorse,” E. De Martino, 1961). Over the past few years, the tarantism theme was approached by means of several concepts having a stark sociocultural impact. Among these concepts it can also be enumerated the Southern Italian genre, folk-revival, or the popular choreutic dance called “*tarantella*” (“the dance of the spider”).

KEYWORDS: Tarantism, Tarantolism, Ritual, Symbology, *Tarantella*, Folk, Arachnids, Psychosis

History, rits, context and characters

A brief presentation of tarantism

Tarantism represents a phenomenon mainly diffused within the Southern region of Italy, having its origins in Puglia. Its main characteristic consists in the increase of an illness caused by the bite of a specific species of spiders, which commonly occurs in Italy. Nevertheless, this phenomenon has had a major impact also on European-level, thus the Italian culture is not the only one to bring to light the existence of such a socio-cultural psychosis, but other European cultures as well.

This type of spider from which the phenomenon emerges is known to be living in the southern region and mostly met during summer time. As the victim was bitten, the symptoms would instantly appear, in a way that any person who came into contact with the arachnid could have suffered severe side-effects. Afterwards, the bite would cause the victim to initiate a dancing ritual which could have not been stopped, not even by the victims themselves.

Most cases included people wearing vibrantly-coloured garments, having a higher risk of being bitten. Moreover, most victims were young girls or women, and even inebriated people. The victims of the bite would then dance themselves sore, even weeks after weeks, with no interruption. The bite resulted in villagers being under an uncontrolled state of excitement, hence most participants felt the need to hear the sound of a song or instrument while dancing.

The disease was cured only when the victims stopped dancing after feeling exhausted. Although, its symptoms were known to appear again in case of high temperature, as the arachnid would be mostly seen during summer (in fact, the symptoms of the venom reappeared each year due to extremely high temperatures during summer). As much as this phenomenon reached significant effects in Italy, this species was completely harmless abroad; its bite was considered to be dangerous only in Puglia.

The tarantism has raised an unusual interest in the medical world of the XVIIth century, as doctors were not able to identify and diagnose the nature of this condition. Hence, this cultural movement was labeled as a form of “mental disorder”, due to lack of evidence in regard to its origins and nature.

Context. The ritual

We can notice some differences regarding the ritual’s main sites where a treatment ceremony was performed; this ritual could have been done right inside the house of the diseased, or in its surroundings, gradually followed by a purification process conducted in different outdoor locations.

The ceremony would then be performed through a traditional dance called “*tarantella*”, in an attempt to permanently cure the symptoms of the bite, but also to drive out the arachnid. This ritual reached its end only by means of a specific type of music or instrument, sometimes even continuing the dance performance for a longer period of time.

During the initial stage of the dance, the victim can be seen imitating the common moves that the arachnid makes. Afterwards, the person is required to follow all the steps of the ritual in order to be cured, although this might include slight symptoms of fatigue.

The final stage of the dance consists in the victim prevailing over the spider and completely defeating it, a crucial scene for the choreutical ritual, in which the participants assisting the person who was bitten wait for an eventual return of the arachnid (information collected from inhabitants of Oria and Novoli). The performance might occur under the same circumstances, but the next affected person can turn back to her normal state only if the same steps of the precedent ceremony are followed.

The characters. The musicians and the participants

In tarantism, the role of the participants – the musicians – is not solely based on forging art, respectively music, but rather, on performing as “physicians” and curing the illness. The instruments used for the *tarantella* dance (typical music of the *taranta* dance) can present various forms: string instruments, woodwind instruments or percussion instruments.

It is well known that the choice of the instrument and the tone of the voice can be alternated, but most cases reveal that it is strongly linked with the type of the arachnid damaging the victim. The lyrics can also be found under different forms; their frequency can be more or less observed and can approach multiple topics.

These can be structured as an interrogatory dialog, accompanied by a game of questions and answers, of which participants include the victim and the spider.

In other cases, the texts do not contain precise questions, but at the same time, they can have a particular trait: for example, they can be addressed directly to the arachnid, the tarantula, by mentioning its name; they can refer to the place in which the victim has been bitten by it (this question is usually followed by a vague answer); the interrogations might be also related to different symbolic objects used during the ritual

(handkerchiefs, swings or even puddles of water); during the interrogatory elements with a religious connotation can be mentioned, such as the image of Saint Paul.

Literary motifs such as those related to romanticism often narrate a story of an unfulfilled love, while others depict multiple religious personalities, such as the patron saint of the victims bitten by the tarantula, Saint Paul. The verses mentioning his name are often used during prayers for healing and kindness.

The group of musicians was mostly made up of men, but sometimes there were also women, interpreting music and playing drums. Erstwhile, the musicians *delle tarante* would perform by means of a “travelling” movement; most of the times, they would travel during reaping and grape harvesting, being aware that the rituals occur in those places (Chiriatti 2001, 47-50). As the transition to the „domiciliary” was completed, the group was required to come over to the small house of the diseased. Most of the times, the low-class families from Salento (Puglia), usually formed of labourers and peasants, had a poor financial situation, so they had to resort to the little they possessed in order to pay the musical performance of the group. The required sum worth 8000€ of each family member, including each day when the performance occurred. If necessary, all the community had to submit to the costs of the “treatment”.

Conclusions

Throughout eras, the cultural phenomenon called tarantism has developed into such a widespread movement, that it has caught the attention of many researchers and intellectuals, presenting an essential concept in the field of anthropology and ethnology. This form of musical cure has represented a significant case study for many authors and thinkers abroad, de Martino even including and quoting the word in his work entitled “La Terra del rimorso” (“The Land of Remorse,” De Martino 1961, 38; 196).

Among other notorious authors of the XIXth century elaborating the subject are worth mentioning Francesco de Raho (1908), in his paperwork, “Il tarantolismo nella superstizione e nella scienza,” or the ethnomusicologist Marius Schneider, who elaborates a thesis entitled “La danza delle spade e la tarantella” (Schneider 1948), based on the connection between rite and symbology, according to which only the civilizations who are directly connected with the Universe – the nature –, can comprehend the true value of the rhythm, the existence of each element within it.

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Causes and Effects of Budget Imbalance in Poland and Selected Countries in the World

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ABSTRACT: The budget deficit is almost a common economic phenomenon occurring in many countries of the world at various levels of development. An excessive budget deficit can lead to public debt in the medium and long run, which can become an important factor negatively affecting socio-economic development. The main reason for the existence of public debt is the accumulation of the budget deficit from previous financial years. Increasing the amount of budget expenditure above the level of budget revenues leads to serious difficulties in financing compulsory public tasks, which in principle are assigned to public administration at various levels of competence. This means that in market economy conditions, relatively large amounts of public expenditure around the world due to the liberalization of tax systems, even while maintaining high efficiency of the economy, may cause difficulties in generating current budget revenues on accepted level. In this respect, the situation in the world is varied, but problems with the financing of public tasks are more or less visible. The purpose of this article is to indicate the significance of the problem and try to find solutions leading to a reduction of the budget deficit at the national level in Poland and selected countries. It is therefore about seeking solutions that would refer to the principle of optimal taxation, while maintaining a reasonable tax burden in order to create conditions for the efficient financing of public tasks and would reduce the risk of budget deficit and public debt.

KEYWORDS: public finance, socio-economic development, optimal taxation

Introduction

The social market economy is associated with the adoption of a socially accepted concept of relatively large expenditure related to the financing of various public tasks. The scope of it has the dimension of accepted social consensus, established within the existing economic, political and organizational order. Such tasks take form of public tasks and, in principle, should be financed from funds of the state budget or from the budgets of local and regional government units, as well as from non-profit organizations. In the conditions of sustainable economic development, in principle, only funds that can be obtained under the existing tax system and other public levies may be allocated to public tasks. Another solution may be the use of private funds for the implementation of public investments under various forms of public-private partnership.

Empirical studies prove that there occurs a surplus of planned expenditures on public tasks over the possibilities of sustainable financing of these tasks. This phenomenon has a general global tendency and is observed both in highly developed countries with a well-established market economy, as well as in other countries of the

world with varying levels of socio-economic development, diverse socio-economic systems, as well as diverse social preferences in the sphere of public tasks. Referring to the model of long-term sustainable development, it should be noted that all public tasks can be financed within the framework of the results developed in the real economy. This means that expenditure on public tasks can be financed through the redistribution of earned income under the existing tax system.

The purpose of this paper is to identify the factors of excessive budget deficits and public debt, as well as to draw attention to the effects of these phenomena. Public expenditure generates many effects, the impact of which on the economy and society should be noticed and subjected to macroeconomic analysis, as well as analysis at the lower level of the regional and local public authorities. The budget deficit and public debt constantly accompany development processes in market economy conditions. The main reason for this is the growing importance of the state and its functions in the light of changing public needs and socio-economic conditions (Wheeler 2004, 75-79).

From the point of view of the purpose of the submitted article, the private and public sectors should be delimited, which allows for an unambiguous overall recognition of both revenues and expenses in these sectors. From a financial point of view, the public sector includes taxes, fees and other public charges redistributed to entities and organizational units to carry out public tasks. Therefore, the aforementioned public sector includes both streams of income obtained from the sources mentioned above, as well as streams of expenditure directed to the implementation of public tasks of a tangible and intangible nature. It also includes private funds directed to the implementation of tasks under various public-private partnerships. In general, on the expenditure side, therefore, investments financed from public funds, as well as current expenses related to the provision of broadly understood public services.

Theoretical background

Changes taking place in the structure of the world economy and economic changes in individual countries of the world confirm the arguments and suggestions recognized and disseminated on theoretical level, according to which the budget deficit and high public debt cause negative effects, which are clearly seen through the synthetic measure of GDP. This phenomenon has been observed and confirmed by both research on economic growth in developed countries and emerging market economies (Reinhart and Rogoff 2009, 24-27).

A fundamental question therefore arises: can a high level of public debt significantly reduce economic growth? This is an important question for both economic theorists and politicians. While fiscal policy will have an expansive character and may give a positive effect in the short run, it may significantly limit long-run economic growth. The economic effects achieved can therefore be offset by the negative effects of excessive debt. Therefore, it has been accepted to believe that such a scenario can be risky in the long term. Pushing the excessive public debt policy certainly produces results in the short term, however, long-term effects may be difficult to predict in individual countries and their range of impact may lead to the crisis situation. This influence as reported (Das, Papapioannou, Pedras, Ahmed and Surti 2010, 6-21) can be wider and can cover the whole economy, social affairs and politics.

The political effects of increasing indebtedness in the public sector can be considered in accordance with political business cycle theory. This theory says that public spending increases in the run-up to the election. As a rule, public administration increases public investment and increases the volume of current public benefits, wanting to increase their chances of a positive vote. Expenses related to this are more

willingly financed from internal loans rather than by issuing debt securities or by increasing of the taxes. In this way, it is possible to achieve effects related to current expenditure in the short term, while investment expenditure in the medium term. The consequence of this will be the necessity of paying off principal installments with interest in the future. This may have negative effects. Nordhaus drew attention to this phenomenon, pointing out that political business cycle theory is directly related to mechanisms resulting from public choice theory (Nordhaus 1975, 169-190).

The budget deficit and the related public debt may have an impact on the general level of prices, incurring liabilities may affect inflationary processes or trigger deflationary processes and may affect the distribution of the incomes. This phenomenon occurs when paying off principal installments and interest. Capital and interest payments related to public entities' obligations are paid within budget finances. These budgets are to a greater or lesser extent supported by taxes levied on middle and low income groups. This can lead to the transfer of resources obtained from middle and low income groups to high income groups, which are usually owners of borrowed capital (Aybarç 2019, 5-7, Chen 2003, 7-9).

Public debt has an impact on savings and investments in the economy. If funds from loans are directed to investments, we will observe an increase in GDP and an increase in personal income. Public sector investments will result in the effects of crowding out and crowding in. Crowding out means the reducing the volume of private sector investment due to increased financing of public expenditure under loans. Due to the increase in the demand for money, the interest rate increases and the investment demand in the private sector is reduced. The crowding out effect therefore means replacing private investment with public expenditure (Barry and Devereux 1992, 199-221). We may be dealing with the appearance of other factors and effects that will differentiate the impact of crowding out and crowding in effects (Baumol and Blinder 2008, 310-311).

It is justified to draw attention to the theory of budget deficits developed by Cukierman and Meltzer. This theory assumes the possibility of redistributing public debt in intergenerational terms. Public debt does not have to be served by one current living generation. Part of the commitments can be transferred over time to the future generations. This solution finds one basic justification, the public investments and their financing always involve very large capital expenditure. An achieving material effects due to the specifics of these investments is not possible by dividing the investment into smaller parts and implementing it in stages. The material effects obtained will be available in the social dimension for many decades, and therefore will also be used by future generations. The question therefore arises as to whether it is justified to transfer some of the costs of such an investment to the future generations by allocating part of the service obligations, resulting from loans taken to finance the investment. Although from a theoretical point of view this solution seems to be logically correct, the question arises whether it would be possible to enforce an intergenerational obligations in the social dimension. This solution seems to be extremely practical, but it requires to take into account a certain conditions (Cukierman and Meltzer 1989, 713-732, Musgrave 1988, 133-145).

Excessive budget deficit and public debt are relatively well studied problems. Under market economy conditions, the scope of public sector activity may be set at a special level. The state model, the scope of tasks assigned to public sector units and the principles of their financing are of key importance here. In the public sector, we have the implementation of a long-term investment policy as a result of social consensus, a set hierarchy of goals, and securing funds for their implementation (The World Bank 2007, 49-64).

This process is strongly conditioned by the endogenous public sector factors. These factors play a fundamental role in the long-term development process, although to some extent they are either permanently or only transiently modified by groups of

exogenous factors. Implementation of tasks and achievement of objectives must take into account the financial policy of the state in the short term in the context of the current budgetary economy and in the long term, taking into account the possibility of a negative budget balance and the appearance of public debt. It is important to identify sources of financing, including own funds and external sources, in particular loans. In practical terms, it should strive to provide sources of financing tasks under economic policy while maintaining the principle of sustainable development (Arif and Hussain 2018, 98-114). It is important to identify sources of financing, including own funds and external sources, in particular loans. In practical terms, it should strive to provide sources of financing tasks under economic policy while maintaining the principle of sustainable development.

Political and economic conditions are closely related to the existing needs and production of services of the public sector. The needs for public investments will be shaped differently in highly developed countries than the needs for infrastructure in countries with low or medium development levels. In the first group of countries mentioned here, one should expect redirection of investment expenditure streams to projects aimed at qualitative changes in terms of services and products. In the second group, there are basic infrastructure problems, which means that there is a need to build technical and social infrastructure components that could provide access to basic public services in the first place. This does not mean, however, that countries at a lower level of development do not face the need to implement infrastructure components according to the schemes of the construction of socio-economic infrastructure in highly developed countries took place. Such projects could be financed according to proven scenarios with the use of low-interest investment loans, which may already lead to budgetary imbalances in poor countries and the emergence of excessive public debt. It may therefore lead to a number of adverse effects in the economy of these countries (Cavallo and Daude 2008, 4-8).

From the point of view of planning and implementing investment projects, it is important for investors to maintain relative stability of the socio-economic environment. The stability of the project environment allows for the correct implementation of the project as well as sustainable implementation in the operational phase. Financial stability plays a major role, as there is no risk of exceeding planned investment expenditure. This means that investors in the public sector can expect to achieve planned effects while maintaining the mentioned financial stability.

Crisis phenomena around the world may have a negative impact on the stability of investment projects and the budget results of public sector entities. Changes in external conditions may therefore lead to deterioration of the stability of investment projects already started in the past. A threat may be a change in interest rates on financial markets, changes in the level of various risk categories and, consequently, changes in the value of interest and discount rates adopted for analysis and evaluation of already implemented investment projects. This in turn may lead to the need to verify the planned effectiveness of investment projects, and in particular to verify the net present value of such projects. In a broader sense, the instability of the socio-economic situation may lead to an increase in the overall risk of investment projects and, as a consequence, may lead to investor aversion in relation to new investment projects. As a result, a number of further negative phenomena of a wider range may appear, leading to a deterioration of economic efficiency (Bock and Trück 2011, 105-123).

In theory, the budget deficit means a surplus of expenditure over budgetary revenues generated in a given accounting year. In international comparisons, the budget deficit may show slight conceptual differences in the material scope of this concept. These differences are a direct consequence of the administrative structure of individual

countries, which in turn may lead to methodological difficulties when trying to compare each other. In Poland, in macroeconomic terms, we distinguish the state budget deficit, which consists of the budget deficit of government institutions and the budget deficit of local and regional government units. In relation to the local government units, there may be a different situation in individual units, we may be dealing with self-governments that had a budget deficit in a given financial year, we may also be dealing with units that had a budget surplus at the same time (Deloitte Access Economics 2016, 9-23).

Searching for the answer to the question of what underlies the budget deficit and, consequently, the public debt, in accordance with the above-mentioned definition, it is necessary to look for the answer to the question what factors force the increase of the expenditure in relation to the possibilities of their financing? This question cannot be answered unambiguously. We can only refer to the so-called the golden budget rule, according to which the budget would be balanced if the expenditure corresponded to the revenue generated in a given financial year. If the planned and implemented expenses exceed the obtained revenues, then we will have the situation of a budget imbalance in the form of a budget deficit. Budget revenues are a complex economic category, including tax revenues, non-tax revenues as well as domestic and foreign subsidies and subsidies and other sources in the form of public levies (Coccia 2018, 3-15, Pantaleoni 1967, 16-25).

Two possible scenarios can be identified here. The first scenario is the situation when the revenues are too small in relation to the planned expenses, the second scenario is the situation, when the planned expenses are too high in relation to the possibility of generating budget revenues. Therefore, the budget deficit may be the result of two groups of factors, the first group is constituted by factors shaping the positive cash flow forming the budget and factors shaping the negative streams of expenditure financed from budgetary resources.

When it comes to budgetary income-shaping factors, market economy phenomena should be taken into account, in particular business performance and tax flows transferred under the existing tax system. It is from these sources that funds are transferred directly to the state budget and partly to the budgets of regional and local government units and other public finance sector units. Thus, the overall economic situation as well as the broader perception of connections in the external economic environment may have an impact on the budgetary situation. We can identify the following main groups of factors: economic, social and political.

In the group of economic factors, the following should be indicated: the level of socio-economic development and the size of the tax base, current economic situation, economic profile, innovation and ability to generate income, international competitiveness of the economy and foreign exchange, ownership structure and entrepreneurship model, competitiveness of enterprises and the economy in relation to the external environment, components of GDP, their stability and susceptibility to change. In the group of social factors one should indicate: demographic conditions characterizing the population of a given country, human capital, labor resources, mobility, employment and unemployment, the taxpayer's inclination to bear the burden of taxation. In the group of political factors one can distinguish: the general international situation resulting from political, social and health conditions, the state model and the scope of involvement in the implementation of public tasks, premises resulting from the adopted economic policy objectives in the state, premises resulting from the adopted social policy objectives, the political system in given country, political consensus within the tax system, efficiency and effectiveness of tax administration, political arrangements regarding the budget redistribution rate, legal and organizational

stability of the state institutions and the principles of economic activity (Szołno-Koguc 2015, 179-188, Jarosiński and Opałka 2014, 13-28).

These groups of factors do not exhaust all of the definable factors that may have an impact on the state's financial policy and the related budgetary and public debt situation in specific national conditions. Two main dimensions of the problem should be indicated: the level of socio-economic development already achieved and the resources possessed, as well as the state model that ultimately determines the place and scope of the public sector in the economy and society.

Results of empirical research and discussions

During empirical research, it was found that in most countries of the world the surplus of budget expenditure implemented from the state budget and from budgets at the regional and local level in relation to income is permanent. One of the main and basic reasons is social expectations and the pressure to increase public expenditure on financing current expenses and investments. It can be assumed that the budget deficit has become a new economic category and functions as an element of the state's financial policy. This is justified by the need to approximate the effects of public investments and also the effects of current financial policy, resulting from the need to meet urgent public needs. This means that often the budget deficit is "forced" by important public goals.

It is known that the mismatch of budget revenues and expenses can be easily balanced by taking loans, but this does not change the essence of the problem, because monetary obligations only change the location, while they do not decrease in value. At this point, it is worth paying attention to the figures provided in the text, characterizing the situation in terms of budget revenues per capita in selected countries of the world. Given the international context of the budgetary situation of countries at different levels of development and having diversified economic potential, in order to ensure the possibility of comparing the studied volumes, it was decided to abandon the presentation of absolute data on a country-by-country basis and presented data in relative terms, in the form of total budget revenues per capita. Figures are presented in Table 1.

Table 1. General government revenue per capita in US dollars in selected years 2010-2018
a)

Specification	2008	2010	2012	2014	2016	2018
Australia	13 328	13 891	14 677	16 388	17 554	19 011
Austria	19 988	20 351	22 785	24 261	25 559	27 789
Brazil	7 751	8 033	9 024	9 283	9 157	-
Canada	16 058	15 711	16 560	17 947	19 109	20 741
Czech Republic	10 718	10 844	11 780	13 014	14 424	16 883
Finland	20 865	20 026	21 779	22 666	24 211	25 883
France	17 563	17 966	19 643	21 400	22 733	24 743
Germany	16 942	17 375	19 480	21 100	23 000	25 286
Greece	12 549	11 638	11 864	12 538	13 769	14 562
Italy	15 969	15 926	17 153	17 338	18 596	19 783
Japan	11 120	10 705	12 024	13 644	14 330	14 911
Korea	9 565	9 675	10 678	11 174	12 861	14 445
Mexico	3 587	3 429	4 098	4 331	4 643	-

Norway	36 543	32 640	37 297	36 160	32 754	38 731
Poland	7 402	7 991	9 209	9 803	10 827	12 999
Russia	-	-	9 782	9 734	8 827	-
Spain	12 257	11 578	12 030	13 149	14 229	15 884
Turkey	-	5 666	6 812	7 757	8 739	-
United Kingdom	14 361	13 856	14 339	15 488	16 846	18 158
United States	15 678	14 877	15 983	18 232	19 024	19 630

^{a)}Budgetary and public debt data are derived from the OECD National Account Statistics, which is based on the System of National Accounts (SNA). In the System of National Accounts terminology, general government is composed of central government, state government, local government and social security funds. Revenues include taxes, net social contributions and grants and other revenues. Gross domestic product (GDP) is the standard measure of the value of goods and services produced by a country during a period. Government revenues per capita were calculated by converting total revenues to USD using the OECD/Eurostat.

Source: OECD (2020), General government revenue (indicator). doi: 10.1787/b68b04ae-en

The empirical data collected during the survey, referring to most countries of the world and partial data presented in Table 1 indicate that the increase in budget revenues in the years 2008-2018 was a generally observed regularity. Such a tendency is fully justified, for example, by the following changes in the level of GDP over the time and, consequently, by an increase in the tax base. However, the pace of these changes varied. Relatively higher dynamics of changes was recorded in less developed countries with relatively lower socio-economic potential. In the group of selected countries, the highest level of income per capita was recorded in Norway in 2018. The country is characterized by specific factors of economic development, where energy resources, shipbuilding and new technologies industries dominate. It is characteristic that in the years 2008-2018 general government revenue per capita increased by only 6.0%, and therefore in the discussed period we observed a relative stabilization of budget revenues at a very high level. We also observed a similar situation in Switzerland, but due to the limited framework of the study, no detailed data for this country was provided. Figure 1 graphically illustrates changes in the level of general government revenue per capita. To keep the figure more readable, the number of countries presented and the time horizon have been limited.

In Poland, compared to selected countries in the world, the situation in the area of the budget revenues in the years 2008-2018 improved significantly. An increase in the discussed income category by 75.6% was recorded, this is a significant increase, however, it should be remembered that in 2018 the results obtained were among the lowest in the group in question. The relatively low level of income per capita prevented financing under own budgetary means. This does not mean that increasing or maximizing budget revenues in total and per capita is the goal of the socio-economic policy of the state. Rather, it should be borne in mind the pursuit of the optimal amount of state budget funds, giving the opportunity to maintain a balanced and socially acceptable tax system. This means that the factors shaping the size of the budget and affecting the strategies for financing public tasks must be tailored to the needs of the countries being analyzed.

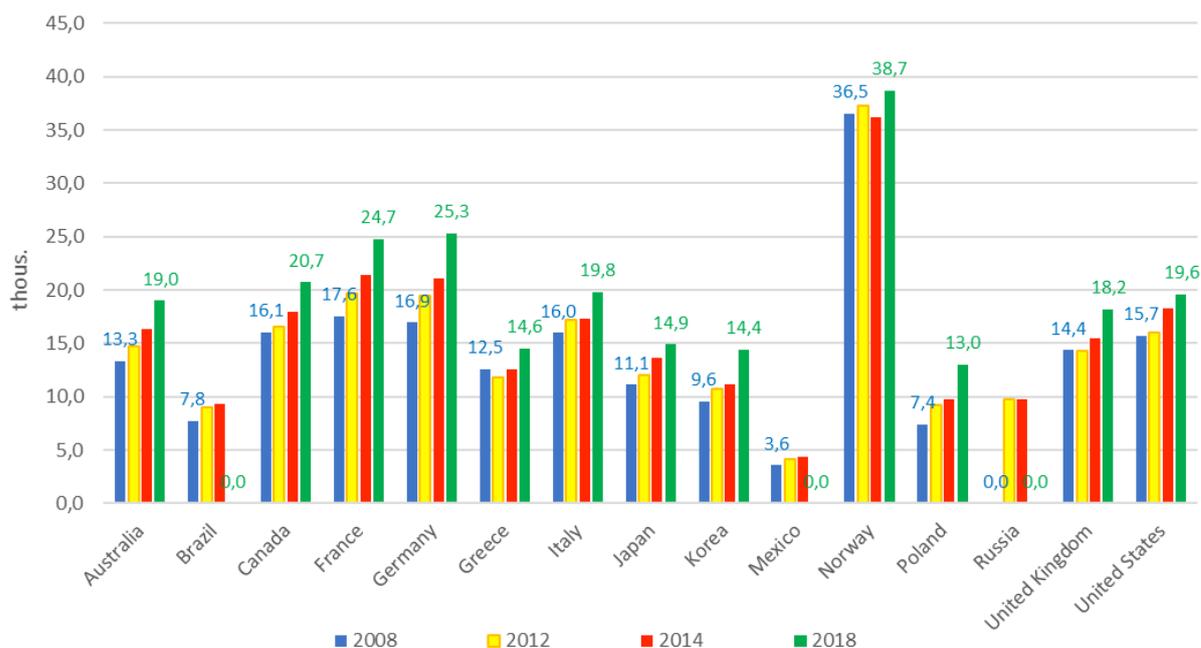


Figure 1. General government revenue per capita in thous. US dollars in selected countries in the years 2008, 2012, 2014, 2018.

When looking for the main factors influencing the expected value of budget revenues, one should examine and assess the current level of technical and social infrastructure development as well as the level and quality of public services. It is easy to see that in highly developed countries equipment is better and the demand for new investments could be lower. Therefore, the growth rate of this income is decreasing. This should be interpreted as reducing the importance of infrastructure factors in the development process. Admittedly, the results of empirical research for selected countries show a surplus of expenditure over income in many of them, but this expenditure in relation to income often gives a negative budget balance. Table 2 provides figures related to budgetary expenditure per capita in the countries surveyed.

Table 2. General government spending per capita in US dollars in the years 2008-2018

Specification	2008	2010	2012	2014	2016	2018
Australia	14 829	15 800	15 943	17 498	18 482	19 349
Austria	20 606	22 219	23 803	25 593	26 367	27 676
Brazil	8 118	8458	9 385	10 249	10 259	-
Canada	15 984	17 611	17 627	17 867	19 319	20 939
Czech Republic	11 266	11 999	12 922	13 691	14 166	16 440
Finland	19 190	21 014	22 660	23 913	24 987	26 292
France	18 709	20 441	21 520	22 968	24 251	25 913
Germany	16 987	19 114	19 476	20 827	22 401	24 270
Greece	15 689	14 792	14 106	13 492	13 634	14 262
Italy	16 873	17 403	18 214	18 407	19 558	20 718
Japan	12 554	13 905	15 114	15 753	15 714	15 908
Korea	8 927	9 395	10 336	10 746	11 987	13 252
Mexico	3 726	3 882	4 912	5 096	5 053	-
Norway	25 043	26 309	28 303	30 477	30 362	33 239
Poland	8 062	9 530	10 090	10 725	11 489	13 074
Russia	-	-	9 279	10 335	9 438	-

Spain	13 776	14 599	15 436	15 133	15 835	16 912
Turkey	-	6 129	6 851	7 698	9 035	-
United Kingdom	16 246	17 231	17 465	17 782	18 325	19 234
United States	19 239	20 891	20 734	21 090	22 146	23 777

Source: OECD (2020), General government revenue (indicator). doi: 10.1787/b68b04ae-en.

Comparison of cash flows of the budget revenues and expenses shows that a particularly good situation took place in Norway, as well as in South Korea, Germany, and partly in Greece. However, the reasons for these phenomena are individualized in each of the countries studied, the budget balance was shaped slightly differently. Results of the general government budget balance per capita in US dollars in selected countries in the years 2008, 2014 and 2018 has been presented in Figure 2.

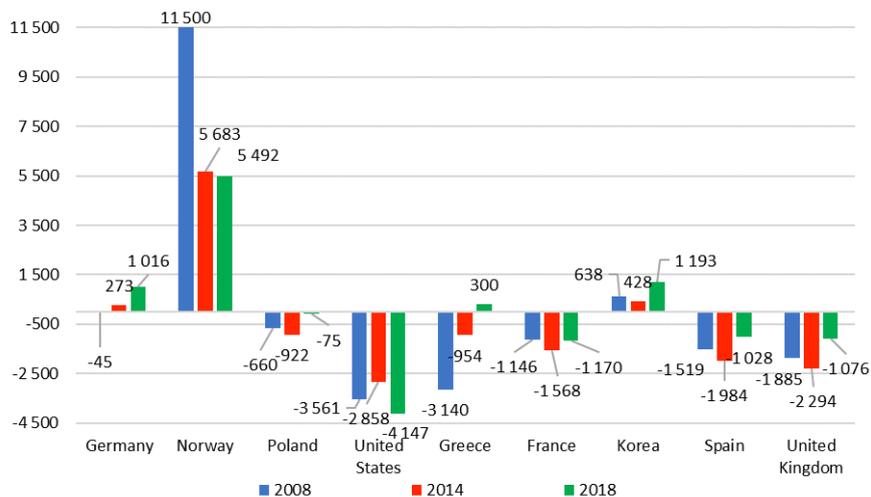


Figure 2. General government budget balance per capita in US dollars in selected countries in the years 2008, 2014 and 2018

As for Greece, the crisis after 2008 forced public authorities to change their management goals, where the main focus was to limit the budget deficit. There are also alarming phenomena consisting in the persistence of the negative budget balance per capita in some highly developed countries: in France, the United States, Spain, Great Britain, Japan, Italy, where the negative balance per capita was over 1 thousand USD¹. In Poland, in 2008-2018 we also observed a negative budget balance, however, starting from 2013, a reduction in the budget deficit per capita was observed. In 2018 in Poland, this deficit reached USD 75 and was the lowest in the group of countries where such a deficit occurred.

Conclusions

The budget deficit and public debt may have serious negative effects on sustainable socio-economic development. The risk of negative impact on the economy is particularly pronounced in the wealthiest countries in the world, where the costs of servicing public debt are systematically rising. Empirical research has shown that public

¹ The analysis of the budget balance of selected countries was based on empirical data contained in Table 1 and Table 2, the calculations were made separately and were not attached to the paper.

debt servicing costs increased particularly severely in 2008-2018, causing serious effects in the area of financing public tasks.

It should be assumed that governments and international organizations should pay attention to the causes of short-term budgetary imbalances and the relationship between this imbalance and public debt. The public sector is under pressure to increase spending on public tasks, which results in increased demand for money, in particular for investment capital. Quite often, the shortage of investment capital is compensated by obtaining loans. This seems fully justified, however, provided that future commitments related to it will not create the risk of excessive public debt.

Development policy and the adopted economic doctrine of the state occupy an important place in the public sector. In various models, the scope of responsibility and involvement of the state in the public sphere can be significantly diversified. We can therefore point to a pro-social model, known as a part of the welfare state, where social and living matters and the responsibility of the state towards citizens is high, we can also find such a model of the state where the role of public authorities when it comes to the implementation of public tasks is significantly limited.

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Conditions and Possibilities of Long-Term Public Debt Management

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ABSTRACT: The socio-economic situation of many countries in a market economy environment still faces new barriers that significantly reduce economic potential and productivity, and negatively affect future development opportunities at local and national level. At present, it is still not possible to eliminate a number of factors that lead to the cyclical development of the market economy, as evidenced by the occurring crisis phenomena, a decline in the expected growth rate of gross domestic product, stagnation and even reduction of individual consumption and many other consequences. Public debt has become a serious problem in highly developed countries, and its size now raises a number of doubts about further sustainable development. From the point of view of achieving the strategic development goals, the existence of public debt may prove to be a particularly dangerous factor. The purpose of this paper is to draw attention to the real size of public debt and its impact on the economy in selected countries of the world, as well as to indicate directions for assessing the needs of effective public debt management in the long term. This problem results from the fact that the current volume of public debt in many countries of the world means that this debt cannot be significantly reduced in the short or medium term. As a result, it is necessary to adopt a long time horizon for public debt analysis and to adopt strategic management methods to reduce the negative impact of public debt on socio-economic development.

KEYWORDS: public debt, strategic management, economic development

Introduction

Socio-economic changes taking place in the world clearly show that we are dealing with launching various mechanisms to support development on a global scale, on a broader scale within international organizations, as well as in other territorial and spatial dimensions at the level of countries, regions and on the local level. These changes make it possible to state that, although with varying degrees of intensity, a process of profound economic change has begun and, as a consequence, the multiplier economic effects are revealed. However, it should be remembered that the world is not free from disparities and some of these effects may occur with varying degrees of intensity, or may not occur at all.

In this regard, a special function is assigned to public administration entities, as well as public enterprises, entities and organizational units financed from funds that are part of public resources. Therefore, it is impossible to ignore the issue of broadly defined public tasks, and thus also the process of providing public services. This approach inclines to pay attention to the basic categories related to the system of organization of the state and society.

On the basis of many years of theoretical and empirical research, as well as on the basis of systematic observation of processes and changes occurring in the world, an important regularity was noticed, according to which an indispensable condition for

proper stimulation of socio-economic development is the permanent presence of the public sector in a market economy. The public sector has carried out and still has to fulfill a number of important functions in the economy. Various types of enterprises, entities and organizational units of the public sector have important supporting functions to fulfill both in relation to the economy and in relation to society.

When formulating research assumptions and during the preparation of the paper, it was necessary to recognize the conditions for the functioning of entities and organizational units of the public sector in the situation of the progressing complexity of problems that arise in the conditions of an open global economy. The aim of this paper is to draw attention to the problems related to management in the public sector, including in particular the management of public liabilities in the form of an excessive budget deficit and public debt. The volume of public debt and its impact on the economy in selected countries of the world makes us pay more attention to the analysis and assessment of the possibility of an effective public debt management in the long run. Therefore, it seems necessary to adopt the long-term horizon of public debt analysis because of the consequences that may be particularly negative for the economy and structures of the state. In this sense, it seems necessary to adopt strategic management methods to reduce the negative impact of public debt on the future socio-economic development.

Theoretical background

In research on forecasting and simulating future social and economic phenomena, particular attention should be paid to strategic management instruments, long-term investment programs or long-term asset management, which are the subject of activities undertaken by public sector entities. In the above approach, strategic management is practically associated with the continuous activation of decision-making processes, whose future effects are to directly contribute to improving the conditions and quality of life of the inhabitants of the territorial unit (Jarosiński, Grzymała, Opałka and Maśloch 2015, 33–39). It should be noted that the scope of competences and mandatory tasks of public sector entities is clearly defined in the various documents of applicable law. Thus, it can be reflected in many areas of public administration and its related entities' activities, especially in the scope of financing current operations and financing of investment projects. This dimension of activity of public sector entities is an important determinant that shapes future development conditions in the short and long term (McCartney 2015, 23–42).

Long run development is a complex process due to numerous difficulties in planning and implementation of tasks, mainly in the form of investments, in conditions of uncertainty of future phenomena. This kind of complexity results from the need to define the scope of future public tasks that can be successively defined and implemented as investment projects and reveals itself in the need to establish a long-term financing path for future investments. It is the time dimension that makes forecasting future phenomena a methodological problem and may become a development barrier in the financial dimension (Wang 2006, 21–32; Opałka and Jarosiński 2019, 18–19). It is worth recalling that the longer the forecasting period or investment implementation we are dealing with, the error of such forecasts in the prospective analysis is becoming greater (Zeliaś 1997, 50–68). We can indicate here that even a change regarding only the extension of the investment's time horizon, as already mentioned, may already generate large changes in the factors determining the success of a given investment project.

Of course, we are dealing with important short-term factors shaping development processes, which are usually considered in terms of operational management. They come from the sphere of operational management and refer to existing resources. We

are also dealing with a group of factors that affect development processes in the long term. Higher risk, when it comes to the accuracy of forecasts over the course of a multiannual basis, may be associated with unpredictable or poorly identifiable phenomena that we do not yet know at the start of the project. This uncertainty regarding the impact of various factors in future periods means that strategic management of investment projects in the public sector is becoming a significant factor in achieving socio-economic final effects. Ferlie and Ongaro have already pointed out the importance of strategic management in the public sector. The authors emphasized the recognition of public sector problems in the division of three important levels of management: strategic, tactical and operational. (Ferlie and Ongaro 2015, 166-180).

Strategic planning is also a method that allows to take into account the broader context of socio-economic phenomena that can constitute the environment of projects financed in the future. Therefore, by attempting to specify individual factors and their impact on the course of economic phenomena in the future, we can reduce investment risk and financial risk and thus contribute to reducing public debt in the future through better management of financial resources. As part of strategic management, efforts are made to develop decision-making situations that can then create secure conditions for making decisions of varying levels of generality. Therefore, elements of strategic management take a very important place in the structure of multi-level management in the public sector (Jarosiński and Opałka 2016, 78-81).

Properly prepared and implemented strategic management process allows to reduce significantly uncertainty appearing in projects and ensures better ordering and rationalization of decision-making processes. In the long term, the management problem is so complex that it requires consideration of many threads already at the stage of planning an investment or group of projects. Therefore, the bundle of organizational goals, the organization's vision and mission, strategic goals and related main goals as well as implementation tasks should be taken into consideration. A separate category that is closely related to the implementation of long-term investment projects is the problem of financing these projects and the often observed phenomenon of public debt on the side of the budgets of public entities responsible for investments (González Sánchez, and de los Ríos Sastre 2012, 133-144). Therefore, public debt management is becoming a key problem around which all important financial factors that determine sustainable development are focused (Wolswijk and de Haan, 2005, 1-21).

The budget deficit and the excessive public debt associated with it are considered a negative phenomenon, although they are often intended to stimulate investment in the economy of a country that benefits from the possibility of financing a wider range of public expenditure (Barro 1979, 940-971, Eberhardt and Presbitero 2015, 45-58). A disadvantageous phenomenon in some countries that use loan instruments is that the funds obtained are transferred to projects that do not increase the competitiveness of the economy, instead of being invested in research and development of new technologies, which would allow raising the level of competitiveness of the given economy. The decrease in the competitiveness of a given country is not conducive to the perspective of repayment of loans taken. In the longer term, new threats to public finances may occur. Strategically, they can be a serious problem for the proper management of the liabilities that make up this debt. An excessive budget deficit and public debt associated with this deficit can lead to a worsening of the overall socio-economic situation. First of all, it is about increasing debt servicing costs, reducing budget revenues and difficulties in financing new enterprises in the future (Missale 2000, 58-91). Public debt management of public sector entities takes place in complex financial conditions. This is due to the overlap of many public liabilities, identified at the level of operational management and obligations arising from already existing, previously incurred public debt. Budget funds

must therefore be divided into financing of current tasks, which are often mandatory, as well as repayment of principal instalments and interest related to repayment of liabilities from past periods (Jarosiński 2019, 109-113).

The budget deficit and public debt are often defined in different ways, although the problem applies in principle to the same phenomena (Irwin 2015, 711-732). In view of the growing level of public finance systems in many countries around the world, the instruments to control public debt and strengthen the ability to service liabilities in the short and long term are gaining importance. At this point, it is worth recalling the method of recognizing public debt management developed by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF), where it is pointed out that public debt management is primarily aimed at developing the public debt portfolio in a targeted and effective way. The role of the public debt management strategy is to determine the expected acceptable scale of using the loan funds at the lowest possible costs and maintaining a safe level of risk (International Monetary Fund 2001, 10-37). The main risk factors for the public debt portfolio result from the structure of unpaid debt, including refinancing risk, interest rate risk and currency risk. An important element of this type of strategy are also goals and assumptions regarding the development and maintenance of an effective government securities market. A very important element of the strategy is the adoption and application of a comprehensive set of public debt management performance indicators. For example, the World Bank has developed the Debt Management Performance Assessment (DeMPA) methodology in order to assist and help countries in improving their public debt management. That methodology enables monitoring of key values in categories such as: management and development of the strategy (e.g. legal framework), coordination with macroeconomic policies, including fiscal or monetary policy, researching the sources of borrowing (domestic or external), the use of cash flow forecasting instruments and cash balance management as well as recording debt levels along with adjusting operational risk management procedures in terms of ensuring safety (World Bank 2016, 1-75).

Thus, it can be seen that the public debt management strategy helps to make safe decisions on taking loans based on the results of cost-risk analysis, while providing an important organizational and legal basis that strengthens the position, but also the responsibility of organizational units and persons entrusted with operational public debt management. Moreover, by building a multilateral agreement, the strategy additionally supports development processes on the domestic debt market, being a reliable source of information for market participants on the long-term objectives of the central government defining the pursued public debt policy in the state (COMCEC Coordination Office 2017, 13-14). A well-prepared and implemented strategy provides a platform for coordination of activities and intergovernmental communication, as well as communication between state administration structures and creditors, which contributes to reducing uncertainty and eliminating the risk of public debt.

Results of empirical research and discussions

The empirical material collected during research for presentation in the submitted paper covers a wide collection of information on the overall situation of height formation and the management of existing public debt in the world. Extensive empirical data constituted a methodological problem, due to emerging difficulties with comprehensive presentation of results in countries of the world and various directions of strategic public debt management. Therefore, it was decided to present empirical data for the years 2008-2019 only for selected countries of the world, with the main focus being on the Member States of the European Union.

The research shows that in 2008-2019 the situation of many countries in the world in terms of the size of public debt has systematically deteriorated. It is characteristic that a relatively high volume of public debt was observed in highly developed countries of the world. For example, in United Kingdom, public debt has almost tripled, from 824.1 to 2,223.5 EUR bln (an increase of 169.8%), at the same time in France public debt increased by 73.7%, in Italy by 38.6%, in the United States amounted to 172.1% in the discussed period, in Portugal by 84.5% or in Spain 169.8%. In many other countries, there has also been an increase in public debt, with increases also in relatively small-scale countries, as well as in large economies, with a high population. Table 1 presents figures describing the situation regarding changes in the volume of public debt in selected countries of the world. It should be emphasized that the increase in public debt has become a widespread phenomenon, this is a general regularity, where it is difficult to find exceptions to this rule, although of course it is possible to indicate the countries where public debt occurred, but its volume decreased during the period considered.

Table 1. General government consolidated gross debt in EUR bln.

Specification	2008	2010	2012	2014	2016	2018	2019
European Union	7 199.2	8 855.5	9 845.2	10 440.1	10 766.9	10 969.7	11 060.2
Euro area	6 700.8	8 199.1	9 114.9	9 674.6	9 970.0	10 161.1	10 250.4
Belgium	327.7	364.1	404.8	431.2	451.3	459.1	467.2
Bulgaria	4.9	5.9	7.0	11.6	14.2	12.5	12.4
Czechia	42.3	59.1	71.8	65.6	65.0	67.4	68.4
Germany	1 668.5	2 112.6	2 227.4	2 215.2	2 169.0	2 068.6	2 053.0
Ireland	79.6	144.2	210.0	203.4	200.6	205.9	204.0
Greece	264.8	330.6	305.1	319.6	315.0	334.7	331.1
Spain	440.6	649.2	889.9	1 039.4	1 104.6	1 173.3	1 188.9
France	1 370.3	1 701.1	1 892.5	2 039.9	2 188.5	2 314.9	2 380.1
Italy	1 738.5	1 920.7	2 054.8	2 203.0	2 285.6	2 380.9	2 409.8
Cyprus	8.7	11.0	15.6	19.0	19.5	21.3	21.0
Netherlands	353.9	378.7	432.4	455.6	438.4	405.5	394.6
Austria	201.8	244.7	261.0	280.0	296.3	285.3	280.4
Poland	144.7	194.5	216.2	204.5	229.0	240.8	245.5
Portugal	135.5	180.0	217.2	230.1	245.2	249.3	250.0
Romania	16.6	36.7	49.4	58.5	62.9	70.9	78.1
Finland	63.3	88.2	107.8	123.8	137.4	139.3	142.5
Sweden	117.7	151.9	163.6	191.3	195.3	183.0	169.0
United Kingdom	824.1	1 387.6	1 745.9	2 060.4	2 022.8	2 054.9	2 223.5
Turkey	176.6	224.7	218.1	207.7	199.2	187.2	212.2
Norway	126.5	142.1	121.5	99.5	126.9	139.7	145.5
Japan	7 571.5	9 572.0	9 977.0	8 353.0	10 265.2	10 309.1	10 744.2
United States	7 787.8	10 703.4	12 670.9	15 072.8	18 965.2	19 536.3	21 191.4

Source: own study on the base of data of European Commission, Economic and Financial Affairs (AMECO), https://ec.europa.eu/economy_finance/ameco/user/serie/ResultSerie.cfm

A quite characteristic phenomenon is the situation in the Member States of the European Union. In the years 2008-2019, public debt within the Union increased by 53.6%, and in the euro area this growth stood at 53.0%. Considering the situation prevailing in the euro area countries as compared to all EU Member States, public debt in the euro area accounted for 92.7% of the European Union's public debt.

A fairly positive situation as regards changes in the level of public debt took place in the countries joining this organization in 2004 and later. You can point here among others to Bulgaria, Czechia and Poland. Due to the relatively low level of socio-economic development of the aforementioned group of countries, the volume of public debt was relatively low compared to the situation of highly developed Western European countries. However, while an increase in the volume of public debt in countries with a lower level of development can be considered a normal phenomenon due to the aspirations of the public authorities of these countries to relatively quickly eliminate the disproportions in the level of development and to undertake costly and capital-intensive public investments, however, in the case of highly developed countries, the level of public debt was caused by slightly different factors.

Thus, we have here confirmation of the generally observed principle that public debt in individual countries of the world has its own autonomous causes and therefore should be analyzed from the point of view of strategic management of this debt, taking into account the internal specificity of these countries. Figures 1 and 2 present a graphic illustration of changes in the situation regarding general government expenditure in total and broken down into current expenditure and expenditure related to current debt servicing in 2008 and 2019.

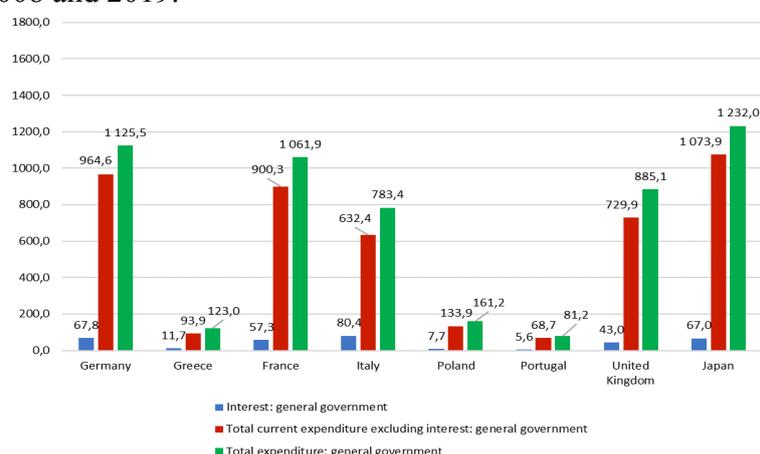


Figure 1. Interest of general government, Total current expenditure of general government excluding interest and Total expenditure of general government in 2008 in EUR bln.

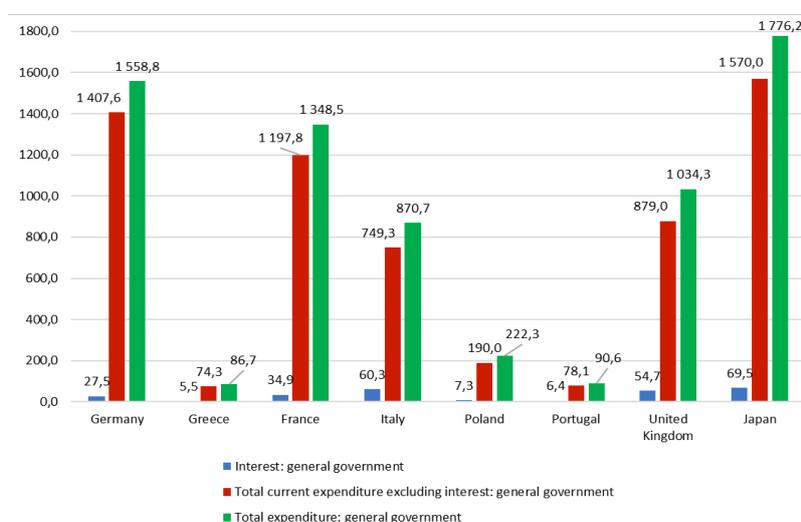


Figure 2. Interest of general government, Total current expenditure of general government excluding interest and Total expenditure of general government in 2019 in EUR bln

In the years 2008-2019, current expenditure increased significantly in the group of presented countries, while debt service expenditure was at a relatively stable level. Due to extensive empirical material, it was not possible to provide a broader graphic illustration, but the data presented in Table 1 and Table 2 as well as the graphic illustration for eight countries clearly shows that public debt service is a recurring item in current expenditure. Table 1 and Figure 1 do not show expenditure related to the repayment of principal installments, but are limited to presenting data related to the payment of interest. Repayment of principal installments is always an additional burden on current budgets and can significantly reduce the possibilities of financing tasks.

The study attempted to assess the scale of public debt service in relation to GDP. The study took into account the same group of countries that was selected for the presentation of results in Table 1. In the period covered by the study, the situation regarding the share of debt service in GDP significantly differed between individual countries, but also significantly differentiation was observed in the scope of changes in the internal situation of countries in subsequent years of the analyzed period.

Table 2. Interest of general government as % of GDP

Specification	2008	2010	2012	2014	2016	2018	2019
European Union	2.79	2.66	2.89	2.46	2.01	1.73	1.54
Euro area	2.95	2.78	3.04	2.60	2.12	1.84	1.63
Belgium	4.03	3.56	3.49	3.20	2.68	2.09	1.97
Bulgaria	0.84	0.70	0.80	0.86	0.88	0.66	0.56
Czechia	0.99	1.31	1.42	1.30	0.92	0.75	0.72
Germany	2.66	2.46	2.31	1.61	1.21	0.95	0.80
Ireland	1.28	2.83	4.17	3.90	2.31	1.64	1.28
Greece	4.82	6.04	5.27	3.96	3.18	3.29	2.94
Spain	1.58	1.89	3.03	3.43	2.75	2.44	2.28
France	2.88	2.53	2.62	2.16	1.84	1.71	1.44
Italy	4.91	4.28	5.16	4.58	3.91	3.66	3.37
Cyprus	2.63	1.96	3.14	3.20	2.67	2.42	2.51
Netherlands	2.04	1.78	1.68	1.47	1.15	0.89	0.77
Austria	2.95	2.89	2.71	2.44	2.08	1.63	1.42
Poland	2.11	2.49	2.66	1.95	1.71	1.44	1.38
Portugal	3.12	2.94	4.87	4.88	4.15	3.38	3.00
Romania	0.66	1.51	1.75	1.65	1.50	1.14	1.23
Finland	1.40	1.33	1.43	1.23	1.10	0.92	0.86
Sweden	1.62	1.09	0.93	0.70	0.54	0.50	0.38
United Kingdom	2.16	2.84	2.83	2.63	2.41	2.45	2.17
Turkey	-	3.85	2.88	2.23	1.99	2.97	3.53
Norway	2.01	1.07	0.77	0.71	0.56	0.49	0.51
Japan	1.96	1.92	2.00	1.93	1.78	1.58	1.53
United States	3.95	4.24	4.26	3.93	3.86	3.91	3.90

Source: own study on the base of data of European Commission, Economic and Financial Affairs (AMECO),

https://ec.europa.eu/economy_finance/ameco/user/serie/ResultSerie.cfm

It is worth noting that in the countries of the European Union it was possible to lower the discussed index in 2019 compared to 2008 by 44.8%, while in the euro area by 44.7%. The worst situation in this respect in terms of the European Union took place in Italy, a relatively high share of debt service in relation to GDP was recorded in 2008,

in subsequent years and in 2019, 3.37%. In 2019, a relatively negative situation also occurred in Portugal, Greece, Spain and France, but it was significantly better than before, e.g. in 2010-2014. In the group presented in Table 2, the worst indicator level was recorded in 2019 in the USA, which was 3.90%. It is worth noting that in the entire period 2008-2019 the share of debt service in relation to GDP was relatively high. Graphic illustration of this phenomenon for selected countries included in Table 2 is presented in Figure 3.

In 2010, the worst situation among the group of countries surveyed was observed in Greece, but in subsequent years, due to the adoption of a restrictive anti-crisis policy in Greece, the value of this indicator was relatively quickly reduced. The collected data clearly show that both the budget deficit and the existing public debt are now an immanent feature of public sector management. They are the result of forcing public expenditure over the possibilities of collecting funds for public purposes. This problem is already so complex that governments and international organizations are taking steps towards creating general principles that would effectively manage public debt. Public debt management strategies are thus being developed as a response to this problem in individual countries of the world, they are also the subject of research and recommendations by the IMF and the World Bank. In accordance with the guidelines of national debt management strategies or strategies formulated by international organizations, public finance should strive for more balanced achievement of socio-economic results as well as public objectives.

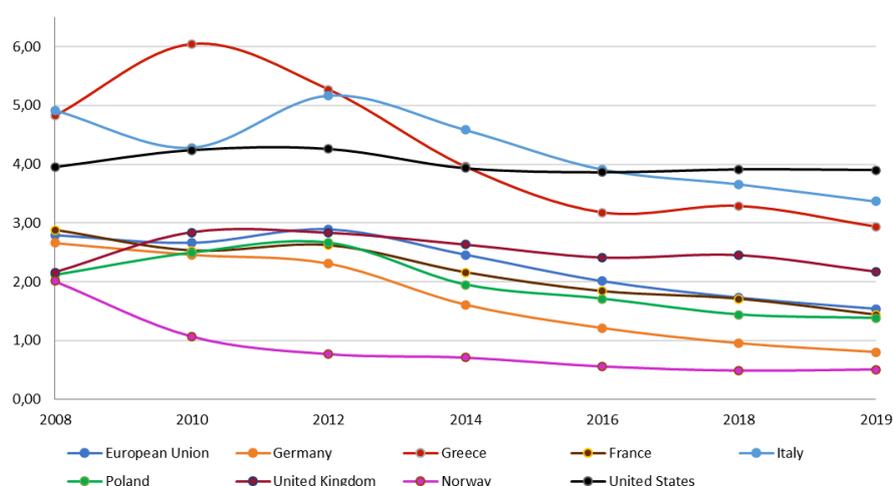


Figure 3. Interest of general government as % of GDP

The World Bank research conducted in 2013 shows that among 117 surveyed countries, 60% of them prepared and approved an official debt management strategy (Cabral 2015, 7-17). These countries clearly indicated in their strategies the achievement of the strategic goals they set to limit the impact of excessive public debt. These objectives were also directed at various forms of public debt management by paying attention to budget management. In general, strategic documents are designed to reduce financial risk by ensuring that the government can meet its commitments on time. Debt management strategies must therefore be linked to other public policies that have a wider reach that goes beyond the public sector. These strategies indicate the need to create an institutional unit to deal with public debt management. The experience of many countries in the world allows us to assess that such a solution is a move in the right direction, because it is difficult from the level of one country with its own socio-economic specificity to manage public debt in conditions of limited possibilities

(COMCEC Coordination Office 2017, 19-37). Therefore, it is easier to take a slightly broader action, coordinated even by international organizations, which would give the opportunity to use good practices, use various forms of consultation, financial advice and give the opportunity to cooperate in a broader scope than would apply to only one country.

Conclusions

Public resource management is becoming an increasingly difficult and more complex task, especially for the managers responsible for dealing that problem. These difficulties are caused by various factors that comprehensively affect the public sphere. The most important problems are related to raising funds for public tasks and balancing identified social needs with the possibilities of financing them.

The effective management of public resources plays an increasingly important role at the stage of collecting budget funds and during the financing of tasks. Public sector management is clearly divided into two groups of problems. First of all, we are dealing with short-term management of an operational nature, which covers the general scope of current operations, and secondly, we are dealing with an important scope of activities in the long-term perspective. In this case, we are therefore dealing with strategic management.

Solving problems related to the budget deficit and public debt has become an important scope of management in the public sector. Effective public debt management requires the use of effective tools to guarantee sustainable financing of public tasks in the long term. One of such tools should be the widespread use of strategic management instruments. This postulate is fully consistent with the national guidelines of many countries and the guidelines of international organizations. These solutions should lead to an improvement in the efficiency of public resource management, increased financial security and optimization of public effects.

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