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PETER THE GREAT SAINT-PETERSBURG
POLYTECHNIC UNIVERSITY

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND THE DIALOGUE OF CULTURES

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INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND THE DIALOGUE OF CULTURES

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PROSPECTS FOR RUSSIAN-ESTONIAN COOPERATION IN PRESERVING THE ETHNIC IDENTITY OF THE SETOS

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Abstract. *This article examines cross-border cooperation between Russia and Estonia in preserving the ethnic identity of the indigenous Seto people. Setu (Seto) are a small indigenous people with distinctive cultural traditions living in the Pechora region in the northeast of the Pskov Oblast of Russia and in southeastern Estonia. The reasons for the reduction and imbalance in the number of Setos in two countries at the beginning of the 21st century are analyzed. The article examines the specifics of the public organizations' activities of Seto representatives in Russia and Estonia, analyzes the effectiveness of measures already taken by the governments to preserve and draw attention to the Seto culture, to ensure cross-border communications between representatives of this people living in the two countries, and assesses the current state of interaction between Russia and Estonia for the purpose of organizing Seto cultural events. The aspects relating to the support of the functioning of museum objects dedicated to the Seto culture are considered. The current state and the number of museums and memorial sites dedicated to the Seto culture and functioning in the territory of the two countries are assessed. Problems are identified, the solution of which at the level of the governments of Russia and Estonia is*

strategically important for preserving the Seto culture and slowing down their assimilation. Attention is paid to the negative impact of bureaucratization in the execution of documents by representatives of the Setos for crossing the state border that separates the historical area of their settlement. In the conclusion, the most promising areas of interaction between the governments of the two countries are proposed to support and popularize the activity of Setos in the field of culture and tourism, as well as to improve their quality of life; at the same time, a complex interaction of the governments of both Russia and Estonia is proposed. The perspective directions of domestic and cross-border tourism associated with visiting the Seto settlement area are also considered.

Keywords: *Setu; Estonia; Cross-Border Cooperation; Ethnic Identity; International Relations; Traditional Culture*

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Russia is traditionally a multinational state, and the Finno-Ugric peoples play a significant role in the diversity of cultural traditions and the identity of the ethnic composition of the country. More than 15 Finno-Ugric peoples and sub-ethnic groups belonging to them live on the territory of the Russian Federation, their total number exceeds 2 million people [1]. Each nation has rich traditions of material and non-material culture, the features of which were studied by scientists and reflected in numerous monographs throughout the twentieth century. At the same time, the number of representatives of various Finno-Ugric peoples varies significantly. In accordance with the Unified list of indigenous small-numbered peoples of the Russian Federation, 5 Finno-Ugric peoples are classified as small: Vepsians, Vod, Izhora, Sami, Setus [2]. At the same time, the modern distribution area of Vepsians, Vods and Izhora is concentrated on the territory of Russian regions – the Leningrad Oblast (Vepsians, Izhora, Vods), as well as the Vologda Oblast and the Republic of Karelia (Vepsians). Representatives of the other two peoples, belonging to the indigenous minority in accordance with Russian law, also live in the territories of other countries – in particular, Norway, Finland and Sweden (Sami), as well as Estonia (Seto).

The administrative-territorial disunity of the ethnically uniform Finno-Ugric peoples negatively influenced the dynamics of their numbers, contributed to assimilation, and made it difficult for contacts between their representatives throughout the 20th century [3]. At the same time, it could be both internal in nature and be associated with the division of traditional areas of settlement by state borders. If in the first case the consequence was only the development and maintenance of infrastructure, often without taking into account the interests of indigenous peoples by the metropolis, in the second it

significantly hampered the possibilities of contacts in the once united ethnic environment.

The collapse of the USSR and the declaration of independence by the former Soviet republics also led to the fact that the original historical areas of settlement of indigenous peoples ended up in the territories of neighboring independent countries. In these conditions, governments had to take into account the need for communication of people belonging to the same ethnic group, but citizens of different countries. The Setos found themselves in a similar situation, the traditional territory of settlement of which after 1991 became part of both Russia and Estonia.

This article proposes to consider the already implemented, currently operating and promising measures to support and popularize the Seto culture in the framework of cross-border cooperation between Russia and Estonia, as well as to analyze the political context that predetermines the intensity and direction of such cooperation.

Setu (also Setu, Setukez, "Pskov chud", "half-believers") is a small Finno-Ugric ethnic group living in the southeastern part of Estonia (Võrumaa and Põlvamaa counties), as well as the Pechora district of the Pskov Oblast (from 1920 to 1940 – in Petseri County of the Republic of Estonia). The historical area inhabited by the Seto people is called Setumaa or Setukezia. The number of Setos in modern Russia and Estonia differs radically and amounts to no more than 200 people in Russia and more than 10,000 in Estonia. Considering that, according to the 2010 census, 214 people classified themselves as Setos, no more than 1.8% of the total population of Setos currently live in the Russian Federation. However, it should be noted that the modern realities associated with such a significant disparity in numbers were caused by the political and economic situation in the 1990s, when the migration outflow (mainly to Estonia) amounted to 4,600 people [4]. Nevertheless, the former settlement area of the Seto in the Pskov Oblast, where representatives of this people lived in the second half of the twentieth century, retains evidence associated with the Seto culture and expressed in the peculiarities of architecture, folklore, etc. In addition, the traditions of contacts between Setos living in neighboring states and participation in joint cultural events are preserved.

The administrative division of the Seto area had certain historical prerequisites. In August 1944, the Pskov Oblast was formed on the basis of the Pskov district of the Leningrad Oblast. In January 1945, by a decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the RSFSR, the Pechora region entered the Pskov Oblast, organized from 8 volosts and the city of Pechora, which were

previously part of Estonia. At the same time, the northern and western parts of the Seto settlement area (Setomaa) were left within Estonia. The new border between the RSFSR and the Estonian SSR split the area of settlement of Setos, creating different conditions for cultural development for different groups of Setos. Split in two, Setomaa did not receive the cultural autonomy that existed until 1917. In the Pskov part of Setomaa (Pechora region), the number of Setos in 1945 was already less than 6 thousand and began to decline rapidly in the future, including due to the Russification of part of the Setos. At the same time, the Estonianization of the Setos continued in Estonia.

If by the beginning of the 20th century, the population of the Seto reached its maximum (21 thousand people), then later, due to a number of economic and political reasons, there was a tendency towards a decrease in the Seto population. In 1945, in the Pskov part of Setomaa (Setomaa), the number of Setos was less than 6 thousand people. The administrative border between the RSFSR and the Estonian SSR created different conditions for the cultural development of different Seto groups. The assimilation processes of the Setos on both sides accelerated under the influence of Estonian and Russian culture [5].

In the Soviet statistics, the Setos were not singled out as an independent people, referring them to the Estonians. In the mid-1960s, no more than 4 thousand Setos lived in the Pechora district of the Pskov region, and according to the 1989 census, there were only 1140 "Estonians", of which, presumably, 950 Setos. The main factor in the change in the number of Setos in the Pskov region was their migration outflow to Estonia after the declaration of the last independence and the emergence of the state border with the Pskov Oblast.

Rural settlements in the modern borderlands of Estonia and Russia are of particular interest to the researcher. The existence of the ethnic contact zone of the Finno-Ugrians and Slavs on the territory of the Pechora region determined the ethnic "diversity". The social space was organized perpendicular to the modern state border, the boundaries of ethnic groups were blurred, the population – regardless of ethnicity – used the administrative border between Estonia and Russia for their own benefit (for example, price differences, supply differences, etc.). With the transformation of the political space, the social boundaries of the rural community have changed.

The border also for the first time raised the question of belonging to the national state before the villagers. In this regard, another task for the researcher arises – to explain how the space of identities of the rural community

has changed with the emergence of the border as the embodiment of the state, how the hierarchy of identities is formed in rural areas in a new context.

The word “Setu” itself appeared in the public discourse of Estonia and Russia only in the early 1990s. Until that time, only a narrow circle of ethnographers knew about a small ethnic group living next to the Russians on the territory of the Pechora region. The “borderline” of the Seto settlement area and some of the features of their culture have caused a discussion in scientific circles about their ethnicity. In the early 1990s, due to a change in the political context, the topic of Seto also became the subject of public discussion. Unlike Lutheran Estonians, Setos profess Orthodoxy, like their Russian neighbors, but speak the southern dialect of the Estonian language, which contains a number of borrowings from Russian. Having preserved some pre-Christian customs and mores, the Setos received the nickname “half-believers” from their Russian neighbors, and they often call themselves that. A huge role in the formation of the Seto culture belongs to the Pskov-Pechora Orthodox monastery. The city of Pechora, which was a kind of capital of Setomaa before the establishment of the border, and now still has a sacred meaning for the older generation of Setos.

However, in the late 1980s, the political context changed. Setu did not remain aloof from the widespread processes of ethnic mobilization. In the general flow of national-political movements in the late 1980s and early 1990s, two public organizations emerge at once on opposite sides of the symbolic border between the two republics. Work began on the formation of an ethnic community (the revival of language and folklore, the creation of an ABC book, the popularization of national heroes, etc.), leaders, activists of the movement appeared, and its ideology took shape. The Seto movement was characterized by a certain nostalgic attitude towards the local traditional peasant culture and the idealization of the “village” past [6].

The Setos are interesting in that they have preserved the ancient layer of their culture, expressed in clothing, jewelry, folklore, folk craft and in their traditions. The peculiar culture of the Seto was appreciated by the UNESCO commission. Thus, by the decision of the UNESCO Commission dated September 30, 2009, the Seto singing was included in the World Heritage List.

It should be noted that in the last decade of the 20th century, the number of Setus (Setos) in the Pechora region has declined so much that one can speak not only about depopulation, but also about the impending disappearance of the Setus (Setos) as an ethnocultural unit.

In the Pechora district of the Pskov region today, there are two settlement areas of the Setos – the northern (border, western part of the Krupp

volost) and the main one (with scattered areas on the territory of Panikovskaya, Izborsk, Novoizborsk volosts and the urban settlement of Pechora).

In Estonia, there are from 10 to 13 thousand Setos, in Russia, according to the 2010 census, 214 people classified themselves as a Set (in 2002 – 250 people). Despite such a small number, Setos are quite active in social activities, hold events and strive to interact with the related population of Estonia.

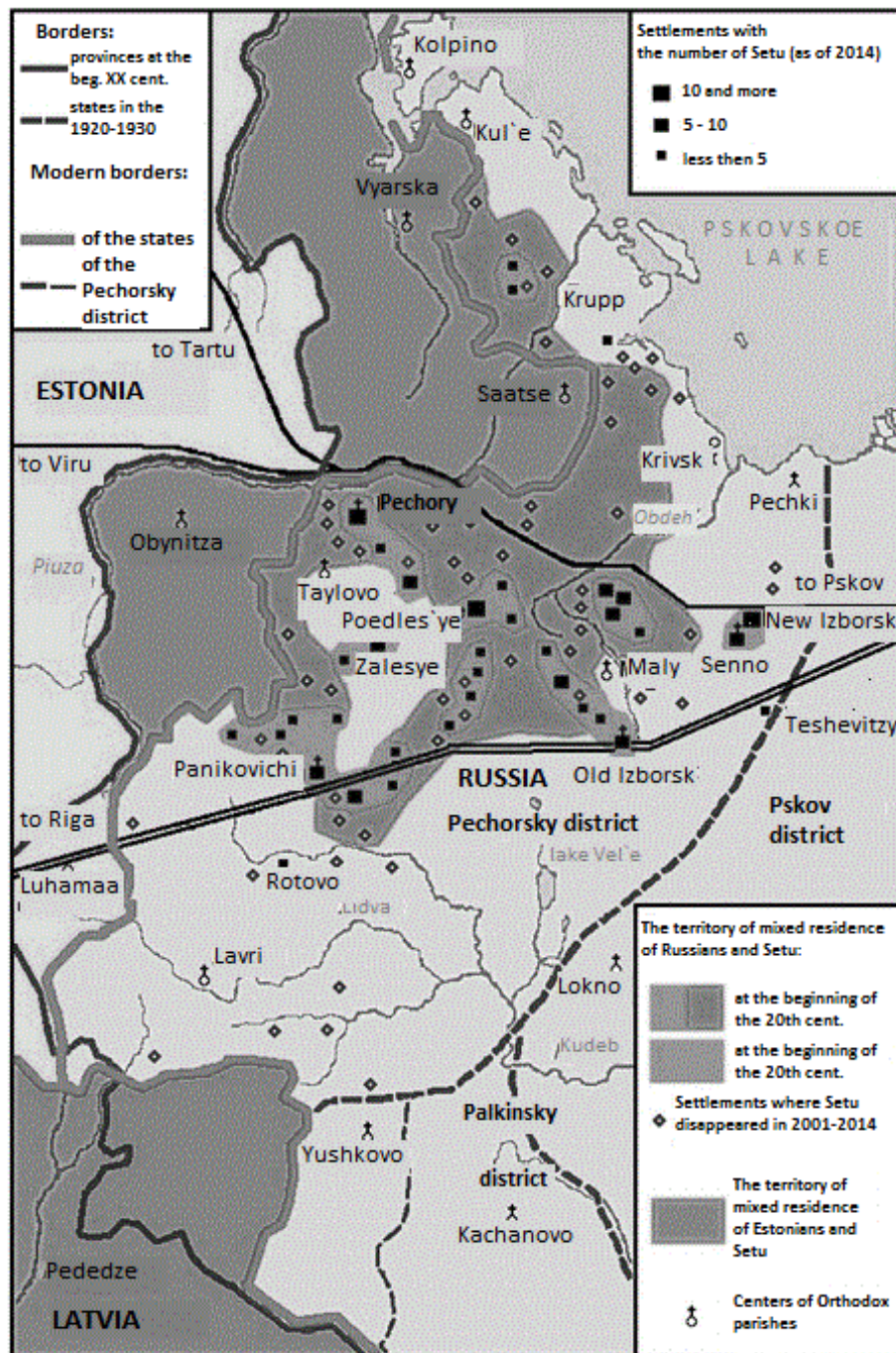


Fig. 1. Changes in the Seto settlement area from the beginning of the 20th century to 2014 [7]

However, given that a certain part of the Setos during the census declare themselves as Estonians who also originally lived in the territory of the Pechora region, their real number may slightly differ from official statistics. So, according to the Pechora regional public organization "Ethno-cultural society of the Seto people" the number of Setos in the Pechora region as of 01.06.2010 is 337 people, including: 35 people under the age of 18; from 18 to 30 years old – 22 people; from 31 to 55 years – 57 people, of which 33 are women; over 55 years old – 223 people [8].

At the end of the 1980s, against the background of democratization and publicity, interest in the original culture of indigenous peoples began to grow, the ethnic mobilization of their representatives increased, and public organizations began to form, defending interests and carrying out educational activities. In particular, in 1987 the Vepsian national holiday "The Tree of Life" is held for the first time in the Leningrad region. Holidays that are relatively identical in program, focus and theme – usually annual – are beginning to be organized by representatives of Izhora, Ingrian Finns, Karelians and other Finno-Ugric peoples. Attracting the attention of the media and local residents, such events contributed to the broadcast of culture and folklore elements, demonstrated the ethnic diversity of various regions of the multinational state. For the Setos, this practice began to be realized much later.

In 1993, the Ethno-Cultural Seto Society was created in Russia, one of the activities of which was declared humanitarian contacts with the Setos of the Vyrus district of Estonia. The Society was created as a district public organization to raise awareness of the Seto people problems and to popularize their culture. The organization was formed as a regional national-cultural association of Setos living in the Pechora district of the Pskov region. The main goals of the creation of the society were the revival of national identity and the protection of the social interests of the Seto people, the implementation of friendly coexistence with other peoples, the organization of folk Seto festivals (kirmash) on the days of Orthodox holidays with worship in the Seto language, with the participation of folk creative groups. Over the past decades, the society has been working to preserve Seto folklore, everyday traditions, traditional dress, with the active participation of the Seto Ethnic Society, together with the Izborsk Museum-Reserve, the Museum-Estate of the Seto People's Life was created. The resource potential of the museum-reserve makes it possible to create conditions for the preservation and popularization of Seto culture, traditional crafts, everyday life, holding mass ethnocultural holidays, which requires significant financial investments.

In Estonia, in the early 1990s, public organizations were also formed to rally the Setos living in the country, including those who emigrated from Russia. First of all, the Seto Congress, the Setomaa Volost Union should be mentioned. The county administrations of southeastern Estonia organize the work of a radio station in the Seto language, the publication of a newspaper and a magazine, the allocation of funds for language training in schools, support and adaptation in the new place of residence of elderly Seto representatives.

In turn, the administration of the Pskov Oblast also took a number of measures aimed at preserving the Seto culture in the Pechora region as the place of the original residence of the people. So, in 2011–2014 in the region there was a state target program "Support for the indigenous small people of the Seto, living in the Pechora region" [8]. The objectives of the program were to create conditions for the preservation and further development of the territories of traditional residence of the indigenous Seto people in the Pechora region and the preservation of unique ethnocultural traditions and rituals, the traditional way of life of the Setos. The tasks include the creation of a system for monitoring the socio-demographic situation among the Setos and the scientific study of the ethnocultural traditions of the Setos, assisting the Setos in solving socio-demographic problems, developing the local Seto community by creating conditions for activating the activities of public associations in the Pechora region.

Ultimately, the main task of the program was to draw public attention to the Seto as the bearer of the unique culture and life of one of the indigenous peoples of Russia.

The implemented program did not allow to achieve significant changes in demographic processes and did not prevent the tendency of the rapid aging of the Seto people in the Pechora region. In addition, the migration growth of the Seto population from Estonia to the Pechora region, opposite to the tendencies of the 1990s, when many Russian Setos received the second – Estonian – citizenship in a simplified procedure based on ethnicity, also failed to intensify. At the same time, certain measures that were supposed to be implemented thanks to the program "Support for the indigenous Seto people living in the Pechora region" were implemented. Thus, the level of employment of the Setos at small and medium-sized businesses and peasant farms in the Pechora region, focused on preserving the traditional way of life of the Setos, has increased. In addition, the number of comfortable facilities in places of traditional settlement of Setos in the Pechora region, including newly created

infrastructure facilities, has increased, which has led to an increase in the number of visitors to ethno-cultural centers located in the Pechora region. An important contribution to this process was made by the State Historical-Architectural and Natural-Landscape Museum-Reserve "Izborsk", in the form of a branch, which opened an exposition dedicated to the culture of the Seto. In addition, within the framework of the program, cultural and educational activities were implemented to preserve and develop the traditions of the Seto – for example, language ones (children's linguistic camp for the Seto people in 2012) [9]. The mass media of the Pskov Oblast also began to pay more attention to the activities of public activists positioning the Seto culture, which was primarily associated with the emergence of the practice of holding regular events [10]. In the same period, scientific research works on the socio-demographic situation among the Setos and the study of the ethnocultural traditions of the people began to appear [4].

Thus, at the present time in Russia there is a state museum in the village Sigovo, Pechora region – "Museum-estate of the Seto people", a branch of the State Historical-Architectural and Natural-Landscape Museum-Reserve "Izborsk", opened in 2001. In addition, in the same place there is a private museum "In memory of the Seto people", founded by T. N. Ogareva in 1996. It is important to note that the items that formed the expositions of museums have been collected since the early 1990s among local residents, including those who left the Pskov region and went to permanent residence in the Republic of Estonia.

Since 2008, the Museum-Estate of the Seto people has been holding the annual Setumaa Festival – Family Reunions on 28 August, which in recent years has gathered from 800 to 1000 representatives of the Seto people, most of whom are citizens and residents of Estonia [11].

The COVID-19 pandemic has made its own adjustments to the festival. In the absence of an opportunity to organize an event in person, in 2020 and 2021 the festival was held in an online format with the participation of two platforms in parallel – in Russia and in Estonia, which became an example of consolidating the efforts of Seto public organizations in two countries using modern technologies and provided access to an unlimited number of Internet users to a virtual visit of the event.

There are also museums dedicated to the Seto culture in Estonia, and the practice of creating such museums in the country is older. Thus, in 1974 in Saatse the first museum was created by the director of the local school, social activist Viktor Weeber. Later, in the 1990s, two more Seto museums were

opened – in Värskä and Obinitsa. At the moment, there is a portal that unites the Internet resources of all Estonian cultural organizations and museums dedicated to the Setos; they are also featured on social media. These institutions, in accordance with their working hours, provide regular access to the exhibitions for tourist groups. In 2015, the village of Obinitsa in Setooma was selected by an international jury as the cultural capital of the Finno-Ugric world, in the context of which a number of events that were held in the region attracted many tourists.

The mission of the Seto Institute Foundation (SA Seto Instituut) is the coordination and development of Setomaa, scientific work in the field of Seto culture, as well as acquainting the general public with the results of this scientific work. The Seto Institute, in cooperation with other organizations in Setomaa, is involved in publishing, organizing events and training in the field of Seto culture [12].

Cross-border cooperation program "Russia – Estonia" 2014–2020 objectively included certain provisions related to the residence of the Seto people in the border territories of both countries. It notes the importance of the joint development of tourist routes in the border areas [13].

Despite the existing potential of cross-border partnership between Russia and Estonia, which is simultaneously aimed at developing the tourism potential of the territories and preserving the Seto culture, there are a number of objective difficulties that should be overcome as the COVID-19 pandemic ends and full-fledged cross-border mobility returns.

One of the main problems of contacts between Setos living in Russia and Estonia is the difficult access to Russia of representatives of this people, who are Estonian citizens, but do not have Russian passports. At the same time, given the campaign implemented by Estonia to simplify the issuance of passports to Russian Setos in 1995s-2000s, the overwhelming majority of them can freely visit Estonia, being its citizens [14, 15]. An exception was made by the Russian side only for residents of Võru and Pylvin counties, while other Setos – Estonian citizens – face significant bureaucratic difficulties when preparing documents to enter Russia, says Heli Mayak, chairman of the Seto Ethno-Cultural Society [16]. This situation is developing against the background of unresolved disputes related to the territorial claims of Estonia to the part of the territory of the Pechora region where Setos live, which are resolutely rejected by the Russian side. Nevertheless, focusing on the legal framework of 1920 (the Tartu Peace Treaty), some of the Estonian politicians in the 1990s-2000s noted that the signing of the Russian version of the border

treaty would finally split the Seto area of residence [17]. In turn, Barbie Pilvre, a member of the Estonian parliamentary commission for foreign affairs, said that “the activity of the Setos in their historical territories, located on the other side of the border in Pechory, is worth noting. Despite the poor communication at the political level, through cultural exchange, Setos develop relations between Estonian and Russian citizens. Such cultural and public diplomacy is worthy of recognition. This is a contribution to Estonian security” [18]. In addition to the obvious need for a final settlement of territorial aspects, it is important to find compromises between the Estonian and Russian sides, taking into account the ethnic specifics of the border territories, namely, the residence of the Setos there.

Comparing the measures taken by the Estonian and Russian authorities in the border areas aimed at preserving the Seto culture and improving the socio-economic situation of this community, the following conclusions can be drawn:

- the procedure for obtaining entry visas for Setos, who are currently Estonian citizens, to visit places of their original residence located in the Pechora district of the Pskov Oblast, is still complicated;
- in Estonia, Internet technologies (websites, social networks) are used to a much greater extent to inform tourists about the activities of cultural objects (museums, memorial complexes) related to the Seto culture;
- it is necessary to continue the support program for the Setos in the Pskov Oblast, which was implemented in 2011-2014;
- in both states, it is important to support private initiatives of the Seto representatives and activists to create tourist infrastructure and popularize the Seto culture.

Based on the foregoing, the following measures seem promising:

- creation of a joint coordinating council with the participation of Setos representatives from Russia and Estonia, as well as administrations of the Estonian territories of Seto residence and the Pechora district of the Pskov Oblast, consolidation of joint efforts of Seto public organizations from the both countries;
- inclusion of certain provisions related to the support of the Setos in future programs of Russian-Estonian cooperation;
- resumption of programs of material and informational support for Setos living in the Pechora region;
- provision of a simplified procedure for obtaining Russian entry visas for all Setos residing in Estonia;

- development of the activities of the State Historical-Architectural and Natural-Landscape Museum-Reserve "Izborsk" in the preservation and popularization of the Seto culture;

- implementation of grant support by the Estonian government and the administration of the Pskov Oblast of Russia to the Seto representatives, regardless of their citizenship and place of residence (in the spheres of farming development, the implementation of cultural programs, historical research, online projects);

- launch of an online tourist information resource about the Seto culture and events (festivals) held in the context of its popularization, support of communities in social networks;

- creation of an integrated cross-border tourist route connecting objects related to the Seto culture in Russia and Estonia, as well as information support for the functioning of this route;

- an increase in the number of tourist attractions related to the Seto culture and the history of the Pechora region as a whole on the territory of Russia, with their inclusion in the transboundary tourist route.

Thus, today for the administration of the Pskov Oblast, it should be relevant to support the trends opposite to the migration outflow of the late 1990s, to update the programs to support the Setos who express a desire to move to Russia from Estonia or regularly visit the Pechora region. In the future, this may make it possible to reduce the disproportion in the number of people on the territory of neighboring states. These programs can be presented in the form of grant projects, support for cultural initiatives, and development of farms.

The modern localization of Seto residence makes it possible to talk about the need to develop two or three ethnocultural Seto (Setu) centers in the Pechora region. The development of these areas is impossible without the purposeful participation of both the state authorities of the region and the local authorities of the Pechora region. At the same time, the Strategy for the socio-economic development of the Pskov Oblast until 2020 provided for a partially implemented set of measures aimed at overcoming negative factors that cause the region to lag behind in terms of economic development, including a low level of use of the objective region advantages, including its tourism potential.

One of the most important zones for the development of tourism in the Pskov Oblast includes the territory of the Pechora region with a historically established habitat of Setos. To date, certain socio-economic conditions have

developed in the Pskov Oblast, which make it possible to start implementing a program aimed at creating conditions for supporting the Seto, preserving its ethnic and cultural identity.

The implementation of the program will provide a comprehensive solution to the problems of preserving the unique Seto culture, folk crafts, traditions, language, attracting public attention to the Seto living in the Pechora region. The development of the program corresponds to the goals and objectives of the socio-economic development of the region for the long term and allows to comprehensively solve the problems of increasing the level and quality of life of the population, improving the demographic situation, developing the culture of the region and the tourist complex [8]. However, in addition to such internal programs, information, cultural and political partnership between the border territories of Russia and Estonia is strategically important, which is impossible without the support by the both governments.

The tendency for the development of domestic tourism in Russia objectively entails the expansion of infrastructure, the emergence of new objects of hotel service, the opening of new private and state museum spaces. This allows providing employment for the population, including representatives of indigenous peoples, creating new jobs, reducing labor migration, often associated with assimilation in large cities. As the COVID-19 pandemic ends, this infrastructure will remain in demand, and in border areas it may become part of a corridor for renewed outbound tourism routes. In this context, the potential of the Pechora region and the adjacent territories of Estonia as habitats for Setos is obvious. Objects related to the Seto culture and having a tourist attraction can be included in a single route linking Pskov, Izborsk and Pechory with the museum objects of the Võru and Pylvinsky districts of Estonia.

The popularization of the Seto culture in the context of the future intensification of tourist flows between Russia and Estonia, along with the socio-economic support of the Seto representatives and the provision of the most simplified movement across the border in the area of their original residence, are the main and necessary directions for the future government activities of the two countries. Such measures will allow to attract public attention and investor resources, as well as slow down the assimilation of the Setos and the decline in the number of this ethnic minority.

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RELATIONS BETWEEN THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA AND THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA: CONTEMPORARY STATE AND DEVELOPMENT PROSPECTS

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Abstract. *This article is about current state of bilateral relations between the Republic of Korea and the People's Republic of China and about prospects of their cooperation. The People's Republic of China and the Republic of Korea are two countries of Northeast Asia that are closely related to each other both in historical retrospective and in contemporary period. Sino-South Korean relations in the second half of the 20th century began to take shape only in the 1980s. Deepening into the general historical situation of that time allows us to understand the reasons for the absence of any contacts since the 1950s, and to explain the current confrontation between the countries, and then to identify the prerequisites for the formation of the first bilateral contacts between the People's Republic of China and the Republic of Korea. However, in political terms, they are today on opposite sides of the "barricades". There are also problem areas in economic cooperation between them. However, the potential for interaction between the Republic of Korea and the People's Republic of China is enormous. Since 2015, Sino-South Korean security exchanges have shown steady improvement. There is a successful experience of cooperation in the military sphere as well. Free trade agreements were concluded between them. These and many other facts which suggest that there are certain prerequisites for China and South Korea to become strategic partners at the regional level. Despite some difficulties in bilateral relations between China and South Korea, it can be assumed that these relations are most likely to develop in a positive way and are unlikely to turn into confrontation.*

Keywords: *China, Republic of Korea, Mutual Cooperation, Bilateral Relations, Asia-Pacific Region, Leadership, 21st Century, Development.*

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1. Bilateral contacts between China and the Republic of Korea since the 2000s

As since the 2000s mutual state visits are becoming more frequent, we can observe the desire of the parties to develop their bilateral relations. In November 2005, Hu Jintao put forward four proposals to develop cooperation with the Republic of Korea: to build mutual political confidence, to expand economic cooperation, to learn from each other's experience in the humanitarian field and to conduct consultations on international issues.

In 2007, Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China Wen Jiabao 温家宝 proposed to start cooperation between parties and also to continue the dialogue on the problem of security in Northeast Asia and Asia-Pacific Region. However, President of the Republic of Korea Lee Myung-bak did not bring proposals to the conclusion of the agreements, as he completely changed the emphasis in foreign policy, he began to advocate strengthening relations with the United States. Thus, "the strategic partnership of South Korea with the United States complicates the development of political dialogue between the PRC and the Republic of Korea" [1].

Cooperation between the US and the Republic of Korea prevents China from taking a leading position in the region. However, in 2007, China became one of South Korea's main trading partners. Despite the factors that hinder the building of perfect bilateral relations between the countries, the leaders of Korea and China in 2008 identified for themselves the main vectors for the development of these relations based on friendship and mutual trust. Telecommunications, energy, cargo transportation and environmental protection have now become the main directions in trade and economic cooperation. Korea and China are ready to make joint efforts to combat the problem of nuclear weapons on the Korean Peninsula, terrorism and drug trafficking. The Republic of Korea's adherence to the one-China policy remains a positive notion for the PRC.

At the present time many agreements on trade and investment have been signed between the countries which allowed Korean firms to enter the Chinese market and bring technological and managerial experience with them. In the 90s there was a common belief that Korea and China would exercise joint development, using the resources of the PRC and scientific and technical developments of the Republic of Korea. The active cooperation would be also ensured by a shared uneasy experience of relations with Japan and a desire to strengthen Seoul in order to weaken Tokyo in the region.

"By the end of 2010, China's trade with South Korea exceeded \$ 100 billion. In 2010, China ranked first in exports (23.2 percent of total exports) and imports (16.8 percent of total imports) for South Korea" [1]. South Korean firms were also involved in the development of the territories of Western China. China, in turn, strived to establish joint work with Korean partners in the petrochemical, coal and steel industries. The economies of South Korea and China could be called mutually beneficial in terms of usage of natural and human resources. Large Korean companies were relatively rooted in the Chinese market and even competed with the national manufacturers of the PRC, for example, such corporations as LG Electronics, Samsung, Hyundai, Kia and others. Since 2007, China has been the largest country in the world regarding attraction of South Korean investment. South Korea was also seeking to penetrate high-tech areas of Chinese production, but this endeavor were complicated by the high cost of South Korean labor compared to Chinese which led to the forced obligation of Korean firms to employ the Chinese population. It is important to note that Sino-South Korean trade had declined slightly since 2005 due to parallel antidumping measures, food security concerns, declining South Korean investment, and the aftermath of the 2008 economic crisis [2].

It must be said that the PRC and the Republic of Korea wanted to go beyond the framework of their bilateral relations and unite their economies with the economy of Japan, despite the historical legacy poisoning their relationship. Since 2008, trilateral summits had been held, in which a proposal for the creation of a free trade zone for these three states and the creation of a single currency had been submitted for discussion. In 2011, Korea, Japan and China agreed to strengthen mutual cooperation in nuclear safety and emergency response. "The development of trilateral relations contributes to the solution of many other issues. So, in December 2010 in Hangzhou 杭州 representatives of competent departments for logistics of the three countries signed a memorandum of cooperation on the network of informational services for logistics operations in Northeast Asia, which was a "breakthrough in the history of the development of logistics activities" of China, South Korea and Japan" [1]. However, the complete economic unification of these countries was hampered by a great difference in national interests and other political obstacles. As for the bilateral relations between the PRC and the Republic of Korea, they depended on the state of the Sino-American and Korean-American relations. The United States were holding back relations between South Korea and China and were trying to prevent the PRC from strengthening in the region.

But more generally it can be argued that China considers the Republic of Korea to be one of the most important regional partners and is doing everything to maintain and improve the contacts that have developed between them, starting from the 80s of the twentieth century.

2. Problems of Sino-Korean Relations

China, as a great power seeking to expand its influence in the Asia-Pacific region, faces a number of territorial challenges related to disputes in the South China Sea. A number of countries in the region fear the growing economic and military power of the PRC, and some countries also claim leadership, for example Japan, Vietnam, Indonesia and South Korea, therefore these disputes complicate relations between these states. Moreover, in order to resist a strong China, the countries of the region are looking for political and military support from the United States, and the U.S., in turn, willingly help, as they seek to nullify all attempts by the PRC to extend its influence in the Asia-Pacific region. As is known, America has its military bases in Japan and South Korea, which greatly affects China's plans. However, the PRC does not change its attitude towards the disputed territories, at the same time, the Chinese leaders are solving these problems peacefully, since China is interested in the policy of good-neighborly relations with the countries of the region, including the Republic of Korea.

Another challenge of the 21st century for Sino-Korean relations is the participation of various states in the Arctic race. China is one of the most active participants in this race, which promotes a whole series of economic, political and scientific initiatives to realize its interests in Arctic. This area has become especially attractive for many countries due to its wide range of minerals and the shortest sea and air routes connecting North America and Europe, the eastern and western parts of the Eurasian region.

South Korea is also striving to secure some position in the Arctic. The Republic of Korea has even drawn up a «Plan for the Implementation of a Comprehensive Policy on the Arctic» (2013), in accordance with which Korea seeks to strengthen cooperation relations with the Arctic countries, develop research activities and form a new business model in the Arctic, as well as improve legal and institutional infrastructure in this area. The leadership of South Korea is aware of the problematic nature of competition from China, therefore, it resorts to cooperation with the Russian Federation in the development of the Arctic, which leaves a stain on relations with China.

In addition to the clash of political and economic interests between the PRC and the Republic of Korea, there is a cultural problem between the

countries related to the conflict between the Korean and Chinese characters. Within the framework of one eastern system of values, the conflict of mentalities is still manifested, especially during the period of globalization. Partly the national character of Koreans is similar to the Chinese, citizens are committed to maintaining harmony and balance throughout the world. Pragmatism and attachment to their roots also make the Korean national character similar to that of the Chinese. However, there are also significant differences in the national characters of these countries, which determine their attitude to emerging conflicts. For example, the Chinese are solving conflicts in the external sphere with the utmost care. The Chinese will go to an obvious lie or to concealing the truth to preserve their image, but in domestic relations there is no procedure for resolving the conflict, since everything and everyone obeys the hierarchy.

The Korean mentality in conflict situations also manifests itself quite specifically. First, the Koreans see the conflict as a prerequisite for change and development, and prefer to resolve conflicts through dialogue. Thus, it can be concluded that in Korea and China there is a completely different attitude to conflicts and ways to resolve them. This slight difference in mentality or national character can complicate cooperation between the two countries or the search for compromises in a number of controversial situations.

3. Prospects for cooperation

China and South Korea remain important regional partners for each other, despite disputes and difficulties in some political, economic and cultural spheres. So, for example, in the Arctic race today there are no serious conflicts between China and the Republic of Korea. This is due to the smoothing out of the situation in the Arctic issue through the creation of cooperation between Japan, South Korea and China in the development of the Arctic. In 2013, these countries joined the Arctic Council as observers, and in November 2015, in the "Joint Declaration for Peace and Cooperation in Northeast Asia", they consolidated their desire to conduct trilateral cooperation in the Arctic. "At the sixth the Republic of Korea-Japan-China summit talks in November 2015, the Republic of Korea government made a proposal to hold the trilateral dialogue on Arctic cooperation, and as the Japanese and Chinese governments accepted it, it was reflected in the «Joint Declaration for Peace and Cooperation in Northeast Asia" [3].

The PRC and the Republic of Korea are interested in maintaining security in the Asia-Pacific region, therefore they continue their anti-nuclear policy towards North Korea, the fight against terrorism, drug trafficking and

other threats. This strategic cooperation strengthens the bilateral relationship between China and South Korea. Culturally, China and Korea successfully cooperate in many areas, such as education, humanitarian and youth exchanges, internships, tourism, sports and so on. For example, in 2016, at a meeting of the foreign ministers of China and the Republic of Korea, it was decided to hold the "Korean Year of Tourism. "In addition, the two Ministers agreed to conduct in 2016 the 69 humanities exchange projects as announced on the occasion of the bilateral summit talks on March 31; and to work together to further increase people-to-people exchanges between the two countries in 2016, the "Korea Tourism Year" [4].

Sometimes the relationship between Korea and China is spoiled by provocative actions of the United States of America, such as the deployment of NATO military weapons on the territory of South Korea, which is in close proximity to China. But despite this, China does not even think to repulse the United States by armed means, since America is one of the most important trading partners for China, as well as the Republic of Korea, with which it will be to its own detriment to start a military confrontation.

In the future, China and South Korea will participate or conduct more and more joint projects in all areas of activity on the basis of mutually beneficial cooperation. For example, integration in the field of joint development of fuel and energy resources, as in the project for the export of natural gas with the participation of Russia "Kovykta–China–South Korea". It is not ruled out that Japan will be attracted to create closer trilateral relations and form a kind of triangle to spread its influence in the region. It is also possible in the future that trade and economic ties between the PRC and the Republic of Korea will be strengthened. Of course, China's Belt and Road Initiative cannot bypass the involvement of Korea in such a large-scale project in the future. In conclusion, it can be concluded that all foreign trade and political contacts between the PRC and the Republic of Korea are mostly positive, which tells us that these countries have favorable soil for building even more effective and profitable ties, increasing the influence of these countries in the East Asian region. Despite some difficulties in bilateral relations between China and South Korea, it can be assumed that these relations are most likely to develop in a positive way and are unlikely to turn into confrontation with each other.

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RUSSIAN – ARGENTINIAN DIPLOMATIC INTERACTIONS FROM 1885 TO 1917

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Abstract. *The article is devoted to main analysis of the main trends of Russian-Argentinian diplomatic interactions' development from 1885 to 1917. Russian Empire's government had not considered Latin American states as potential partners for a long time because these states were formed in a revolutionary way. That is why Russian Empire rejected all attempts of such states to establish official diplomatic interactions until the middle of the XIX century. As a result, Russia's diplomatic interactions with Argentina were established only on October 22, 1885, but were interrupted after the October Revolution (1917). Argentina had the largest Russian diaspora in Latin America. It involved about 300 thousand people. As a matter of fact, emigration of Russians to Argentina consisted of several waves that coincided with key events in Russian history. The descendants of Russian emigrants made significant contribution to industrial, scientific and cultural development of Argentina as well as they preserved Russian customs, traditions and culture. It means that Russia had many supporters, many participants of Russian-Argentinean economic and cultural cooperation. It is necessary to note that at the initial stages of Russian-Argentinian*

bilateral interactions' formation there were mutual exchanges in scientific sphere. The Russian Orthodox Church played "diaspora-forming role" due to lack of a permanent imperial mission in Argentina. The importance of spiritual presence in Argentina was realized by the Russian elite. It is well-known fact that the Russian Empire's Government supported the Russian Orthodox Church in Argentina, therefore it is sufficient to say that the first Russian Orthodox Church there was built with funds raised not only in South America, but also in Russia, including the donations by the Imperator Nicholay the II. Having analyzed main trends of Russian-Argentinian diplomatic interactions' development from 1885 to 1917, it must be concluded that Russian-Argentinean interactions of this period were developed rather slowly.

Keywords: Russia's foreign policy; Argentina's foreign policy; Latin America; International interactions; State interests

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Introduction

It is noteworthy that the tsarist government has not considered Latin American states as potential partners for a long time because these states were formed in a revolutionary way. That is why Russian Empire rejected all attempts of these states to establish official diplomatic interactions until the middle of the XIX century. (Kazakov V.P., 2008: 111-112)

The Argentine Republic's Government was very interested in establishing diplomatic relations with the Russian Empire shortly after having gained independence. The thing is the authorized Valdez was sent to the Imperial Courtyard of Alexander the I in order to conduct negotiations in 1817 as well as the letter of the Argentinian Diplomatic Mission's Head B. Rivadavia was sent to the State Secretary of the Russian Foreign Affair Ministry K.V. Nesselrode in 1818, but everything was in vain. (Filimonova E.V., 1991: 82-83)

As a matter of fact, Russian Empire's interests were modestly represented on the South American continent for most of the XIX century. So, the only envoy with a full-time consul worked in Brazil by the beginning of the 80s, though there were also three more consuls working in Peru, Chile and Argentina.

Russian Empire's policy towards Latin American states was changed only in the end of the XIX century due to Latin America's growing economic and political importance within international interactions' system. Thus, Russian Empire started to establish diplomatic interactions with a number of Latin American countries, including Argentina, in the 1880s. The thing is Russia had its strategic interests in this region (Dik Dovgiallo E., 2002: 117) whereas by that time Argentina headed by President Julio Argentino Roca, was

also interested in Russia as in powerful partner. (Belov D.V., Bredikhin A.V., Dobrolyubov S.A., Komissarov B.N., Naumov A.S., Sizonenko A.I., Sokolova D.V., Tanasiychuk V.N., Kholina V.N., 2014: 226)

Outstanding Russian diplomat Alexander Semenovich Ionin (1836-1900) managed to change the situation. He served as Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary in Brazil (1883-1892) and wrote regularly in his reports about necessity to establish diplomatic interactions among Russian Empire and Latin American states, primarily with Argentina and Chile. (Kazakov V.P., 2008: 112-114) According to A.S. Ionin, Argentina's geographical position was of strategic importance, since it allowed it to control sea routes from the Atlantic Ocean to the Pacific Ocean through the Strait of Magellan. This factor became very important in the context of growing tension between the Russian Empire and England in the second half of the XIXth century. Among other things, A. S. Ionin drew attention to the possibility of using Argentinian and Chilean ports as transshipment points for Russian ships, where, if necessary, they could replenish coal and provisions. (Dik Dovgiallo E., 2002: 118)

Fulfilling the order to establish "direct diplomatic interactions with the most important of the South American republics" (Dremin V.P., Sizonenko A.I., 1985: 36), he directed all efforts to formalize contacts of the Russian Empire with Argentina. Referring to conversations with Argentinean Government circles' representatives, A.S. Ionin emphasized economic benefits that led to St. Petersburg's rapprochement with Buenos Aires. The main purpose was to coordinate policies connected with international labor division, since both countries occupied the same niche, i.e. they were producers and exporters of wheat, leather and wool. In his report (the report by the Russian Envoy in Brazil (A.S. Ionin) to the Russian Foreign Affair Minister (N.K. Girsu) on diplomatic interactions' establishment between the Russian Empire and the Argentinean Republic (August 1 (13), 1885) to the Foreign Affair Minister N.K. Girsu), A.S. Ionin wrote that Russia and Argentina "*can shake hands with each other in order to become allies and compete with North America and Australia.*" (Shevarnadze E., Dante K., eds., 1990: 7) It must be mentioned that, according to the diplomat, this South American state was also interested in creating a trade union with Russia.

Credentials' presentation in May 1885 marked the beginning of cooperation between the Russian Empire and the Argentinian Republic in various fields. It was based on Ionin's conviction mentioned in his report (the report by the Russian Envoy (A.S. Ionin) in the Argentine Republic to the Russian Foreign Affair Minister (N.K. Girsu) about Russian-Argentinean

Interactions – November 18 (30), 1888): “*if the Southern end of America keeps developing so fast as it does now, it will be of great political interest to international interactions in the nearest future.*” (Shevarnadze E., Dante K., eds., 1990: 22)

It should be stressed that Russian-Argentinian diplomatic interactions’ history had been developed without summits for more than 100 years. Since diplomatic contacts’ establishment in 1885, no one of Russian or Argentinian heads of state did not find any sufficient reasons and opportunities to overcome considerable distance dividing these two countries.

The Russian Diaspora in Argentina

One of Russian most powerful resources in the Argentinean Republic is the Russian diaspora. It involves about 300,000 people. (Astakhov E.M., 2014: 19) The Russian diaspora was mainly formed due to immigrants having arrived in Argentina. According to some reports, their number exceeded 20,000 during the period from 1886 to 1900 (Dick E.N., 1991: 82), that led this South American country to become the second center for immigrants from the Russian Empire after the United States.

There were 6 waves of Russian emigration to Argentina:

➤ The first immigration wave involved Russified Germans’ descendants who settled in Russia in the XIXth century and rushed to the New World after overall military service’s introduction by Alexander the II in 1874. It should be mentioned here that the opportunity to settle in Argentina for hundreds of Europeans appeared in 1876 by means of “immigration and colonization” law by the Government of N. Avellaneda. So, it was the “Russian Germans” who were the first to cultivate cereal crops on Argentinian soil. At the same time, German immigrants did not interrupt close ties with Russia: they sent money there as well as they continued to help relatives. It should be noted that even after decades of staying in Argentina, they did not cease to consider themselves as Russians and everything that happened in their former homeland aroused their keen interest. Thus, they made donations to the Red Cross during the Russian-Japanese War. (Putyatova E.G., 2005: 77-79).

➤ The second emigration wave was formed by Jews who arrived from Russian Empire’s western provinces. By the beginning of the First World War, about 150 thousand immigrants from Russia already lived in Argentina and among them approximately 100 thousand people were Jews (Sheinbaum L.S., 1993: 114), since many Jews consider themselves as Russians.

➤ The third emigration wave involved seasonal workers, mainly peasants, who went overseas in the hope of obtaining land. Many of them decided to stay in Argentina after the First World War and the October Revolution (1917). Their number reached 200 thousand people in Buenos Aires and in the agricultural provinces of Argentina. (Astakhov E.M., 2014: 21).

➤ The fourth wave was formed by White Russian emigrants, who were forced by Bolsheviks' victory to seek salvation and better life abroad. According to some reports, only in Buenos Aires in the 1930s there were about 500 White Russian emigrants, mainly descendants of imperial family's members, aristocratic families, famous generals, scientists and statesmen. (Sheinbaum L.S., 1993: 117).

➤ The fifth emigration wave consisted of political emigrants who arrived in Argentina due to the decree by J.D. Peron on reception of Russians, regardless of their age and marital status. It should be noted that not only White emigrants who lived in Western Europe before the war, but also former Soviet war prisoners and clergy of the Russian Orthodox Church were allowed to arrive in the Argentinean Republic. (Road to Home, 2019).

➤ The sixth emigration wave involved post-Soviet emigrants from Russia, Ukraine and Kazakhstan, since most of them identified themselves not by ethnicity, but by state-territorial basis. (Road to Home, 2019).

Such a large Russian diaspora abroad is a significant resource for Russia, but the Russian Ambassador to Argentina E.M. Astakhov says that the compatriots were not supported during many years (Astakhov E.M., 2014: 18), since the Argentine's Government refused to recognize the USSR after the October Revolution (1917) and diplomatic interactions between these two countries were established only after the Second World War. Therefore, the Orthodox Church initially played consolidating role in Russian diaspora's formation in Argentina, then it acquired decisive influence on the Russian diaspora in this Latin American country.

The Russian Orthodox Church in Argentina

Beyond any doubts, the Russian Orthodox Church played "diaspora-forming role" due to a number of reasons. The main reason was the lack of a permanent imperial mission in Argentina. While other state citizens' interests were represented and defended by numerous consulates in Buenos Aires and countrywide, the Russians did not have such a protection. That is why the Russian Orthodox Church built in Buenos Aires in 1901 began to carry out embassy's functions.

The importance of spiritual presence in Argentina was realized by the Russian elite. Thus, it was discussed in the letter (April 15, 1890) of N.K. Girska (the Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs, 1882-1895) to P.M. Bogdanov (the Chargé d'Affaires of Russia in Brazil) about Russian Empire's interests in Latin America, especially, in the Argentinean Republic: *"The Argentinean Republic becomes a significant factor in the political life of America that is why it is very important for us to receive constant and reliable information especially about country's economic development that can promote emergence of a rival in the world raw product trade field ... but the main goal of your trip is to settle our spiritual mission's affairs ... in terms of parishioners' number, the Orthodox community in the Argentinean Republic is the most significant of all those abroad."* (Shevarnadze E., Dante K., eds., 1990: 28-31)

It is well-known fact that the Russian Empire's Government supported the Russian Orthodox Church in Argentina, therefore it is sufficient to say that the first Russian Orthodox Church there was built with funds raised not only in South America, but also in Russia, including the donations by the Emperor Nicholay the II.

It should be mentioned that the Russian Diplomatic Mission in Argentina involved the Orthodox Church, that is why the priest Konstantin Izraztsov (1865–1953) was Diplomatic Department's Secretary, i.e. he did not only carry out spiritual and cultural mission, but he acted as Official Authorities' Representative as well.

Moreover, except the Russian Orthodox Church in the federal capital, there were several Russian Orthodox Parishes in the suburbs:

- the Russian Orthodox Church in the Northern part of the city (its iconostasis was created with donations by S. S. Mamontov's grandfather),
- the Russian Orthodox Church in the Kilmes district, i.e. in the district, where Russian Cossacks, Ukrainians, Poles, Lithuanians lived,
- the All Russian Saints' Church in Kaselare,
- the Russian Orthodox Church named after St. Sergius of Radonezh in Villa Ballester.

The main Orthodox Church and Parishes soon became centers of attraction for Russian emigrants, since schools, libraries, publishing houses, nursing homes, the orphanage for the needy, the cultural and educational club for Russian workers, the amateur choir, the drama troupe were founded there. The priest K. Izraztsov also collected money for needy people and helped those who wished to return to the Russian Empire.

The February Revolution (1905) and the October Revolution (1917) changed the bilateral interactions between Russian and Argentina as well as interactions of the Russian Orthodox Church in Buenos Aires with the new Russian authorities.

Thus, the Russian Provisional Government fired Konstantin Izraztsov from the Diplomatic Department's Secretary post of the Russian Mission in April 1917, that led to he became White Immigration's Leader. From that moment, the Russian Orthodox Church in Argentina could hardly be considered as Russia's supporter, since K. Izraztsov welcomed Fascist Germany's aggression and called it the beginning of "*Russia's liberation from Bolshevism*". (Pravoslavie, 2019) As a result, many parishioners left his community and turned to the Metropolitan Benjamin (Fedchenkov) of Aleut and North America with the request to organize Moscow Patriarchate's Parishes in Argentina. In response to this petition, the Argentinean Vicariate was established, but before bishop's arrival, the community prayed in the Church named after Great Martyr George the Victorious in Buenos Aires (the Antioch Orthodox Church), where the Archimandrite Ignatius (Aburru) received the Russian parishioners with love and performed services for them in Church Slavonic Language.

Moreover, the Argentinean Government even issued the decree for banning the Moscow Patriarchate's Russian Orthodox Church due to hostile actions of Konstantin's community, but parishioners succeeded in lifting this prohibition and the church resumed its work. (Pravoslavie, 2019; The Russian Orthodox Church Outside of Russia, 2021)

Russian-Argentinian Diplomatic Interactions in Scientific and Cultural Spheres

It is necessary to note that at the initial stages of Russian-Argentinian bilateral interactions' formation there were mutual exchanges in scientific sphere.

The Russian Science Academy (then the St. Petersburg's Imperial Science Academy) played an important role in establishing scientific ties between these two countries. So, K. Burmeister, the Director of the Public Museum in Buenos Aires and one of the founders of the National Science Academy in Cordoba, was elected the Corresponding Member of the St. Petersburg's Imperial Science Academy in December 1855.

Two decades later, B. Guld, the astrophysicist and the Cordoba Observatory's founder, was elected the Corresponding Member of the Physics

and Mathematics Department of the St. Petersburg's Imperial Science Academy that allowed to establish constant exchange of information on natural science researches' results between Argentina and Russia.

In the 1890s Argentina was firstly visited by the Russian scientists: geographers, botanists and ethnographers, whose researches made a significant contribution to Argentina's science. Their scientific works and travel essays were published in the journal "Geography" published at the Moscow University. One of the most significant results of this scientific exchange is the monograph "*Argentina. Agriculture in Argentina in connection with country's overall development*" by the agronomist N.A. Kryukov, who visited this country in 1902-1904. It should be mentioned also the scientific trip of the famous Soviet botanist, the Academician N.I. Vavilov to Argentina in 1932. (Dremin V.P., Sizonenko A.I., 1985: 57-58)

Russian scientific institutions' cooperation with Argentinian scientific institutes and museums had been expanded at the beginning of the XXth century.

Thus, the St. Petersburg's Science Academy established contacts with Argentinian specialists due to the trip by the geologist O.O. Backlund in Argentina (November, 1911). Subsequently, the scientists from Buenos Aires repeatedly replenished the St. Petersburg Geological Mineralogical Museum's collections with minerals.

Pavlov I.P., whose name was already well-known in the scientific world, had extensive scientific contacts with Latin American physiologists and the famous Argentinean psychiatrist O. Piniero who visited his clinic in 1906 where he conducted a number of studies.

Thanks to well-known Argentinean scholars – the anthropologist R. Lehmann Nietzsche and the ethnographer H.-B. Ambrosetti, who visited Russia in 1908 and 1912, it was possible to establish exhibits' exchange between St. Petersburg ethnographers and their colleagues in Buenos Aires and La Plata. As a result of such contacts, South American material objects' collections began to arrive at the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography in St. Petersburg whereas the Argentinian scientists were interested in materials on ethnography and anthropology of Siberian and the Far East inhabitants. (Feinstein M. Sh., 1985: 20-25).

As for the Russian Empire's cultural diplomacy in Argentina, it was reduced mainly to cultural exchanges: exhibitions, theatrical and musical groups' tours. (Astakhov E.M., 2014 :22) For example, the tour of the famous Russian singer Fyodor Chaliapin (1873–1938) in 1908. Chaliapin's tour was

associated with Colon Opera House's opening in Buenos Aires. He had a tremendous success and performed for a month and a half in this theater. (Sizonenko A.I., 1979: 203-209) Another example is the personal exhibitions of the prominent Russian sculptor, the "Russian Rodin", S.D. Erzya-Nefedov (1876–1959), who arrived in South America in 1927. (Astakhov E.M., 2014: 23)

Conclusion

In general, Russian-Argentinean interactions of this period were developed rather slowly, but despite this fact, several events can be distinguished because they featured Russian-Argentinean interactions as positive ones:

✓ 1902 – the Argentinean frigate "Sarmiento" moored in St. Petersburg, was enthusiastically greeted by the Russian society. The ship was even visited by the Russian Emperor Nicholas the II.

✓ 1903 – Russia participated in the International Agricultural Exhibition took place in Argentina. The Russian delegation's participation was intended to remove Belgian, German and American manufacturers of agricultural machinery from the Argentinean market.

✓ 1911 – the Russian Empire's First Diplomatic Mission was opened in Buenos Aires.

✓ 1913 – the Russian-Argentinean agreement on trade and navigation was signed in St. Petersburg. According to this agreement, both countries granted each other the most favored trade treatment. This agreement reflected the successes achieved by Russia and Argentina in strengthening bilateral cooperation as well as it confirmed Argentina's status as Russian Empire's main partner in Latin America.

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GLOBALIZATION AND THE CROSS-CULTURAL AREA

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THE WALLS IN THE 21st CENTURY: POLITICS AND ECONOMICS OF FEAR

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Abstract. *The Cold War ended with a surge of optimism for a globe with vanishing borders and unlimited possibilities. However, the promises of a better world for all seems more elusive as decades go by and the benefits of the newly emerging digital civilization are distributed less fairly among/within societies. The disenchantment for the order is reflected in the growing strength of populist politicians who support societal divisions and exclusion of minorities. Fear dominates the perception of the masses who are more immersed in their collective identities rather than being tolerant towards others. The emerging politics of the new international order is nurtured by the frustration of the liberals and the preferred populist approach is built upon erecting walls rather than bridges. In today's world there are approximately seventy countries with border walls. Those walls may be physical in certain cases as we observe in the wall built on US-Mexico border or they can be psychological, economic or digital. In any case, the rise of walls in every aspect of life seems to be an antagonistic answer to the liberal project of post-Cold War Era. As this emerging*

psychopolitical architecture is benefiting from the failures of the globalization's promises, there are two alternative approaches: to criticize the existing situation or to propose a completely different approach to establish an alternative order. It remains to be seen how much these walls or fences will alleviate the grievances of the disadvantaged people who perceive the new populist movements and leaders as a solution at the moment.

Keywords: *Globalization; Illiberal Democracy; Populism; Trumpism; Political Psychology*

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Introduction

When the Cold War ended with the undisputed victory of liberal democracies in the 1990s, it was expected that the conceptual walls dividing these two separate worlds, the Western and communist blocs would collapse. The Iron Curtain, a term coined by Winston Churchill in his famous Fulton, Missouri speech in 1946, would come down to open the gates of the authoritarian regimes of the Eastern Europe that for decades resisted Western ideas. In an article published right before the end of the Cold War in 1989, Francis Fukuyama, declared the “End of History” with the ultimate victory of capitalist economic system and liberal democracies [1]. No walls, from then on, would stand against the unlimited expansion of triumphant economic and political systems of the West. When in the same year Berlin Wall was destroyed, the prophecy of the downfall of the communist bloc seemed to be coming true. Germany was re-united and one year later the Soviet Union was no more. Although there remained vestiges of resistance to unlimited expansion of Western ideas and political and economic systems, as in the case of North Korea and Cuba, they could be considered as exceptions, rather than the norm in the new World. The power of global capitalism and Western political ideas was strong enough to overwhelm any fortifications standing against it. The age of ideological and economic feudalism was over, for under the fire of the canons of the new age no defensive walls would stand intact.

Almost three decades after such optimism for an unlimited world with no barriers for products, people and ideas we find ourselves once again in a mentality of siege. Walls are being erected, literally or figuratively, and the threat or for some promise of more barriers are already on the horizon. Everywhere over the globe, people are more sensitive to the concept of risk rather than being thrilled by the enthusiasm of new frontiers. Politicians drawing attention to the perils of this liberal world order are gaining ground,

from the most powerful nation in the world to the smallest ones. The trend that we are witnessing after three decades clearly underlies the fact that the wave of liberal capitalism and democracy has hit a hard rock and retreating against countervailing forces [2]. Newer and stronger walls are being erected with the consent of the majorities who have not been satisfied with the fruits of the liberal for now. Since the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 to now, more than 70 countries have surrounded their borders with walls or fences, whereas during the years of the Cold War when the Berlin Wall was still standing, they barely amounted to only a dozen.

Global Capitalism against the Wall

One of the most common themes of Trump's speeches when he was running for Presidency was that the global economy was not running in favor of ordinary Americans. According to him, liberal trade only brought misery to the people who have been victims of unfair competition from their commercial partners. Especially the Chinese were manipulating the trade system to sell their goods at unreasonably low prices, driving American enterprises out of market. Not mentioning the benefits of free trade to the American consumers who enjoyed the privilege of consuming cheaper and a wider variety of goods for decades, Trump's basic but persistent rhetoric drew attention to the jobs lost as a result of competition from the flood of Chinese goods. Accordingly, the constant influx of foreign goods in the domestic market was driving American enterprises and workers out. His solution to the perils of a liberal global trade system was to build a wall that would keep what is inside in there but most importantly to keep unfair competition outside. With regards to China, Trump's wall would come in the form of trade protection [3]. Exploiting the huge trade deficits that US has vis-à-vis Beijing, Trump proposed and enacted tariffs up to 600 billion dollars-worth of Chinese goods. Trade related tensions persisted between Washington and Beijing during the term of Trump's presidency and even though Biden resumed the liberal tone of previous governments, the competition from China still is an important factor to consider for American policy makers.

The Mexicans were another target of the former President, primarily because of their privileged access to US market. After NAFTA came into effect in 1994 many American enterprises moved their production facilities to the south of the border in order to benefit from lower labor costs in Mexico [4]. Trade integration gave an incentive to economic actors to specialize in their areas of comparative advantage according to the liberal trade theory and that

was exactly what happened after the signing of the free trade agreement. It was followed by a major realignment of certain industries that moved to Mexico in *maquiladoras* while American firms found a market of more than one hundred million consumers beyond their southern border to offer their goods and services. Yet, this did not tell much to those American workers in the Rust Belt who lost their well-paid jobs never to recover financially in their lifetime. Trump banked on this frustration from trade liberalization in general and NAFTA and managed to mobilize the support of losers from globalization. Eventually, the free trade agreement was renewed given further advantages to US companies. Yet Trump's vision of setting a barrier to all forces that would put local industries in danger left its mark.

Trump proposed building a wall to the Mexican border when he was running for Presidency and said that it would be financed by their southern neighbors [5]. It was not only the manufacturing industries that left US in search of lower labor costs but also the illegal immigrants looking for a living in their wealthy northern neighbor that Trump meant to block with this wall. Even though the liberal order of Pax Americana never envisaged labor mobility [6] as opposed to 19th century liberalism, Trump's attack on illegal Mexican worker stands in contrast to the vision of a global market economy. The optimist pioneers of the global capitalism a quarter century ago had hoped that the we would be living in a global village [7] where national borders would matter little at all in people's daily lives. However, the crusade initiated by the former leader of the most powerful nation and the hegemonic power of the Globe stood in stark contrast to this naïve vision of a globalized village.

When it comes to analyzing how the spirit of time swung from extreme liberalism to xenophobic and autarkic policies, we will need to understand how the new liberal age failed large masses especially in terms of bringing in the wealth and the prosperity that was promised. The failure of the global economy lies at the heart of increasing authoritarian tendencies and appeal of anti-systemic movements. When in 1987, American President Ronald Reagan came to give a speech in Brandenburg gate of then divided Berlin, he made an appeal to the Soviet leader exclaiming "Mr. Gorbachev, if you seek peace, if you seek prosperity, tear down this wall". Hence the wall came down in Berlin and within three years a divided Berlin and Germany were reunited after which all around the world the barriers that stood against economic integration came down. At just that time when the Western alliance claimed victory [8, p. 31], the ideals and economic development models of the global capitalist system started to be tested. Markets without political interference and unnecessary

hindrances would supposedly bring peace and prosperity to hundreds of millions of people [9]. The living standards of the Western nations that were aspired by the unfortunate of the world would now be attainable by the rest. However, even the roaring nineties with its breakneck speed growth rates and the quantum leap of the new millennium failed to deliver the promised heaven on earth. The initial enthusiasm of the early years gave way to uneasiness and desperation when ordinary people's lives showed little or no improvement. Especially in the eastern Europe, the transition economies brought enormous hardship for large parts of the society [9] that were used to having at least a basic standard of living under the previous system. In the third world, market reforms brought years of high growth to be followed by busts and crisis. In the Western nations, working people saw their income stagnate [10] as competition from lower labor cost nations took away their jobs. Even when per capita incomes seemed to be growing, it was at a cost of piling up private sector debts and forsaking the prosperity of future generations for today's consumption [11].

After 2008 mortgage crisis in US and the debt crisis starting in Europe in 2010, even an average person living in the opulent nations of the West understood that the world without walls was a perilous place. The walls could be an obstacle for further progress but they at the same time kept competition at bay securing a modest but nevertheless a happy life. The rise of populist parties, especially right-wing ones, Brexit vote and finally the victory of Trump in American presidential elections can all be counted as examples of a call to re-erect those walls in order to go back to the good old days.

Most of the times, there is not a clear-cut prescription on how to reverse the negative course of events. Populist leaders use the uneasiness of the masses to deliver their messages and to show how the corrupt globalist elite is squandering the wealth of the common people [12]. That finds an echo in the hearts of the masses that are willing to give the mandate to the seemingly the outsider to the established political system but when it comes to delivering the promises the task may be a little complicated. The walls that were supposed to mend the inequalities spread out by unbounded liberal system may not be the perfect cure for the troubles. Yet, for now the rhetoric of putting up a barrier against predatory capitalism and all its side effects seem to be finding an audience. The heart of the global capitalism, that a quarter century ago found pride in bringing down the walls, is now advocating a wall of their own against their rivals. Moreover, this is not just about stopping the goods produced in other countries any more. The people who produce the goods and services should be kept outside the perimeters of the cherished Western civilization.

Walls against Labor Mobility

One of the most interesting parts of the book or series Game of Thrones is about the struggle to keep wildlings and especially white walkers outside their Northern Wall. Within the boundaries Westeros, a fictitious continent where there are all sorts of political struggles, brutalities, conspiracies are taking place, a civilization is very much alive despite differences of opinion and interests among various dynasties and political actors. Dynasties, armies and people living within to the South of the wall may be enemies, but they belong to the same civilization and more or less, adhere to the same norms and rules. Yet beyond the wall, the story is almost completely different. The wildlings, seemingly not so different from the inhabitants of Westeros, are not considered to be part of their civilization and they are defined as outsiders. White walkers are a completely different sort, who even do not look like normal people, and they are also definitely not a species to be taken on an equal footing.

When a group of South Americans started their march to the US border passing through Mexican border [13], the similarities between the wildlings trying to pass to the south of the Wall could not go unnoticed. The ordinary people in search for the most modest form of living standards, hoped to pass through the border to work in the most prosperous nation on the Earth. From their perspective, they had no other objective than to find the opportunity to be able to work and make a living. However, their desperation and misery meant little for many already living relatively comfortable lives in their target destination. Most of the Americans showed little empathy to the *desperados* that have risked everything to cross a continent in order to start a new life, just like the Westeros inhabitants who saw the wildlings solely as a menace to themselves. The fact that they were fleeing for their lives did not mean much at all.

That was not the case in the 19th century when the first wave of globalization started to transform everyday lives of ordinary people. The demographic explosion in Europe urged many working families and individuals to look for better opportunities in distant corners of the World [14]. The Atlantic ports of the Continent were filled with immigrants that crossed the Ocean in search of a better life who would become the ancestors of today's Americans. A hundred and fifty years ago there were no walls to run against for the ordinary people if they decided to take their chances for prosperity and peace elsewhere. That does not mean life was easy for somebody who has left home for good to work and live in a completely foreign land. 19th century

capitalism was brutal especially for those who had to sell his/her labor in the marketplace as there was almost no regulations to govern the working life [15, p. 74-75]. Jungle capitalism was also the norm in the labor markets while social safety nets did not exist at all to protect the workers from the ups and downs of the capitalist system. In the absence of official barriers for immigration, ethnic groups founded solidarity networks to support their kins and exclude those who were not part of their expanded family [16]. In US, Jews, Irish, Italians, African-Americans and all other sorts of ethnic groups formed their own walls and created their protected realms where they could find shelter and support. Yet comparing with today's organized and state-sponsored barriers, 19th century forms of exclusion seem naive and primitive.

In today's world, a similar process of suspicion and hostility towards the foreigner, is taking place in Europe, in the Continent where most of past centuries' immigrants took off from. Although stuck to lower growth rates, the overall level of material wealth of European economies still outshines that of the neighboring regions that are mired in poverty and continuous political violence. Consequently, Mediterranean Sea had already become a passage way for illegal immigration into Europe especially from the African continent [17]. Taking into account the huge differences between the level of prosperity and the quality of public services, the two sides of Mediterranean display a striking contrast. Hence, the flow of people in search of better living conditions continue despite every effort to check them before they lay foot on Europe. Furthermore, the Arab uprisings that climaxed into a bloody civil war in Syria initiated another tsunami of refugees trying to make their way into the peaceful and prosperous old continent [18]. Despite the fact that these refugee families are trying to flee the horrendous conditions of war, massacre and famine, they again found little sympathy at the destinations they hoped to reach. Even the images of little children drowning in the sea did not soften many hearts in Europe that witnessed a very strong rise in anti-immigrant sentiments. All over the continent, extreme right-wing movements with their anti-refugee agendas started to expand their voter base [19], forcing even the moderate parties to take a tougher stance with regards to immigration.

The Mediterranean Sea is not a suitable place to erect a physical wall, but the mentality pervaded public opinion in the European continent. In fact, the public opinion towards the foreigner looking for a living was not so negative previously. When Europe was going through its miraculous thirty years in the Post-War period, the continent was much more hospitable for foreign workers as high growth rates resulted in labor shortages in many

industries and services [20]. Workers from Turkey, Yugoslavia and other less developed nations were requested to fill in the gaps in the labor force, especially for low skilled manual jobs. Those working people with their families have become a part of the society that they have moved into with their distinct culture and character. The invisible walls separating real Europeans from the immigrants never vanished completely, but newer generations seem to be better integrating into the societies that they live in.

Extremist parties in Europe like UKIP in Britain, AfD in Germany, FPÖ in Austria, PVV in the Netherlands target not only the new incomers but also the immigrants who have been in their countries more than half a century. Although the fear of the new arrivals dominates the agenda, the dislike for the other that is already within the walls, also increases as pressure on the jobs market soars. Europeans has been going through an economic hardship for almost a decade that brought unemployment numbers to record high levels. Starting as a debt crisis in Southern European economies, slow growth inhibited the whole continent for years. More importantly than the general unemployment figures, for young Europeans who enter the labor force, the probability to find a decent job looks dim for last few years. Economic troubles result in declining support for mainstream political parties at the first stage whose retreat creates opportunities for outsider politicians. Foreigners living inside are other scapegoats to pay for current troubles while those knocking at the door are detested by those who are already losing their hopes for decent employment opportunities.

In both US and Europe, increasing income inequality and unemployment are reflected into domestic politics leading to calls for protection of national markets. Walls are the solution to their problems according to the ordinary citizens and they are what populist politicians are promising when heading to the polls. Once the gates could be closed to the face of the intruders, good old days of prosperity and stability should be back according to the proponents of more protection in labor markets.

Yet, even though democratic systems are good at reflecting the thoughts of the people about the current state of affairs, they may be inadequate to produce solutions to deep seated structural problems. The income and wealth inequality that is becoming a major issue in Western nations [21, p. 48-53] may not be directly the consequence of foreign goods or people crossing the borders. The last wave of technological revolution is transforming labor markets along with many aspects of economic life. The first phases of industrial revolution destroyed manual tasks by replacing basic manual human skills with machine

power. As technological advances reduced the need for human contribution in manufacturing, more people moved to services sector; nevertheless, job creation managed to keep up with job destruction during those periods [22]. Now with the introduction of advanced robotics even the most peculiar tasks will be possibly executed by the machines leaving little room for a human laborer in those areas. Moreover, artificial intelligence threatens to replace human beings altogether for jobs requiring intellectual skills as well and some experts predict that we will be totally redundant as a factor of production in a few decades [23]. Thus, the walls built in front of poor workers from less fortunate regions of the world may not even be sufficient to provide a brief respite for those looking to protect their jobs. The walls, Trump and his like promised to build for the common people, are giving a short-term comfort but are unlikely to help the problems associated with income and wealth inequality. The walls are not an adequate solution when the enemy is inside the gates.

The Security Wall

If the wildlings in Game of Thrones series are analogous to the desperate immigrants trying to find their way to a better future in the developed nations, white walkers can be compared to the terrorist groups of our World. The presence of white walkers was enough to call for an alliance of rival factions and dynasties in Westeros. They are way too dangerous for everyone in the realm and too powerful to risk confronting alone. That is why a common front against the white walkers seem to be the only way once they pass through the Wall that protects the civilization. Nothing is scarier than those creatures when they cross their way into the civilized world and start to destroy everything human.

Terrorists, like white walkers, are only understood as a threat per se, not because they have conflicting interests with anybody. They do harm for the sake of doing it, and their political motivations are not to be discussed. Once a group is labelled as a terrorist organization they are no longer considered as political actors to be taken into account and they no longer merit diplomatic negotiations [24, p. 1-11]. A terrorist group should be completely destroyed at best and if not possible, should be kept outside the borders of the civilized World, beyond the Wall. In Westeros, there is no mistake about the identity of the white walkers for they can be distinguished by their appearances and their behavior. In the real world, the terrorists are usually defined out of political convenience and thus, the classification of who are terrorists and who are not can be confusing. Political conflicts that involve non-state actors naturally

invite disputes about defining terrorist groups [25] because once hostile actors can be classified as terrorists, they will naturally belong to the desolate lands beyond the Wall. The political demands of terrorist groups can be neglected by other actors and any terrorist organization is doomed as meriting total destruction by the public opinion.

So, the wall erected against the so-called terrorist groups is not physical but a conceptual one, allowing for other actors to use every possible means to exclude their rivals from the political processes. As an example, for the Western world, ISIS is a terrorist group that displays unnecessary and outrageous forms of brutality against civilians, being violent just as a result of their demonic motivations. The horrendous scenes of decapitations, murders and violence against ordinary people convinced the people that ISIS was not a political actor to be taken on an equivalent footing but a murderous gang to be destroyed completely. Public opinion, not very sensitive to the differences among various groups struggling in Syrian conflict, started to perceive most of the Islamist opposition groups as extensions of the same blood thirsty gang [26, p. 87]. A psychological wall was erected right in front of the eyes of the ordinary people that separated us, the peaceful and civilized people, from the other, barbarous and expendable. Just like in Game of Thrones series, as with the white walkers, their demands and motivations could not be discussed or evaluated.

This rigid classification of “us” versus “them” is highly convenient for manipulating public opinion while politicians pursue their real objectives. The fear and anger that was understandably widespread among American people after 9/11 attacks helped mobilization of masses to fight terrorism wherever it found shelter. US interventions first in Afghanistan and later in Iraq was justified by claiming that the terror threat was being countered abroad before it could hit back at home [27, p. 135-140]. The invisible barriers that separated “them” from “us” became a politically convenient tool to mask the real objectives pursued by the policy makers.

Walls against Democracies

The disenchantment after the collapse of the liberal order of the 19th century eventually led to the rise of authoritarian regimes. By the end of the first quarter of 20th century, starting with Italy, European democracies were threatened by the rise of extremist political currents that found a fertile ground as the Great Depression destroyed the middle classes, eroded the ordinary men’s belief in the system. The most powerful nation of Europe, Germany, succumbed to fascism leading the World to the greatest bloodbath it had ever

known. When the War was over, the founders of the new liberal order well understood that popular support for democracies should be maintained by gaining the consent of the masses for democratic politics. Dramatic swings in economic activity, the collapse of economic output and surges in unemployment would erase the support for moderate politics and result in the surge for support to extremist movements [28, p. 5-11].

The lesson was not missed by the founders of the embedded the liberal order [29] of Postwar period who believed that domestic politics could not be left to the vagaries of international finance if democracies are to survive. The Keynesian social welfare state of the second half of 20th century would not only help support the consumer base for mass production but also bolstered a strong middle class that would be the backbone of democratic politics [30]. The second wave of democratization in the Western world [31, p. 34-39] nested on strong economic performances of the postwar years and decades of steady increases on incomes of common people. Hence, the prestige of communist parties after the World War could be contained, and the Western alliance system could position itself as the cradle of democracies against the authoritarian political systems of the Iron Curtain.

The neoliberal revolution starting towards the end of Cold War resulted in the demise of this compromise reached between international economy and domestic politics [32]. The markets gained supremacy over national economies as regulation and liberalization eroded the control of state over the private sector. Real wages in the Western world stagnated for decades while there was a significant shift of industrial jobs to lower cost emerging markets. Yet, the declines in purchasing power was compensated by the borrowing of private sector for some years as consumers tried to keep up with their desire to consume a wider range of goods. The mortgage crisis that started in US in 2007 and swept through the banking system was a direct consequence of the burst of the financial bubble in real estate markets [33]. Years of easy monetary policies implemented to support the aggregate demand resulted in an overleveraged private sector and unsustainable economic dynamics. In Europe, similar policies led to a bubble in sovereign bond markets, especially for Southern European economies [34] and a debt crisis ensued following the American one with a couple of years lag. Increasing inequalities in income and wealth could only be compensated with accumulation of debt for some time until the markets came to realize that it could not be sustained. The middle classes had to accept the fact that their share of the total wealth would be diminished while the rich should account for most of the economic growth.

However, such major realignments in economic distribution of power must find an echo in domestic politics as well, in the form of weakening of moderate political movements [35, p. 109-122]. Populist politicians skillfully exploited the wedge between the expectations of large masses and the shortcomings of the markets. Even before the millennium ended, the term “illiberal democracy” [36, p.22] started to be debated in the academic circles to explain the rise of authoritarian, populist regimes. Once the established political parties failed to respond to the demands of ordinary people, non-mainstream politics gained ground claiming that the cosmopolitan elites and the corrupted political class was the reason behind their misery.

In Europe, the secular stagnation leading to years of sluggish growth resulted in the rise of populist parties both from the left and from the right. In Greece, center-left and center-right parties gave way to the rise of left-wing populist party Syriza after one of the worst economic crises of modern history devastated the country and its hopes for the future [37]. Throughout Europe, extreme-right, ultra-nationalist parties increased their popularity when ordinary people responded to the stagnation in their income as well as to the threat of immigrants who would come in to take their jobs. The Brexit vote is the culmination of this structural shift in European politics, as British voters approved Britain’s departure from the European Union to the surprise of many political analysts. The consequences of London’s decision to leave the Union may not be fully grasped by the voters, yet it was obviously a vote of no confidence to the established order [38]. Perceiving that their ongoing troubles were the result of an uncontrolled integration with the Continent, the majority of British people wished to establish a wall to protect themselves from the uncertainties of a greater political structure over which they had little control.

The authoritarian political systems of China and Russia may not be considered as a proof of a world that is becoming more authoritarian as those two countries have been ruled by anti-democratic regimes for a long time. Yet, when in US, the country that positions itself as the beacon of democracies, populist policies prevail one can assert that liberal institutions are losing considerable ground. The rise of Trump from the Republican primaries to the November 2016 Presidential elections illustrated the fact that American voters also grew wary of inability of the political system to meet their demands. All the Republican candidates in the primaries as well as the Democratic Presidential candidate Hillary Clinton could be considered as politicians belonging to the established elite, while Trump positioned himself as an outsider even though he is one of the richest men on the Globe. His contempt

for liberal institutions made him a source of concern for the political elite from the beginning, yet the voters appreciated the fact that he did not seem to represent more of the same sort of politicians and gave him the mandate. If it were not for the effects of COVID-19 pandemic, he had a reasonable chance for a renewed term in November 2020 elections, but his luck failed him this time when American voters made the incumbent President pay the bill for the economic conditions.

The heavy defeats suffered by liberal politics in core countries like USA and Britain illustrate that democracies may have to accommodate unorthodox political currents in the coming years. The states, markets, societies and also democracies are going to have to deal with the walls being erected on their way.

Walls: Will they Last and for How Long?

One of the key characteristics of the medieval societies was that the cities, although primitive and small when compared to modern ones, had to be protected by walls from foreign intrusions. Otherwise their enemies or the barbarians could sack what is of wealth within those cities. As city states and feudal political structures gave way to modern nation-states and advances in military technology left physical walls obsolete, they seemed to be becoming something of the past. Yet, modern times witnessed erection of newer barriers, like the Berlin Wall, that also became the symbol of Cold War. With its collapse, Western democracies celebrated the opening of new frontiers without any barriers to stand in the way. The wave of optimism and strong belief in a bright future made walls only impediments to human progress. Only with the heightened perception of risk, once again the need for erecting walls resurged. The perils of economic competition, immigrants flocking into the urban centers to look for jobs, terrorists trying to wage war on the domestic soils and countless dangers of unbridled globalization outweighed the benefits of a limitless world for many and liberal democracies bore the brunt of popular discontent. The politicians were called for providing shelter to those who suffered in this new age of hyper globalization even at a cost of sacrificing liberties up to a certain point. In order to keep the barbarians out of the city walls, one should accept the price of living behind walls in a limited space.

However, even if many people accept to trade some of their liberties for more stability and security, it may not be possible to eliminate the uncertainties brought by a changing world altogether in the long run. As we are in the midst of the fourth wave of the industrial revolution, it should be expected that technological changes and new forms of production will also

transform the economic and political realities that we will have to face. Even in the presence of trade protectionism, the world will probably be more integrated economically in the future. With technological advances, not only people will be more mobile but they will also be able to execute tasks without actually being physically mobile. Political violence will continue to be a factor that influences the public opinion even though security forces may increase their technical capabilities to deal with terrorist networks. And despite this new wave of authoritarian and illiberal politics, common people will continue to interact with policy makers by using newer technologies. Walls may seem to be more fashionable now when compared to a few decades ago but how effective they will be in dealing with our contemporary troubles remains to be seen. As cannons started to become used for besieging cities, thicker walls were constructed to absorb the damage. It worked until the time came when more powerful cannons were made to bring down those thick walls to the ground.

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IMMIGRATION INTEGRATION STRATEGY OF THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION: CURRENT SITUATION, ISSUES, SOLUTIONS

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Abstract. *Russia is one of the most popular destination countries for migration in the world. The state hosts approximately 11,6 million immigrants and aims to increase the level of labor migration and migrants' integration into Russian society as well as to compensate population losses with it. Thus, there is a need for the government of the Russian Federation to develop an integration and adaptation policy, to choose the area for the efforts concentration. That gives the ground for the further examination of the integration strategy of the Russian Federation.*

The particular emphasis placed on the Russian migration and integration legislation, which forms the integration strategy. The "Concept of the State Migration Policy of the Russian Federation for 2019–2025", the project of the Federal Law on Socio-cultural adaptation and integration of foreign citizens in the Russian Federation are of particular interest determining the direction of Russian integration policy.

Another significant part of the article is devoted to the key concepts such as "migrant", "integration" and the classification of the concept of "migration" according to Russian laws.

The elaboration and clarity of the official definitions of these concepts are necessary to realize how well the integration policy of the state is worked out, whether it takes into account various needs of migrants and for whom exactly the state is developing its integration policy.

In addition the paper examines the main problems and challenges caused by the lack of integration programs faced by the migrants in Russia. It is from that standpoint the measures that are taken by the Russian government to provide migrants with needed integration and adaptation services have been presented.

Keywords: Russian Federation; Integration Policy; Adaptation; Migration

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Introduction

The article is devoted to the topic of world migration and the way it affects the integration policy of the Russian Federation. According to the World migration report published by the International Organization for Migration (IOM) in 2020, Russia was the second largest migrants' destination after Germany in Europe [11] and the fifth worldwide [3]. For instance, in 2019 Russia hosted approximately 11,6 million international migrants [11].

There is an obvious tendency to focus on labor migration in Russian migration policy trends [14]. The decree "The Concept of the State Migration Policy of the Russian Federation for 2019-2025" put the special emphasis on the promotion of labor migration and the development of immigrants' integration, which included facilitating the migrants with needed education in order to accelerate the migrants' adaptation to Russian laws, culture, and social-economic living conditions [14]. Furthermore, the objectives of the decree are to attract labor migrants and to prevent their possible marginalization as well as ethnic enclaves' creation [2].

According to Matveevskaya A. the labor migration is the key factor for the government to form the integration policy as the migrants are those who are promoting the state's economy [10]. That means that Russia is not an exception in choosing labor migration as a priority area since it shapes the future integration policy.

That makes migration and integration policies the issues of current interest and explains the aim of the research: to examine the condition of Russian integration policy and if it fits requirements of the Concept of the State Migration Policy of the Russian Federation for 2019–2025.

In order to achieve the goal, the following tasks were set:

1. To determine the status of migrants, to emphasize their rights, and to underline the significance of the migrants' integration according to the Russian law.
2. To reveal current immigrants' issues in Russia caused by the gaps in integration policy.
3. To consider what measures and actions were taken or planned by the Russian government to promote and develop the integration of migrants.

The study was carried out using the methods of analyzing Russian migration legislation, the project of migrants' socio-cultural integration and comparing the concept with the current migration policy of the Russian Federation.

Russian Federation migration legislation

Russian Federation legislation includes Federal law No. 115-FZ of 25.07.2002 on Legal status of Foreign Citizens in the Russian Federation that determines the main terms of Russian migration policy [4]. According to this law, there is no direct definition of the concept “migrant”, however, there are “foreign citizen” and “stateless person” concepts. Both these definitions describe a person who does not have Russian Federation citizenship and: who has citizenship of another state (foreign citizen) or who does not have proofs of having citizenship of any foreign state (stateless person) [4].

The foreign citizens who have a valid residence permit, or valid temporary residence permit or visa and (or) migration card or any other documents confirming the right of a foreign citizen to stay in the Russian Federation have the legal right to stay in the Russian Federation have [4].

Moreover, according to the Russia’s state migration policy concept for 2019–2025, several types of migration are distinguished. They are temporary migration, long-term migration, short-term migration, permanent resident migration, illegal migration, labor migration, seasonal migration, educational migration, academic migration [13].

The rights of migrants are protected by international law and international treaties signed by the Russian Federation, which is a part of the Russian legislative system. Besides, the rights of migrants in Russia are protected by the main law of the country, by the Constitution of the Russian Federation [4]. Thus, it implies equal rights and obligations for migrants and Russian citizens as well.

Another important concept needed to be defined is integration. At the beginning of the 21st century, Russian migration policy was primarily focused on the temporary labor migrants and short-term migrants. Following this approach, no concept of integration or adaptation was needed [15].

Nevertheless, the situation changed in 2012 when first Russia’s state migration policy concept was accepted. One of the purposes of this document was to create the conditions for the migrants’ adaptation and integration through providing them the access to the medical, educational, and social state’s services; to create federal and regional programs targeted at the integration process facilitating [15]. The same goals were mentioned in the Concept of the State Migration Policy of the Russian Federation for 2019–2025.

Still, there were no direct definitions of “integration” and “adaptation” concepts and how they should be put into practice. Only in 2018, the project of

the federal law on Socio-cultural adaptation and integration of foreign citizens in the Russian Federation was developed, however, it is not carried to this today [5]. At the moment it is the only official document that explains these two concepts. So, according to the project of the federal law, adaptation means the process of learning Russian language, acquaintance with the Russian Federation social, cultural, legal, and economic norms by temporary or short-term labor migrants and their family members [5].

On the other hand, integration is the process of mastering the Russian language, social, cultural, economic, legal norms at the level necessary for temporary or permanent residence in the country and the creation of stable ties between foreign citizens and Russian society [5].

According to Matveevskaya A. and Pogodin S., there are three levels of how migrants mix up with the host society: social introduction, adaptation and integration [9]. The difference is in the way how the migrant has perceived the local culture and way of life. These concepts correspond to the definitions of the terms provided by the Russian Federation.

What problems for migrant causes the lack of integration programs

Based on the received information from the governmental sources it is now clear that there are no specific official integration and adaptation programs in the Russian Federation, while the country is the second largest destination of migrants in Europe and uses migration to compensate population losses [13].

That leads to specific problems in the field of integration and adaptation for migrants in Russia. The Head of the Department of Integration assistance of the Federal Migration Service T. Bazhan stated the main challenges migrants faced due to the lack of integration and adaptation programs:

1. Social isolation (caused by the lack of Russian language and culture knowledge) of migrants leads to ethnic self-identification instead of a civil one. That creates closed ethnic communities or ethnic enclaves.

2. Labor exploitation of migrants because they are uninformed about their rights and Russian laws.

3. Limited Russian language proficiency.

4. Xenophobia and intolerance of the Russian citizens leads to ethnic and racial hatred [1].

These issues due to their significance require time to manage them and to eliminate the consequences they caused. Moreover, from all these problems the

problem of limited Russian language proficiency as stated by Lapteva T. is the most significant reason why migrants fail to integrate into Russian society [8].

Government's measures to provide migrants' integration

An important decision was taken on 05.04.2021 when Russia joined the International Organization for Migration and adopted its constitution. It will allow Russia to work in cooperation with other states on the question of migration and integration as well as more effectively implement national migration and integration policy [12].

Kazaryan K. states that not only government and migrants participate in the process of integration but also such facilitators as NGO, Social media, national diasporas and so on [7]. That is why the significant help could be provided by Nongovernmental Organizations. Since 01.01.2017 NGOs that is in charge of providing the migrants with integration and adaptation services has received the government (including financial) aid [15].

Moreover, digital approach is also taken into account. In 2016 Interregional Migration Information Portal was created to provide migrants with needed information about the Russian Federation labor and social legislation [15].

In 2015 another measure in the field of Russian language, culture, and laws was taken to support immigrant's integration. Starting from this year every labor or temporary/ permanent residence migrant has to pass Russian language test in any Russian federal university in order to get residence and work permits [15].

Another problem is the intolerance of the Russian society. Of course, this situation cannot be changed in a short period of time and it requires the active work with people of different generations, especially with young people. On 30.12.2020 new Federal law "The concept of youth policy of the Russian Federation" was carried out. The primary goals of the concept include resisting nationalism, xenophobia, discrimination, extremism [6].

Conclusion

It is possible to draw the conclusion that the Russian Federation has no single and clear legislation act that would regulate the process of socio-cultural integration and adaptation of foreign citizens at the moment. It complicates the migrants' integration. Moreover, the approaches towards different kinds of migrants (labor migrants, seasonal migration, etc.) do not differ. That means that there is no variation of integration programs for different categories of

migrants, which adapts to migrants' needs. All these facts indicate the absence of state integration and adaptation policies; it means that the lack of financial or legal foundation in this area was provided.

Furthermore, the lack of measures taken by the government to change the situation is obvious. There are several Concepts and Strategies on migration and integration policies, however, no specific actions were mentioned. There is a strong discrepancy between the current integration policy and the concept of migration policy.

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INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION PROBLEM IN THE USA: BETWEEN ENGLISH AND SPANISH

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Abstract. *When dealing with intercultural communication problems, no one can deny the role of Spanish language in contemporary American society. Spanish language's influence within the United States of America becomes more and more visible, more intense. The thing is today US Hispanic population number is over 15% of the total country's population. It is expected that in the next 20-25 years Spanish speakers' number will be 46% of the total US' population. Hispanic growing number in the United States increases Spanish language's influence and converts it into Spanglish that represents intercultural communication's special form in multi-ethnic American society's various layers. Spanglish entered the world of media and advertising with unprecedented ease. The trend is the US' media can no longer resist so-called "linguistic cocktail" and it becomes its trademark. Many researchers, such as A. Zentella, I. Stavans speaking about Spanglish consider it as main source of spreading bilingualism within the country. It should be mentioned also that the US' media not only take advantages of using Spanglish texts because it is nothing but combination of two the most important languages for the United States, in its contents we can also see two great cultures' fusion, which gives their audience a feeling of belonging to American society in close contact with their family traditions, culture and language. The detailed analysis allows us to say there are three possible ways of Spanish language's development in the United States of America: assimilation, diglossia, bilingualism. This article is divided into four sections: the first section represents the detailed analysis of US language policy and its influence on Spanish language's status within the country; the second one considers Spanglish as a new language of intercultural communication within the USA; the third one gives main findings of using Spanglish in media and advertisement; the final section involves research's results and conclusions. The research's methodological basis is comparative analysis allowing to reveal similarities and differences within intercultural communication process.*

Keywords: *Modern Sociolinguistic Situation; Language Policy; Intercultural Communication; English; Spanish; Spanglish; Ethnic Communities; Assimilation, Diglossia; Bilingualism*

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Introduction

No one can deny that questions of intercultural communication within a single country as well as interactions of language and culture have always been and remain the most urgent and difficult. In addition, a danger lies in the fact that they may lead to creation of pretext for new division or redivision of country's territorial structure.

Much has been said and written about communication. It is generally accepted that communication process involves exchange of messages, i.e. information is transferred from one participant of communication to another one. Here arises a problem because people are not able to communicate and transmit messages to each other using, for example, electrical pulses like devilfishes therefore information firstly is encoded with certain sign system and only then it is sent to an addressee, which decodes and interprets it.

There are two main communication types in human society: verbal communication (language communication) and non-verbal communication (nonverbal behavior). According to the majority of definitions, intercultural communication is communication, where members communicate using special language versions and discursive strategies being different from those they use when communicating within the same culture.

It is well known that communication process involves meanings' / images' reconstruction process during information exchange among its members. It cannot be the same even for people who speak the same language and have grown up within the same culture. Thus, when it comes to different culture / language representatives' participation in communication, it is almost impossible to achieve full understanding, since this communication process becomes very complicated. For example, different culture representatives' images caused by a single word in most cases are different. For example, it is difficult for a Spanish-speaking person to understand what is going on in the poem "Verano" (Summer) written by the Uruguayan poet Juana de Ibarbourou: "... florece la llanura en el mes de febrero (the flowering valley in February)". The fact is that the Spanish word "verano" means "summer" and the poem tells us that the month of February is a summer month that is not clear for Spaniard because February is a winter month in Spain. However, it is reality for Latino Americans in which they live because Summer runs from December 1 to

February 28 in the Southern hemisphere, in this regard, it is not surprising that a blooming valley in February is mentioned in the poem.

Nowadays, due to a number of different reasons (historical, political, demographic, economic) Spanish language plays a very important role in the United States of America: “Today Spanish is already the language of Americans, not Spaniards colonized America” [8, p. 26] and US citizens have to answer a question about Spanish language’s status within the country.

So, Spanish language’s future is being created in the United States, where Hispanics’ number grows significantly. Even in such a situation Spanglish is not a threat for Spanish, but for English language. Therefore, based on current sociolinguistic situation in the United States, we can say that the question: to speak Spanish or not to speak Spanish? for the modern American society is a question of life and death.

According to the US Statistics of 2010, the Hispanic population in the country amounted to 50 million people, which is more than two times than data of 1990 and increased by 46.3% compared to the US Statistics of 2000. Only Mexico (108.3 million people) and Colombia (46.3 million people) surpass the United States in Spanish-speaking population’s number [14].

All the available data gathered by North American Academy of Spanish Language (Academia Norte-Americana de la Lengua Espanola (ANLE)) permit to say that there are four main regions of spreading Spanish language, depending on immigrants’ predominance from particular countries of Latin America [1]:

- 1) South-Western States (Mexicans);
- 2) Florida (Cubans);
- 3) Eastern States (Puerto Ricans, Dominicans, Cubans);
- 4) Illinois (Puerto Ricans and Mexicans).

The following figure shows the ethnic groups’ number of US Hispanic population. (see the fig. 1)



Fig. 1. ANLE, 2020.

As you can see Mexicans' number in the USA is 59.3%, Puerto Ricans is 9.7%, Cubans – 3.9%, Central Americans – 5.1%, South Americans – 4.0%, Spaniards – 0.6% and other Latin American countries' immigrant number – 17.4% [1].

It should also be noted that this is the youngest ethnic group in the country. The thing is that Latinos' average age is 27 years, while White Americans' average age is 42 years and for African Americans this figure is 32 [14].

The following graph №1 shows the Hispanic population growth dynamics within the United States from 2010 to 2050. It is estimated that there will be more than 144.53 million people of Hispanic origin within the country in 2050 (see the graph 1).



Graph 1. States from 2010 to 2050 (in millions), 2020.

Hispanics are not only the largest and the youngest ethnic group in the United States, they also represent the most dynamic force forming the future of this country. Every aspect of American culture is currently being changed under Hispanics' influence. Hispanic culture has already become an integral part of US culture. A new American culture is being formed in the process of mixing two great cultures. This culture is unique, rich in tradition, but is determined with values established for several generations and it is also determined to a greater extent with future expectations than with memories of the past.

Exerting huge influence on American media, music, fashion, cuisine, Hispanics save much of their cultural heritage and at the same time they accept American habits and customs. The main reason of strong Hispanic influence is not a huge immigration flow into the country, but the second and third generations of Latinos who are joining now and will join the ranks of American citizens in the coming decades. Young, born in the United States and educated here, Hispanics are willing to make cultural and social revolution within the country.

Thus, due to their growing number, Latinos can create their own socio-cultural space within USA. In other words, Hispanic demographic revolution can be transformed into social and cultural revolution, it can also change American “establishment” structure and the very way of life in the country.

The United States' government introduced terms “Hispanic” and “Latino” to indicate US Hispanic population's origin almost two decades ago

[11]. Since than these terms are used countrywide, for example, the term “Latino” is widely used in California and Chicago whereas the term “Hispanic” is preferred in Florida and Texas and so on. In this paper, we use this official terminology in order to identify Americans with roots in Spanish-speaking countries.

The Article’s Structure and Research Methodology

This article highlights a number of issues that contribute to our understanding of Spanish language’s development within the USA and its influence on intercultural communication in the country.

The paper is divided into four sections:

the first section represents the detailed analysis of US language policy and its influence on Spanish language’s status within the country;

the second one considers Spanglish as a new language of intercultural communication within the USA;

the third one gives main findings of using Spanglish in media and advertisement;

the final section involves research’s results and conclusions.

The research’s methodological basis is comparative analysis allowing to reveal similarities and differences within intercultural communication process.

The research’s subject was also considered in the following author’s publications:

1. Hispanics’ Stereotypical Images in North American Media (author – Bestolkova G.V.) // Historical Research // Electronic Scientific Journal of the History Faculty // Lomonosov Moscow State University, Moscow, 2019, № 12, p. 122-134.

2. US Spanish-speaking Media Features at the Regional Level (author – Bestolkova G.V.) // Novosibirsk State University’s Bulletin // Serie: History, Philology // Publishing House “Novosibirsk National Research State University”. Novosibirsk, 2017, Volume 16, № 6, p. 55-66.

3. Social Factors’ Impact on Language’s Vocabulary (based on English and Spanish Vocabulary)//author – Bestolkova G.V.// Australian Journal of Scientific Research //Publishing House “Adelaide University Press”, Adelaide, 2014, №2 (6), volume III, p. 610-615.

4. Journalism’s Historical Experience in Establishing Intercultural Dialogue: Development Concept of North American Hispanic Press (author – Bestolkova G.V.) // Collection of Scientific Papers “Communication in the Modern Multicultural World: Culture, Education, Politics”/ Ed. by

T.A. Baranovskaya, ISBN 978-5-9909709-3-9, Publishing House “Pearson”, Moscow, 2018, p. 168-177.

5. The Problem of Mass Immigration from Latin America and Its Influence on the Status of Spanish within Spain and the USA at the Beginning of XXI Century (author – Bestolkova G.V.)//European Science and Technology: Proceedings of the X International Research and Practice Conference, Munich, 2015, p. 105-109.

6. New Global Communication Environment of Modern Information Society (based on Spanish-language Online Media)//author – Bestolkova G.V.// Collection of Scientific Papers “Communication in the Modern Multicultural World: Pragmatics of Linguistic Sign”// Publishing House “Pearson”, Moscow, 2015, p. 52-58.

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11. Intercultural Communication and Language Policy (based on English and Spanish)//author – Bestolkova G.V.// LAP LAMBERT Academic Publishing, Deutchland, ISBN 978-3-659-24835-1, 2012, 101 p.

12. US Spanish-language Media and Intercultural Communication (author – Bestolkova G.V.) // Proceedings of International Scientific – Practical Conference “Actual Problems of Media Research – 2016” (Faculty of Journalism, Moscow State University named after Lomonosov)// MSU Publishing House (Moscow), 2016, p. 33-35.

13. Opening Doors for Latin Americans in US Media (author – Bestolkova G.V.)// Proceedings of International Scientific-Practical

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14. Internet as Media and Way of Interpersonal Communication (author – Bestolkova G.V.)// Proceedings of International Scientific-Practical Conference “Journalism in 2014: Media as Public Dialogue’s Factor” (Faculty of Journalism, Moscow State University named after Lomonosov) // Publishing House of Lomonosov Moscow State University, Moscow, 2015, p. 328-329.

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16. Internet as Basis for New Global Communication Environment’s Formation (based on US Hispanic Internet Media) // author – Bestolkova G.V. // Proceedings of International Scientific Conference “American Culture: From Nation’s Formation to Transnationalism” (Faculty of Journalism, Lomonosov Moscow State University)// Publishing House of Lomonosov Moscow State University, Moscow, 2014, p. 18.

17. Spanglish is a New Language of Intercultural Communication in the USA at the Beginning of the XXI century (author – Bestolkova G.V.) // Proceedings of International Scientific Conference “American Culture in Multipolar World” (Faculty of Journalism, Lomonosov Moscow State University)//Publishing House of Lomonosov Moscow State University, Moscow, 2013, p. 7.

18. International Communication in the Modern World (author – Bestolkova G.V.) // Proceedings of International Scientific Forum "LOMONOSOV-2012"(Lomonosov Moscow State University)//Publishing House of Lomonosov Moscow State University, Moscow, 2012 (CD-ROM).

US Language Policy and Its Influence on Spanish Language’s Status within the Country

At the beginning of XXI century Spanish language has the greatest linguistic growth because of Latin Americans’ mass emigration process in the USA. The thing is there was Hispanics’ mass immigration in the United States since the beginning of XXI century which led to US South – Western part was

flooded with Mexicans whereas Cubans' and Puerto Ricans' number greatly increased in Florida and in North – Eastern part of the country. So, the huge influx of immigrants from Latin America combined with their high birth rate is one of the main reasons why Spanish language has gained such a great importance within the United States. It should be mentioned that nowadays Hispanic immigrants declare their intention to use only Spanish in everyday life and, as a result, today one can hear Spanish spoken everywhere, see many advertisements in Spanish and so on in the majority of parts within the USA, where the population of Spanish-speaking people is up to 90%.

This situation has led to social movement's creation. It was called "English-only movement" / "English Only" because many Americans consider possibility of accepting a second state language as threat to country's integrity. This social formation's purpose, as its name implies, is English language's protection and its recognition as the only US official language.

It is interesting that despite this difficult socio-linguistic situation, the United States of America is a country with no official language. The thing is that although English has state language's function but there is no such a thing as state language law in the United States. This sociolinguistic situation has led to US citizens confront problem of Spanish language's recognition as second state language. In this situation, interaction of Spanish and English resulted in mutual strong influence and cultural interpenetration. It should be mentioned that Spanglish became an element of great importance in this fusion. For example, the following expressions: *ir al supermarket*, *hasta la bye-bye*, etc. are of common use in Miami, Los Angeles and several other cities. There are other names for this phenomenon: *Chicano English*, *Mock Spanish*, *el Spanish broken*, *pocho*, *mocho*, *cubonics*, *angliparla*, *espanglish* and so on. Thus, there is no doubt that Spanglish is intercultural communication's phenomenon.

Here we should say that problems' actual range is much wider. An important problem arises in connection with language policy, which is not only one of the most important factors shaping language situation, but also its essential aspect. First of all, we must define notion of language policy. So, language policy is general state policy's part, i.e. activities made by a state in its own interests and in the name assigned to a political agenda. Language policy can be constructive or encouraging and destructive. In the first case, language policy is aimed at expanding languages' functions and its scope in order to improve its social and communicative role whereas the second one is aimed at language functions' restriction as well as at limiting its scope and sometimes

leads to a full repression. US language state policy is clearly aimed at limiting Spanish language's scope.

If we look at the US history, we will see that this language state policy is United States' foundation, since different states' union and its centralization were made through establishing English language's dominance. Then the US population was continuously replenished by immigrants. Their adaptation involved assimilation of the US values along with its essential element – English language. English language's knowledge gave benefits and considered as essential condition for integration of a group or an individual into American society. Even today, the US language policy's essential element is tendency to displace minority languages by English. In particular, English language's high social prestige among the USA population, as a rule, implies other languages' lower status. Mixed-language immigrants ("*Spanglish*") are at the lowest level of prestigious hierarchy. It is no secret that immigrant minorities' members have always occupied marginal positions in American culture and in comparison with English language that always occupies a core place in American life, their languages have always been marginalized languages. This point can be best illustrated with the Bilingual Educational Act. The thing is that English language was reigned for many years in US public school system and only in 1968 due to intensification of national minorities' struggle for their rights, the United States Congress adopted the so-called "Law of bilingual education" (Bilingual Educational Act), allowing use other languages not being previously used in public schools.

Nowadays, the US government and English-speaking society do everything possible to strengthen English language's dominance and to narrow Spanish language's scope. In particular, British and American language associations joined forces and work hard on English spelling simplification in order to facilitate its study and to contribute to its strengthening and spreading. A huge role in this process belongs to modern media because radio, press and television greatly expand English language's influence on Hispanic population by means of contributing to its implementation in everyday family life, where their native language (Spanish) have preserved strong position for very long period of time.

By the way, US modern film industry creates unpleasant image of a typical Latino. For example, in the animated film called *Ice Age* made by the film company *20th century fox*, one of the characters is a *sloth* named *Sid* and he speaks English with strong accent which is characteristic of Hispanics living in the United States. As far as the character of Sid is concerned, unlike other

cartoon personages, Sid is stupid, helpless and unable to make their own decisions. Such images of Hispanics no doubts contribute to public opinion's creation that Spanish language is language of losers, fools, etc. and, at the same time, it helps to make English more prestigious, more attractive. So, put it in other words: today one can be successful only speaking English language.

But despite all these efforts, it is impossible to change the US sociolinguistic situation and as well as to reduce Spanish language's role in contemporary American society because Hispanics number increases every day and "*Spanglish*" strengthens its position within the USA playing the role of intercultural communication's language among representatives of English-speaking and Spanish-speaking cultures.

Today, Spanglish lexical units can increasingly be found in artistic and journalistic literature, in publicity and television broadcast as well as Spanglish texts are increasingly used in musical genres such as rap, hip-hop. Moreover, many US universities now offer courses of Spanglish. For example, the Lecturer of the Massachusetts University named Ilán Stavans translated into Spanglish the immortal novel "*Don Quixote*" written by Cervantes (*Don Quijote de la Mancha*):

'In un placete de La Mancha of which nombre no quiero remembrearme, vivía, not so long ago, uno de esos gentlemen who always tienen una lanza in the rack, una buckler Antigua, a skinny caballo y un grayhound para el chase. A cazuela with más beef than...' (*Don Quixote de la Mancha*, Miguel de Cervantes, First Parte, Chapter Uno, Traducido al Spanglish por Ilán Stavans) [6].

It must be noticed that Ilán Stavans is one of the leading experts in the field of sociolinguistics and the author of numerous works devoted to this problem. Thus, in 2003 he wrote the article entitled – "*Spanglish: The Making of a New American Language*", where he supposed that Spanglish was new Spanish-speaking country's language along with international communication's language.

The most important thing is that nowadays there is a clear intention of young Latinos to demonstrate their origin and their uniqueness. It should be stressed here that earlier many Hispanics were ashamed with their origin and, as a result, tried to assimilate and become part of English-speaking society as quickly as possible but today the situation is different. The thing is that now many Hispanics are proud of their Latino origin and try to demonstrate and express their uniqueness through Spanglish. Moreover, the younger

American generation considers Spanglish as a new language of modern youth even regardless of whether they have Latin roots or not.

This important issue could not be ignored by American filmmakers and in 2004 the film director James L. Brooks shot an excellent comedy «Spanglish» being full of Spanglish dialogues. The main idea of this film was to tell about the conflict of English and Spanish cultures within one country.

Coming back to the main subject, we should notice that the modern American English language, especially, mass media language is full of borrowings from Spanish, for example: *solo, si, adios, amigo, buenos dias*, etc. In general, media influence on language appears in a large number of borrowings from Spanish vocabulary. It is amazing that these borrowings appeared at least once in mass media then immediately picked up by a mass audience and became almost an essential part of language despite of the fact that they might seem very strange at first.

Thus, we can see that a new language forms within the United States and it is not just an American version of English or Spanish, but it is a New American Language based on American English and Mexican Spanish. Then the question arises: which branch of languages will the new North American language belong to? From our point of view, a new language of the United States of America will belong to Latin languages' branch. Even in the name of this language we can see Spanish element's dominance. Although, Spanglish combines characteristics of American English and Mexican Spanish, but a growing number of Hispanics, most of which are immigrants from Mexico and their descendants and, as a consequence, promotes Spanish element's growth in new North American language that confirms our hypothesis that a new language of the USA will belong to Latin languages' group along with Spanish, French and others. All in all, Spanglish may become the US state language, since the world history shows: only languages of dominant ethnic groups become state languages.

Spanglish is a New Language of Intercultural Communication within the USA at the Beginning of XXI Century

As it was mentioned before mixed languages are formed in bilingualism situations as a result of language interaction, for example, "*kokoliche*" (Spanish + Italian) in Argentina. As far as the United States is concerned here we can find Anglo-Spanish bilingualism being widely used and called "*Spanglish*" or "*pocho*". It would be better to define this phenomenon with the words by I.M. Allende from his novel "An Infinite Plan": "They half-learned English and

transformed it into Spanglish being so deeply rooted that it became accepted as Chicano language.” [3, p. 18].

Let us consider a few lexical units related to “*Spanglish*”. We have to take a closer look at lexical units, since language vocabulary is so-called national language repository and the main source for expression of national culture and identity that is why it is impossible to understand changes taking place in a society without understanding changes taking place in a language.

Coming back to “*Spanglish*”, we deal with interference in speech. It represents changes occurring during transition from one language to another that are temporary and reversible.

So, our first word for consideration is the word *esplear*, which means *to spell*. It is easy to guess that this Spanglish verb consists of the English verb *to spell* (*to write or pronounce the words letter by letter*) and the Spanish verb *pronunciar* (*to say, to pronounce*).

The fact is that the spelling of a word and its pronunciation in English are often two different things, for example: *sight* [sait]; *write* [rait], etc. That is why there is a necessity of pronouncing words letter by letter that is why a vast majority of English dictionaries involve transcriptions, but there is no need to pronounce Spanish words letter by letter, because Spanish words, in most cases, are pronounced the same way as they are written, for example: *cosa* [kosa] – *thing*; *solar* [solar] – *sunny*, etc., and as a result: Spanish dictionaries involve no transcriptions. Based on these facts, we have to say that appearance of the word (*esplear*) in Spanglish / pocho is caused with strong English influence on Spanish.

If we take a closer look at the lexical unit’s shape (*esplear*), we will see that it conforms to Spanish language norm, since it clearly demonstrates the verbal ending *-ar* corresponding to the Spanish first group’s verbs.

This is not a single example, there are a lot of words formed this way. For example, another verb formed the same way is – *taiper* (*to type*), i.e. this verb was originated from the English verb *-to type* as well as from the Spanish phrase *escribir a máquina* (*to type*). As in the previous example, the formed verb (*taiper*) was transformed in accordance with Spanish language’s norm: it has the ending *-er* corresponding to the Spanish second group’s verbs.

It should be emphasized that not only verbs undergo changes in “*Spanglish*”, but many English nouns are converted in accordance with Spanish language’s norm. For example, the English word *a truck* turned into *a troca* and here we can see that the word sounds familiar for US Hispanic citizens and was given Spanish feminine nouns’ form that have the ending *-a*

(*troca*). In addition, from this word (*troca*) was subsequently formed a new one with using the Spanish suffix (-*ita*): *troca* – *troquita* that means *a small truck*. Moreover, this lexical unit became basis for another word's creation – *troquero*, which can be translated as *a truck driver*. The following word was also formed in the same way: factory (English) + *fábrica* (Spanish, means “plant”) = *factoria* (factory); etc.

On the other hand, many Spanish words change under English language's influence. As it was noted lexical variation is characterized with particular word's polysemy as well as expansion or contraction and even the almost complete change in its meaning due to interference from English language's semantics. Thus, for example, the Spanish word “*educación*” represents *good manners; education, training* whereas the English word “*education*” refers to *education; training*. It should be mentioned that this lexical unit got the last meaning in speech of Hispanics living in the United States.

And one more example, the Spanish word “*atender*” means *to care for someone; to take into account* whereas the English word “*attend*” means *to visit (lectures, meetings)*, but this word means – *to attend; to be present* in Mexican Americans' speech.

Here are examples of Spanish words involving almost complete change in semantics caused with English language's influence in speech of Hispanics living in the United States (see the table № 1):

Table 1.

Spanish words involving almost complete change in semantics caused with English language's influence in speech of US Hispanics

Standard Spanish	Standard English	Chicano speech
biblioteca	library	librería
reunión	conference	conferencia
conferencia	lecture	lectura
éxito	success	suceso
padres	parents	parientes

We thus arrived at the following conclusion: both English and Spanish undergo changes within the USA that resulted in forming a new intercultural communication language named “*Spanglish*”. We have a reason to state that the majority of these changes occurred in American citizens' speech will be language's norm in a certain period of time. It follows from the fact that the vast majority of speech changes are of massive character that eventually leads

to its transformation into language norm, i.e. speech interference eventually turns into language interference.

In general, language interference is language changes caused with another language's influence and as a result these changes become language's norm. This point can be best illustrated with the Russian word "кофе" (coffee): it was originally only masculine, but eventually acquired neuter gender, since this word's use in the neuter gender became widespread.

Moreover, one may find numerous examples of it in linguistic history and one of the most brilliant examples is Romance languages' origin: these languages are known to have come from folk or vulgar Latin spoken by people and not from classical Latin spoken by elites. So, "Spanglish" can become the US official language in a certain period of time.

Spanglish in Advertisement and Media

Spanglish is already used more or less in all of spheres. Even though Spanglish use is controversial, it is also very popular, since business has recognized "Hispanics' enormous buying power" [4]. A quick search in Internet for Spanglish gives many sites, most of them try to sell something. For example, there is the following article on Forbes' site: "Advertisers to Latinos: 'We Love it When You Speak Spanglish.'" This article describes how Fox, Facebook, Twitter and so on are aimed at Spanish and Spanglish speakers. The article's authors give an interesting conclusion: "Spanglish is a highly marketable product." [2].

Another illustration of this trend is greeting-card industry's marketing strategy ("Hallmark"). The thing is "Hallmark" expands its line of Spanish-language cards with Spanglish messages. Here is an example of these greeting: "Una mujer (a woman) defines herself *sin palabras* (without words) in her style, in her *confianza* (confidence), in her *libertad* (freedom), in her integrity" [9].

Spanglish is already heard from radio stations broadcasting the Spanish group "Las Ketchup" with "The Ketchup Song" or Ricky Martin with his famous song "Living *la vida loca* (the crazy life)", etc. Other mass media use this language to attract audience as well. For example, there is a bilingual magazine "Latina" published in New York that combines texts in English and Spanish. Here are several headlines from its issues: "*Mi vida* (My life) fast forward", "Hot *fiesta* (holiday) fashions for every *figura* (figure)", "When do you need an *abogado* (lawyer)?", "How to connect to your roots *ahora mismo* (right now)", "When he says *me voy* (I'm leaving)...What does he really mean?"

etc. It should be mentioned also that one can find a lot of stories involving English and Spanish mixture on Latina's Internet site [7].

One more example of this trend is the American magazine and social media platform for celebrities named WhoSay [15]. One of the celebrities, who uses this site regularly for sharing photos is Sofia Vergara. She is a famous American actress of Hispanic origin. This actress has won multiple American Latino Media Arts awards for her contribution to film and television industry's development. Here are Spanglish examples in her photos' captions demonstrating her ability to switch simultaneously back and forth between Spanish and English: "New Modern Family *esta noche* (tonight)!", "Happy *verde* (Birthday) to my *Tio* (Uncle) Nando!", "Welcome Jack! Manolo's new *hermanito* (brother)!" [15]. So, Sofia shows her cultural heritage to all of her followers through using Spanglish like this. Moreover, she connects more closely with her Hispanic-American fans by means of using her native language. Vergara is deeply rooted in Latino culture and it is seen in her interactions with fans online. Obviously, Spanglish for Sofia Vergara is the way of showing her cultural pride and through using social media like WhoSay, she can communicate with a wide range of people. While some think that Spanglish is limited to spoken interactions, Sofia Vergara's stream of narratives demonstrates how Spanglish is also effectively used in written form within a digital space.

All in all, Spanglish media use by celebrities like Sofia Vergara has positive effect on young bilingual speakers. Young bilingual speakers stated that Spanglish use in media bridges gap between two groups and allows young people to better cope with having two cultures. It was also stated that Spanglish use results in poor language use as well as in language skills' incompetence or deficiency, but popular influences change this perception significantly and instead of a deficiency, Spanglish is now seen as a positive form of cultural expression [5].

However, if mass media and advertising absorb practically all innovations, there are certain areas where Spanglish use is more than unexpected, for example, Spanglish use in education and literature. Yet, Spanglish has already reached both of these areas. For instance, Hispanic middle school students in San Francisco learn to compose texts by means of mixing Spanish and English. It allows to form students' confidence in becoming more fluent in whatever language they find challenging [9]. Additionally, some of the US universities offer courses on Spanglish, on its history and development. Moreover, the Spanglish dictionary is being compelled.

Spanglish penetration is astonishing when being spoken by some representatives of the US Republican Party, which were never particularly popular with ethnical minorities and were even accused of racism. For example, George W. Bush's nephew, George P. Bush on his campaign trail spoke at political rallies switching among Spanish, English and Spanglish [13]. It is beyond any doubts Bush's speech ensured better understanding among him and those very few Hispanics who came to attend his oral performance in Anaheim (California), even if it was not politically correct. "Yo soy (I am) your president," he said at his scarce audience and encouraged them to make more Latinos join the Republican Party even if they "have to beat them on the head with a large tequila bottle of a colorful picata stick" [10].

Conclusion

To summarize it is suggested that the detailed analysis allows us to say there are three possible ways of Spanish language's development in the United States of America.

The first way is assimilation. According to the sociological theory "melting pot", there is assimilation process of immigrant minorities and dominant population: the first generation's immigrants still share values of mother culture and language, the second generation is greatly influenced with partial "acculturation" or "dissolution" within the dominant culture and this process becomes irreversible for the third generation. But if we look at the statistics, we will see that the number of the US households, where Spanish language is spoken, increased from 7.5% in 2000 to 12.8% in 2018 [1]. It must be mentioned also that 80% of Hispanic families consider Spanish as a language of everyday communication (even among people of second and third generations) and about 70% of the younger generation (under 18 years) believe that they are good at speaking native language. Even Latinos of fourth generation consider Spanish as their native language [16]. So, as we can see statistic data as well as immigration growth dynamics indicate that total assimilation of Spanish-speaking people to English-speaking ones seems impossible, despite possible further tightening language policy by the US government.

The second way is diglossia. It means that there is coexistence of prestigious and low status language systems with different functions, i.e. this system consists of two separate languages. In this case, Spanish language's prestige falls, but English language will strengthen its status of single language in politics, business, economics, media and so on, i.e. English will become

prestigious language system whereas Spanish language is only being used within oral or informal domestic communication sphere, i.e. Spanish will become low language system. It will lead to significant reduction of Spanish language's use in national media, but local Spanish language media will be preserved that resulted in prospering Hispanic diasporas' territorial dialectal differences as well as in spreading Spanglish countrywide. Thus, this situation is also hardly possible as the previous one.

The third way is bilingualism and biculturalism. From our point of view, this way is the most probable one because Hispanics' economic, political and cultural influence will grow and it will lead to bilingualism and peaceful coexistence of two cultures within the USA.

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THE PROBLEM OF MIGRATION IN THE EUROPEAN UNION AS A CONSEQUENCE OF THE DEMOGRAPHIC SITUATION

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Abstract. *This article is devoted to the consideration of a number of reasons that, as a result, can become the root cause of depopulation in the European region. The described reasons for the current situation and prospects for development in one direction or another were partially identified by the authors using the analysis of statistical data, clearly demonstrating the full picture of the demographic crisis in the so-called Old World. In the course of working on this research article the authors shifted the focus to countries that are members of the European Free Trade Association, other political and economic associations. To guarantee the reliability of the statistical information of the article, the authors used data previously published on the website of "Eurostat", and analyzed according to the following indicators: birth rate, fertility rate, immigration, emigration, labor migrants, illegal migration, and so on. The analysis of the statistical data of the above-mentioned "Eurostat" service showed the authors a clear picture and confirmed their hypotheses that, with the rare exception of a minimal population increase, all countries of the European continent are in the zone of serious irreversible migration processes and the loss of a large proportion of the population of the able-bodied indigenous population, which can help them at any time to restore the economy after such global shocks as the world economic default of 2008 and the migration crisis of 2012. Moreover, based on the results of the work done, analysis and systematization of the entire volume of information received, we can draw an intermediate conclusion that absolutely all the processes taking place in the modern European community and the economic structure of regional political*

associations are only a consequence of the protracted economic crisis and the peculiarities of the migration and family policy of European countries.

Keywords: *Demographics; Demographic Situation; Population Ageing; European Union; European region*

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1. Demographic problem

1.1. Problematic issues

The countries of the European region have now achieved a long and high standard of living with the help of such tools as the promotion of a healthy lifestyle, the development of medicine and an increase in the number of social measures to support the population. However, in parallel with these successes, there are also problems, which are expressed in a decrease in the share of the working-age population and a drop in the birth rate.

In most European countries, there is already a tendency to reduce the population: birth rates are declining, labor migration rates are increasing. Many Governments and experts in the field are concerned about this trend, which has a negative impact on the economy, social systems, infrastructure and national security. It is known that family planning is part of this problem, and, ultimately, leads to a decrease in the birth rate.

This trend can be traced in most EU countries: Italy, Spain-1.2 children per woman, Germany-1.3, Greece-1.4, Switzerland-1.5, France and Denmark-1.7, Ireland-2. The indicators are disappointing, taking into account the fact that there is a tendency to reduce the number of young people [1] (see Fig. 1):

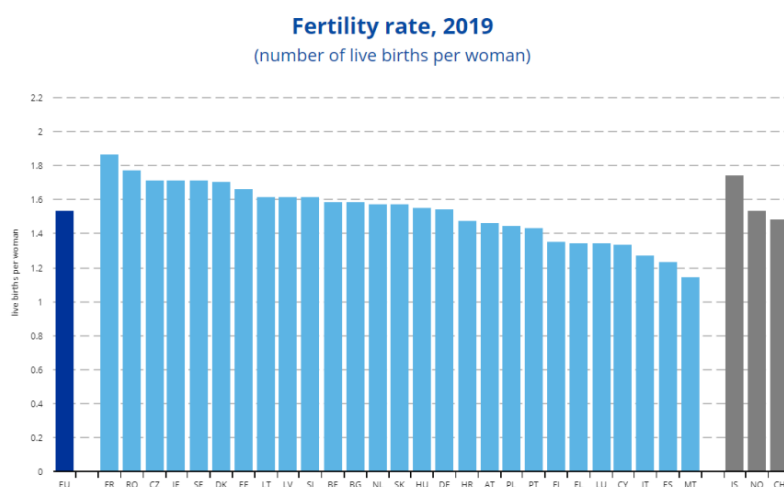


Fig. 1. Fertility rate, 2019 (number of live births per woman).

According to Eurostat data, you can view the share of the population of European origin in the equivalent of the world population: in 1960 – 25%, in 2000-17%. According to the disappointing forecast, in 40 years the figure will be 10 percent. According to 2020, the population was 750 million, compared to the previous year 2019, the natural increase without taking into account the indicators of external migration was approximately 0.09% (700 thousand people). By the end of 2021, it is expected that the natural increase will be negative and will amount to 173,764 people. Consequently, we can expect that last year's data (also excluding the percentage of external migration) will only worsen every year [2]. (see Fig. 2):

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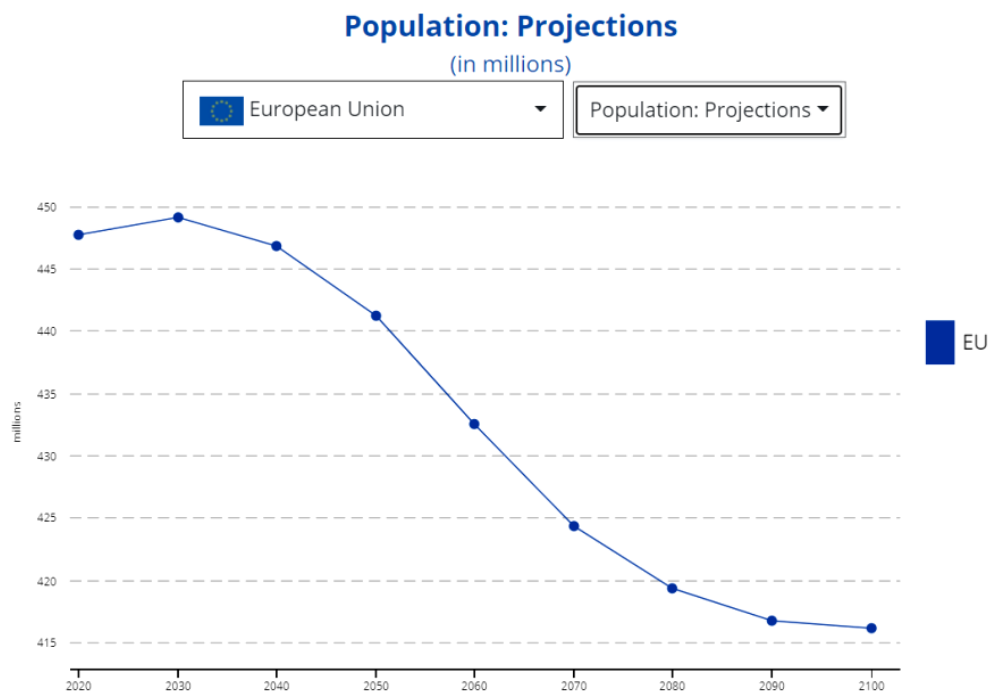


Fig. 2. Population: Projections (on millions).

Also, according to the forecasts of Eurostat, the following countries will face the most serious demographic problems (see Fig. 3):

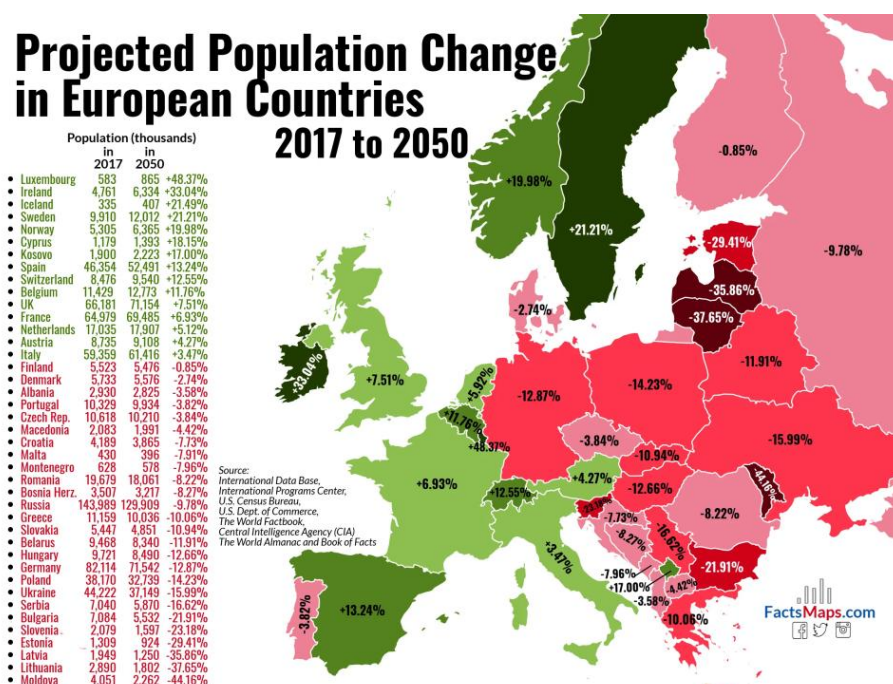


Fig. 3. Projected Population Change in European Countries 2017 to 2050.

The “Economic locomotive of Europe” is Germany, which shows a tendency to reduce the population by 12.87%, by 2060 the expected forecast is a reduction from 82 million to 70 million people. The aging trend of the population will increase by 13%.

The problem area, in particular, includes the countries of Eastern Europe: Poland, Romania, Hungary, the Czech Republic.

Such countries as: Luxembourg, Ireland, Iceland, Sweden, Norway, Cyprus, Kosovo, Spain, Belgium, France, the Netherlands, Austria and Italy have comforting forecasts [1].

It is expected that for some time to come, the category of "working-age population" will include European residents who were born in the post-war period of the "baby boom", starting from the late 1950s of the twentieth century, as most countries in the European region are undergoing reforms and amendments to pension and social legislation. These actions of governments are very consistent, because we can see that every year, as the population ages, the burden on the part of the budget that was allocated for the payment of pensions, benefits, support for young families to increase the birth rate, improve and improve health systems, and so on increases, that is, this is

"social money". If the majority of the working-age population is expected to retire by 2050, then the governments of European countries will have to take tougher measures, as the business and tourism sectors of their countries will face a catastrophic shortage of skilled labor.

Accordingly, it can be assumed that measures such as raising the retirement age and revising social policy will help to slow down the growth of negative indicators.

In fact, the reasons that lead to such consequences are quite interrelated: the average life expectancy increases, the average age of parents increases, the population ages, and, as a result, the share of the working-age population becomes less and less. Moreover, it should be borne in mind that the lack of economic stability is not considered a rarity for the XXI century, and therefore young people before getting married and having children think about all the details, weigh all the pros and cons, and often come to the conclusion that they should wait to start a family, as it requires a lot of moral and financial costs. Thus, in a market economy, the "price of a child" increases sharply.

In addition, as we have been shown by indicators since the 1990s, it is the migration process that can be considered a potential lifeline for the "sinking ship". According to Eurostat, the countries that most often receive migrants are Germany, Spain, France, Italy and Poland, that is, mainly from the western part of the continent, which shows us a depressing picture of the eastern part (see Fig. 4):

Immigration (online data code: TPS00176)
Source of data: Eurostat

Settings: Default presentation

Table Line Bar Map

TIME	2016	2017	2018	2019
GEO				
Germany (until 1990 former territory of the FRG)	1 029 852 (b)	917 109 (be)	893 886 (be)	886 341 (be)
Spain	414 746	532 132	643 684	750 480
United Kingdom	588 993	644 209	603 953 (p)	600 906
France	377 709	369 621	387 158	385 591
Italy	300 823	343 440	332 324	332 778
Poland	208 302 (ep)	209 353 (ep)	214 083 (ep)	226 649 (ep)
Netherlands	189 232	189 646	194 306	215 756
Romania	137 455	177 435 (e)	172 578 (e)	202 422 (e)
Belgium	123 702	126 703	137 860	150 006
Switzerland	149 305	143 377	144 857	145 129
Greece	116 867 (b)	112 247	119 489	129 459
Sweden	163 005	144 489	132 602	115 805
Austria	129 509	111 001	105 633	109 167
Czechia	64 083	51 847	65 910	105 888
Hungary	53 618	68 070	82 937	88 581
Ireland	85 185	78 499	97 712	85 630
Portugal	29 925 (e)	36 639 (e)	43 170	72 725
Denmark	74 383	68 579	64 669	61 384
Norway	61 460	53 351	47 864	48 600
Lithuania	20 162	20 368	28 914	40 067
Bulgaria	21 241 (p)	25 597 (p)	29 559 (p)	37 929 (p)

Fig. 4. Immigration Indikators.

The main reason for this influx of migrants since the 1990s is the economic stability of Western Europe. Migrants from India, Pakistan and Bangladesh in their homeland can not feel safe, find a high-paying job, get social guarantees, and therefore, at the peak of the crisis, massively decide to move and obtain a different citizenship. However, in the following years, it is precisely this "mass" migration that can cause even greater economic destabilization and an increase in contradictions between citizens and conditional "newcomers" [3].

2. Problem of migration

2.1. General picture of the situation in Europe

Migration issues have once again been part of the agenda since 2015, when another wave of refugees from the East and North Africa flooded into Western Europe. The migrants are convinced that a modern and developed Europe, instead of incessant military conflicts, poverty and persecution due to religious beliefs, can offer them at least social security and stability.

The governments of different countries in the European region have previously solved their current problems partly at the expense of migrants, thanks to which, first of all, they could get rid of the acute shortage of labor and the problem of demography. However, the situation began to take on a slightly different character for EU citizens, especially when Germany decided to open its borders to refugees from Syria: the advantages of the Schengen visa allowed, among other things, illegal migrants to transit through Europe to the desired Germany and, as a result, over time it turned into an uncontrolled flow of people moving from East to West. If we take this factor into account, then the discontent of the countries from the eastern part of Europe becomes quite understandable. Moreover, it should be understood that no one has been keeping an accurate count of migrants for a long time, but according to the latest data from Eurostat, their number has already exceeded 2 million people. These figures are far from accurate, but already very frightening, so the decision to temporarily close their borders to free entry was made by Austria, Slovenia and Italy.

As for the countries of Eastern Europe, they categorically refused to financially support and accept on their territory a large number of refugees from Syria, Libya, Yemen and other African and eastern countries, so the German government led by Frau Merkel had to show even greater loyalty and accept about 40% of the total number of refugees. But it seems to us that the chancellor of the main country of the European Union will have to solve two

additional problems: an excessive burden on the federal budget; nationalism and the manifestation of intolerance towards all representatives of non-German nationality.

But the position of the Eastern European countries, which have closed their borders to migrants and refugees, is also quite understandable. Among such a huge flow of people, there are also illegal migrants who go to Europe not for a better life and are the cause of the deterioration of the overall situation. Therefore, the authorities decided to protect themselves from problems and protect their country from such negative phenomena as terrorist acts and an increase in the crime rate. However, there are many more such phenomena and causes, so we should consider some of them in a little more detail:

1. Illegal migrants. Illegal immigrants can be called a kind of concomitant factor of the part of migrants who go through all the difficulties in order to then receive official status and social protection from their new government. The number of illegal immigrants does not lend itself to any official calculations when compiling any statistics on this issue. But nevertheless, this does not negate the fact that on arrival they expect to get clothes, food and a roof over their heads, so one way or another, they affect the state of the economy and the social sector and completely ignore them will not work.

2. Demographic problem. Here, the vision of the problem depends, most likely, on which side we consider it: the authorities or the citizens. As previously mentioned, with the help of large families of refugees from the East and North Africa, the governments of the countries plan to maintain and gradually improve the situation in the field of fertility, population aging and the labor market. It is obvious that Europeans will not be happy with this state of affairs, because according to all forecasts, in a few years the share of migrants can be compared with the share of the indigenous population in most Western European countries.

3. Security issue. It was expected that due to such a large number of illegal migrants, the crime rate would also increase. In many large cities in Germany and Sweden, people are already afraid to go out alone in the dark, which could not be observed earlier. The European media is often now full of headlines that "persons of Eastern or African nationality have robbed or raped our citizens." There were also more frequent cases of riots and fights with the police near the refugee camps. But this is a consequence of the crimes and terrorist attacks that have already taken place in Berlin, Munich, Vienna, Nice and Paris.

4. Problems in the economic sector. Economic problems in most countries (especially in Eastern Europe) began to arise due to the fact that the budget was simply not ready to take on the sudden huge additional burden due to newly arrived citizens, who, at least for the first time, must be provided with housing, food and basic medicine. Because of this, the government of most countries from the western part of the continent was forced to deal not with the approval of the new budget, but with the redistribution of the previous one. They believed that the best solution would be to reduce the budget for social support of citizens in favor of migrants. According to official data, the EU spent about 5 billion euros on providing for refugees in 2015 alone. euro. Naturally, this state of affairs can not please the holders of passports of European countries, so it is not surprising that they are increasingly taking to the streets and taking part in mass strikes.

5. Destabilization of society. This process is due to the fact that migrants do not seek cultural integration and rapprochement with the indigenous population after their arrival. They eventually create their own neighborhoods like "Chinatown" and live in comfort with their compatriots, while maintaining their traditions and already familiar way of life [4].

2.2. Main methods and routes

Now let's look at the routes of migrants and refugees. For them, there are three main ways to get to Europe: an official tourist visa, false permits, and illegal border crossing.

In most cases, the final destination of migrants remains Germany. Due to the location of Germany in the heart of Europe, refugees and illegal migrants are forced to build more complex routes and cross the borders of several states at once to achieve their goal. There are several sustainable routes:

1. From North Africa to Spain and then through France to Italy;
2. From Libya directly to Italy;
3. From Turkey through the borders of Greece and Bulgaria to the Balkan Peninsula. And on it through Serbia, Montenegro, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Albania and Macedonia in the direction of Slovenia and Hungary [5].

Sea routes, as expected, turned out to be the most unsafe. In 2015, during the peak of the problem of refugees and illegal migration, more than 3,000 people drowned in the waters of the Mediterranean Sea. But again, it is worth mentioning that the exact count of the number of illegal migrants is not conducted, and the dead even more so.

The final destination of such long and complex routes, in addition to Germany, are Austria and Sweden. Faced with such an unexpectedly large number of migrants, Germany tried to return them to the first EU country they arrived in, while promising its closest partners mandatory financial support for their temporary detention. However, the responses were expected to be negative, and Italy, in addition to refusing to accept refugees back to its territory, threatened to close not only the sea, but also the air borders of its country.

As a result, to date, most of the refugees are located in the border areas of Greece and Turkey, which undoubtedly causes dissatisfaction with local residents and municipal authorities, especially after the European Commission cut funds for the construction and maintenance of camps for refugees from Syria, Libya and Yemen.

2.3. Migration and refugees in Eastern Europe

At first glance, the situation with the migration flow on the European continent seems hopeless, but everything is quite ambiguous, if only because migration in Eastern Europe has its own characteristics:

1. Residents of neighboring territories and countries often change their place of residence here. This can be explained by geographical proximity and similarity of culture. For example, Poles, Ukrainians and Bulgarians often move to the Czech Republic and Portugal, and Romanians to Hungary.

2. Eastern Europe is dominated by migrant workers, who usually come for a short period of time in search of temporary or seasonal work, earn money, return to their homeland and live comfortably for a while.

3. Migrant workers try to take the maximum benefit from staying in more prosperous countries or regions, that is, as mentioned earlier, they earn in one country, and live and spend their earnings in another. This is due to the fact that the wages and the level of economic development in the homeland of migrant workers leaves much to be desired.

The attitude towards migrants in Eastern European countries is very different. For example, Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia are very friendly to immigrants from Ukraine, believing that they can help support the economy and save their rapidly aging countries from demographic imbalances.

Also, in addition to all the above, it is worth considering the fact that today the flow of migrants from the post-Soviet space is gaining momentum again. In recent years, they have also been joined by refugees from Ukraine, who are brought closer to Russia and Poland by linguistic, cultural and

religious ties. But, unfortunately, an unpleasant exception in these cases are illegal immigrants from Central Asia, who arrive, including in Russia.

Moreover, migration from Eastern Europe often takes on an ethnic character. For example, after the collapse of the USSR and the creation of the CIS, ethnic Germans and Jews often began to leave for the West, and the Crimean Tatars, who were evicted during the Second World War, returned to their historical homeland in Crimea [6].

2.4. Figures and conclusions

Migration indicators in different parts of Europe can give us completely different pictures to perceive. For example, in contrast to Central and Western Europe, the Eastern part of the continent, due to its economic and cultural characteristics, received a minimum number of immigrants.

Not the largest number of migrants live on the territory of such countries as Moldova, Bulgaria, Slovakia, Finland and Cyprus. No more than 100-200 thousand migrants live in each of these countries.

Refugees do not seek to go to the Balkan countries, where the infrastructure, social support and economy are not the most developed. According to data for 2018, they found shelter on their territory:

- In Bosnia and Herzegovina-37 thousand;
- In Albania-50 thousand;
- In Montenegro-70 thousand.

It is in these countries that there is an opinion that the real reason for this scale of the migration crisis was not the massive influx of migrants from the Middle East and Africa, but the inability of EU politicians to negotiate among themselves. No one will deny that a competent distribution of refugees across the territory of the EU member states and providing them with the basic necessities of life could prevent the possibility of a migration problem or help control its scale. As a result, it was developed Central Europe that took the brunt, and countries such as Poland, Slovakia, the Czech Republic and Hungary refused to open their borders to refugees at all.

Despite their very radical and right-wing conservative position, during the crisis of 2015, these countries became a haven for refugees and migrants in the following numbers:

- Poland – 600 thousand;
- Hungary – 450 thousand;
- Czech Republic – 405 thousand;
- Slovakia – 235 thousand.

To date, Greece, Italy, Denmark and Austria are beginning to join the camp of countries that have gradually refused to accept refugees and migrants. Faced with the consequences of the influx of new potential citizens, Governments are finally beginning to realize the threat that migrants from Muslim and disadvantaged countries pose to the security and economic stability of the entire European region.

Based on all of the above, we can say that the issue of migration in the European Union is still quite acute and is a stumbling block during discussions among most EU countries and political trends (parties) within them. Many influential Western political parties, mostly liberal, declare the need for an open border policy, while the right-wing forces oppose mass migration and advocate its regulation, and are convinced that Europe as a whole has already managed to accept a sufficient number of migrants. The main argument in favor of the policy of attracting migrants and accepting refugees is the demographic crisis in all EU countries. The negative trend is observed primarily in terms of birth rates: there are fewer young people and more elderly people, that is, the share of the working-age population is decreasing, which can contribute to replenishing the budget by paying significant taxes. The average age of a European is also growing, which leads to an overall aging of the nation: the average age in Germany is 46.8 years, Italy is 45.1 years, Spain is 42.3 years, and so on, which is contrasted with the population of African countries, where the average age is about 18-19 years, but there life expectancy is much less due to wars, famine and lack of medicine. Thanks to migration, some countries can compensate for the natural decline of the population and attract young, able-bodied migrants from other countries to their lands. A number of Western European countries are already mostly making up for population losses due to migrants, for example, Austria, Spain with low natural growth, as well as Germany and Italy, where this indicator is negative. Natural growth is more or less compensated only in a number of countries, such as Ireland and Cyprus, but this is rather an exception.

As a result of the demographic crisis, states face a number of problems that follow: a shortage of labor, a crisis in the pension system, resulting either in an increase in taxes on the working-age population, or in an increase in the retirement age, difficulties in stable economic growth, and the growth of nationalist sentiments in Eastern Europe.

It seems to us that along with getting rid of the demographic crisis at the expense of migrants and refugees, other problems will also come, including those related to security and interethnic conflicts. Therefore, we are convinced

that politicians, before making a decision and publishing their official position, should once again weigh all the pros and cons and understand what they are willing to sacrifice and what they are not.

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THE RELATION BETWEEN EXIT-VOICE THEORY, EFFECTS OF TRADE UNIONS AND EMPLOYEES' JOB SATISFACTION

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Abstract. *Social-economic conditions of life are changing day by day which causes various adaptation problems. Therefore, people try to choose different alternatives about their lives and conditions. Choices which can be valid in social life, work place, union labor as well as work and life satisfaction are concerned with people's expectations. Some people don't tend to change their conditions and prefer other alternatives, which can be parallel to their own expectations. On the other hand, some people endeavor to make the conditions equal to their satisfactions and demands. For instance, they try to create a livable, acceptable, useful and sustainable conditions to avoid quitting or leaving the current circumstances. The theory of "Exit and Voice" has various effects on both work and life conditions. The effects on the members of trade unions and their work-life satisfaction can be determined by the Exit-Voice Theory. There are two opposite opinions about the effects of trade unions. The opponents of the exit-voice theory claim that the monopolist increase of wages based on trade unions and the restrictive work conditions have negative effects on the efficiency. On the other hand, the advocates of the theory defend that the monopolist escalation of wages based on trade unions cause an increase in efficiency via higher capital and usage of more qualified labor force. Moreover, unionization causes more cases of leaving work; thus, in this case there is an increase in effectiveness by the rational management policies.*

Keywords: *Exit-Voice Theory; Work Conditions; Social Life; Job Satisfaction; Trade Unions*

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Conception of Exit-Voice Theory

An individual, who is in the center of social and working life, realizes his or her original preferences by expressing himself or herself with different perceptions and actions in settled living conditions. The way an individual expresses himself or herself through his or her actions differs, especially in the face of adverse conditions and possible problems. The research focuses on four different behaviors: distance, reaction, loyalty and indifference. Individuals can choose to run away from the problems they experience as well as to show their reactions by choosing to act combatively in the face of problems. Some individuals' sense of loyalty is so developed that they unconditionally accept all kinds of conditions. Some individuals, on the other hand, do not choose the way of expressing themselves with any emotion or behavior and are simply indifferent to problems. These four different behaviors mentioned are not discussed comprehensively in this research; only behavioral preferences in the direction of distancing and reaction, which are two different extreme behaviors, are taken as a basis.

The research discusses the Exit-Voice theory, which was described in the literature* in 1970 under different names such as "either love it or leave it", "collective voice institutional response", "voice response interaction". It describes two possible actions that occur in the negative conditions of the individual. One of the mentioned actions is defined as exit and another one as voice. This study evaluates exit, departure and evaluates the voice called the response. It is not possible to limit the definition of the divergence-response theory by examining a particular field, and it can be related to the distance-reaction theory in many predictable areas of a human life. This study focuses on working life and behavioral preferences of an individual shaped in the working environment, rather than evaluating the joint work and living conditions together and examining each area.

The success or failure of institutions in a working life vary greatly depending on employees working within the institutions and taking part in their continuity and their personality. The internal and external harmony of employees, their ability to act cautiously, their determination, their openness

* This issue, which was brought to the literature by Albert Otto Hirschman, is explained by the author as follows: "Individuals are pushed to react in every way within a company, an organization or a country. One of the main reactions is exit, in other words, leaving the conditions immediately without making any possible effort. Another reaction is the voice, that is, the individual's raising his voice against the conditions he is in, putting his opinion in some way and seeking his right, striving for his interests."

to innovation and learning, and their ability to maintain their relations are important in contributing both to themselves and to the institution they work for. As it can be seen, the positive and constructive behaviors of an employee are prioritized. This shows that relations between the parties can only be positively shaped with constructive approaches. If an employee tends to react instead of escaping when he or she encounters possible problems in his or her working life, it is considered a more effective and constructive behavior. Employees also put their expectations and demands into action with a collective reaction mechanism in order to solve the problems. In this context, the functionality of trade unions is of great importance. By listening to the demands and expectations of employees and putting their problems on their agenda, the unions are attempting to solve possible problems together with the employer. This initiative can be shaped in a positive relationship and give results as well as remain negative and inconclusive. The industrial relations climate, which describes the nature of the relationship between employers and unions is an important variable in this study, because it is assumed that the confrontational or conciliatory characteristics of the industrial relations climate affect the behavior of employees towards withdrawal and reaction. In other words, the assumption that the divergence-response theory is related to the industrial relations climate is based on, and this assumption shapes the purpose of the study. This study tries to explain the avoidance-response preferences of employees conceptually and to reveal which behavior is dominant.

How The Exit Option Works

One of the actions that individuals can put forward for possible problems in all areas of life is to move away. It is useful to examine what the aforementioned distancing behavior means and under what conditions it occurs. If the attitude of an individual towards possible problems is alienation, what we can understand from this orientation is that an individual has a tendency to give up the negative conditions he or she is in without giving any place to struggle, resistance or attempt to put it into order. An individual acts in the direction of both disrupting human relations and leaving the organization which he or she is affiliated to and which he or she has been involved in [1].

It is a situation encountered both within an organization and working conditions and outside the working environment when an individual chooses to walk away by completely closing the communication paths. The examples

show that the behavior towards divergence is a traditional choice, especially in the market order. Customer dissatisfaction with a company products and the dissatisfaction created by the services offered on individuals can be handled in this context [2, p. 191]. For an active individual who is constantly on the alert in the market order, any decrease in quality is noticed much more quickly. These consumers, who have an active role, can turn to other alternatives that will meet their wishes in the face of the decrease in the quality of services offered to them, without wasting time [3, p. 368]. Changing direction in export markets and turning to domestic markets, changing the preference of the products produced, or even going out of the market completely are the results encountered within the behavior of distancing [4, p. 107].

The distancing behavior encountered in the market order is also encountered in human relations. The research results reveal that individuals who experience intense distress and burnout in their relationships exhibit more negative attitudes and rarely take a positive approach to problem solving. Negative behaviors exhibited by individuals such as hostile, authoritarian attitudes, aggressive and oppressive behaviors that adhere to their own truths and reject every positive thought can be given as examples [5, p. 3]. Similarly, individuals who experience intense distress and problems are more confrontational in their lives. In addition to low rates of accommodating and participatory attitudes, it is seen that positive attitudes in both written and behavioral terms are very rare.

According to the results of the research, it is obvious that destructive attitudes towards solving problems in relations between individuals are more dominant than the constructive approaches. From another point of view, the scope of distancing behavior implies not only possible rude and destructive behaviors but also avoiding problem discussion in any way and completely breaking ties without accepting the situation or even ignoring it [6, p. 5]. In my opinion, the rude and uncompromising behavior patterns experienced in the communication and relations of individuals with each other almost become a threat that harms meeting on the common ground, and burnout in communication becomes more felt with these destructive actions. As a social activity that ensures the continuity of life, work, which is one of the most central areas of human life, whose history goes back to the existence of humanity, and work life, which an individual is a part of, emerges as an area where alienation behavior is experienced [7, p. 597]. Although employees are generally satisfied with their job as a whole, they may experience

dissatisfaction with any situation such as physical environment, wages, career and management. This situation negatively affects the performance of both employees and an organization. Based on this negative impact, dimensions are used in assessing job satisfaction: the job itself is handled as wages, promotion opportunities, working conditions, the benefits of the job, relations with co-workers, the values that the person has, job security and the relations of the employee with the managers [8].

The problems experienced in terms of these factors that determine satisfaction push the individual away from the organization, and in this context, the strong relationship between absenteeism and job satisfaction can be mentioned. Namely, low job satisfaction is in a parallel relationship with high employee turnover rates. Low job satisfaction reveals low sense of commitment and low commitment reveals high absenteeism [9]. Dealing with possible dissatisfactions and problems in working life under the umbrella of industrial relations makes the issue clear in order to associate the alienation behavior with a specific variable. In this way, in addition to the employee-employer relations for an individual, the relations of union-workers come into play. It is of great importance for a worker that the union can keep its fields of activity wide and play an active role. However, otherwise, it can negatively affect an employee's view of the union. Although the aims and duties of the union seem to be to protect the interests of its members in a narrow sense, the union actually aims to meet the collective and social needs of a large social group and to ensure their development. Ultimately, it takes the character of an intermediary institution that works for the public order and benefit by establishing a balance that will prevent the oppression of a worker or the disruption of the social order due to disagreements between an employer and workers [10, p. 436]. If the union puts this function within the narrow molds of a union understanding that deals only with wage problems, it may face the behavior of alienation from its members. The inability of the unions to respond to member demands and expectations and their transformation into only specialist accounting organizations, the fact that they have lost their credibility on their members, the workers' sense of solidarity diminishing over time and seeking an individual way out, along with the sterilization of intra-union life, are the symptoms of alienation behavior [11].

The fact that the sense of loyalty, commitment and responsibility towards the union are not developed also brings about the choice of alienation for the union member, who cannot find what he is looking for on behalf of his

rights and interests, and leads to other alternatives. When examined in terms of industrial relations climate, the nature of the relationship between an employer and a worker, emerges. The conflicting nature of this relationship is parallel to the distancing behavior. When it comes to the conflictive industrial relations climate which includes hostility, distrust and disagreements the indigestible and at the same time uncontrollable hostility of the parties reveals the behavior of distancing. Factors such as an employer's point of view towards unionization and the ideological attitude of the confederation which a union is affiliated to affect the nature of the industrial relations climate and possible negative interactions prepare the ground for the behavior of alienation.

How The Voice Option Works

There may be an action in response to possible problems that individuals may encounter in the social order which they are a part of, and situations that do not occur in line with their expectations. In this situation, it is expected that individuals who are dissatisfied and whose expectations are not met will choose the way of correcting their negative conditions by communicating. It is possible to talk about the interaction within the market order in the reaction action as in the act of distancing. That is, customer satisfaction or dissatisfaction with the products of a company can be shown as an example in this context, as well as the satisfaction or dissatisfaction created by organizations that provide benefits and services to their members, such as voluntary organizations, unions or political parties that are not directly expressed in monetary return can be obtained. Each of the mentioned examples can be evaluated as areas where the response perceptions of individuals come into play.

It is possible to explain the individual's reaction paths as individual and collective reactions. As individual reactions; it is preferred to resort to a complaint way regarding the current problem, to make a counter-notification regarding this problem, to negotiate bilaterally, and to reach an agreement in order to meet with another party on the time and quality of production when there is a problem regarding production and consumption preferences within the market order [12, p. 361]. The individual's collective response can be voting on the relevant situation or participating in the collective reaction as a member of an organization because in this case unions step in and play a functional role. Compared to this collective reaction, which is activated through the union, and the choice of individually voicing complaints and improving conditions, it is thought that the collective reaction has troublesome sides. It

can sometimes be difficult in case of problems to meet on a common denominator, to define the problem in the same way and to produce the same solution. For this reason, it is thought that individuals respond more quickly and easily. In the response approach, which is also encountered in human relations, it is a question of trying to improve the conditions in an effective and constructive way. According to the studies, discussing the problems results in reconciliation, seeking the support and help of a friend or therapist, trying to eliminate the problem, producing solutions, and changing the thoughts of the person or the opposing viewpoint [1, p. 222]. In this sense, the response approach is described as a constructive approach.

The constructive approaches by choosing the way of reaction find themselves in the working environment, as well as in the market order and human relations in social life. Every individual has a responsibility towards his or her profession. Sometimes the working conditions may not be at the expected level, but when the existing sense of responsibility comes into play, an effort is made to improve the situation, even if the conditions are opposite to what is expected. In this case, separation is not seen as a solution, and the sense of commitment comes into play. Since each profession has ethical values and principles specific to its field of activity, a sense of commitment is fed from the understanding of shared responsibility in the working environment, and as a result, a constructive reaction occurs [13, p. 190]. If an individual with the title of a worker experiences problems in his or her working life, his sense of responsibility and commitment to his job can prevent the deterioration of his or her relations with the employer. However, it is also possible for a worker, whose problems continue, to resort to alternative solutions. It is possible for a worker to resort to a collective reaction by relying on the representative power of the union in order to eliminate the dissatisfaction experienced by the problems mentioned. In this way, workers can demand that negative conditions are improved in line with their own expectations. In this context, it is possible to place the feeling of satisfaction of a worker in a unionized context. It is argued that union membership, which is a means of collective response as well as restoring job satisfaction, is inversely related to the turnover rate, that is, when it comes to job satisfaction and union membership, labor turnover does not occur. Based on this situation, it is thought that union participation eliminates the intention to leave the job, and this active role of the unions interacts with the reaction mechanism.

This mechanism, which operates under the union roof, where the right to vote in a democratic sense is exercised, demands can be expressed through

negotiations; the services and rights offered are protected and developed, taking into account the determinants of workers' satisfaction (wages, working conditions, relations with the management, etc.) and turning all conditions into opportunities and loyalty to the union for the purpose of strengthening. In the light of this purpose, it can be said that unions are a means of making a collective voice or in other words, a reaction tool. Being a union member is considered as a reaction of workers to intimidation, dissatisfaction and alienation from work in the working environment [14]. In this way, workers who are members of the union create a collective voice against the employer and in this way try to eliminate the situations that cause job dissatisfaction due to their income level, job, working conditions and not being able to participate in the decision-making processes in the workplace. In a unionized firm, the union considers all workers while stating the demands at the negotiating table; therefore, it represents the demands of both workers who are inclined to leave the workplace and those who are not. The union participation of workers determines the scope of the reaction approach, and the functionality of the unions in this sense becomes a feature that makes the specific field of work clear [15].

Relationship Between Individual Behavior, Union Organization and Job Satisfaction

Examining individual's abandonment of living like a robot, moving away from claiming his or her own freedom and rights, and losing his or her mental and emotional abilities, Fromm allows us to look from a different perspective in terms of distancing and reacting. He explains that an individual, who is almost hungry for life and what life will bring, stays away from life so much that external forces constantly try to keep individuals under control, and they do not react to this situation. Thus, it refers to the fact that individuals, in isolation from the world and society they live in, become helplessly submissive. In other words, they prefer to remain passive [16, p. 554]. On the other hand, individuals want to express their thoughts in every sense and to show their reactions in some way, thus, they use active solutions. According to the theory of distancing and reaction, which is considered conceptually, although the individual, who is the basic building block of society, carries different aspects of human beings by forming human communities, each individual has his or her own distinctive features. Based on the individual distinctive features, it is possible to present different individual reactions in the current conditions, through a figure [17, p. 10].

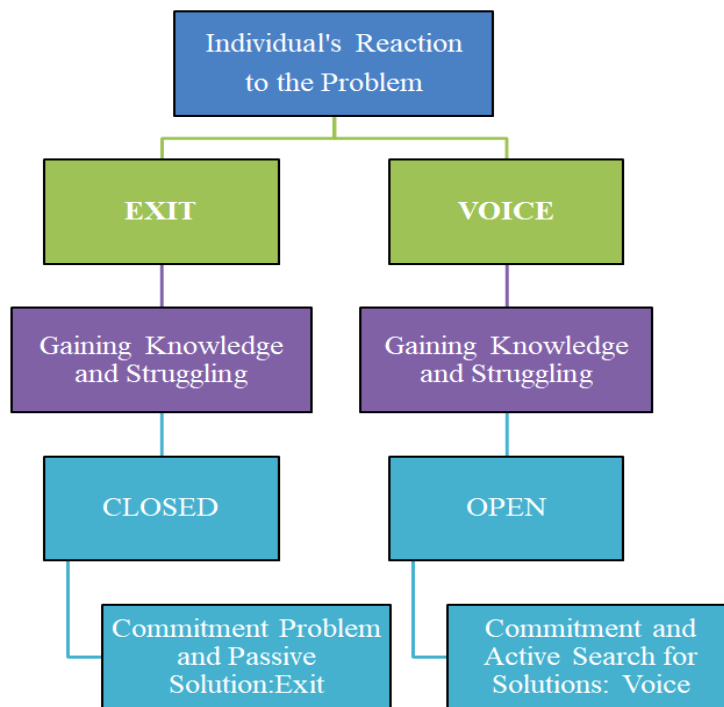


Fig. 1. Individual's Reaction to the Problem.

As it can be seen from the figure, when the attitude of an individual encountering a problem is in the direction of distance, it is seen that he or she keeps the ways of obtaining information and struggle closed, and chooses to get away from the problem by resorting to a passive solution in the face of the problem and completely escape it. This attitude of an individual also reveals the problem of commitment. On the other hand, an individual who does not avoid facing the possible problem, goes to the path of struggle and continues his or her commitment. Considering the individual's behavior patterns in the work order that will be examined in order to embody in a specific area, the expectation of treating fully rather than soothing constitutes the main reaction area of an individual. In the face of negative and undesirable conditions that make it impossible for them to have the feelings of permanent satisfaction, if individuals prefer to stay rather than walk away, they go to the way of making their voice heard in a way and enter into expectations. In this context, the collective reaction and the functionality of the unions come to the fore.

It is an inevitable and predictable result that a worker, who intends to leave the working environment due to his or her dissatisfaction, refer to alternatives that can provide satisfaction in line with his or her own demands. Because of the disagreement between workers and their employers in the workplace they are affiliated with and the separation of the expectations of

both parties after a point the way opens for a worker to seek better opportunities [18, p. 337]. In addition to this behavior called alienation, employees' discussion of the mandatory conditions with their employer rather than quitting job and openly expressing dissatisfaction is called reaction. Response is accepted as a direct communication tool used to bring real and desired conditions closer together. In this sense, a worker, who prefers to express dissatisfaction openly to the employer, prefers to act collectively and react collectively in order to get more effective results. In other words, it is possible for workers to adopt a union approach and resort to collective solutions instead of turning to possible alternatives. It is a situation that primarily appeals to their own rights and interests that workers, who have the freedom of choice, choose the way of responding collectively rather than individually in line with their needs. In working life, many workers prefer to organize in order to guarantee their individual rights and benefits, as well as the benefits they can obtain, because they have an important advantage such as collective bargaining through the unions they are members of [19]. However, when it comes to workers who do not accept union participation as an important and effective way and show an attitude to stay away, it is in question to distinguish between advantageous and disadvantaged groups. This distinction refers to the difference between groups with low advantage that seek to obtain individual benefits under their limited circumstances, and groups of unionized workers who have more advantages because they prefer to act collectively.

According to Akat, they can endure with support from those at work. A handler can be designed to make use of the beneficiary. This educational labor does not provide a basic income [20, p. 745]. Since it is possible to talk about union existence in an order where industrial relations and democracy exist. The fact that workers are not isolated from the society they live in, that they can sometimes use their right to vote and participate in the voting by reacting, and that they tend to create a democratic process by maintaining their rights in the workplace environment at the bargaining level, create a process that nourishes both the order in which the workers live and themselves. From another point of view, it may be possible to use distancing as a means to achieve the goal. Due to personal preferences of a worker having problems in the working environment, an employer may lose an employee. Although this possibility is an important experience and recovery process for the business, the resulting financial losses show the static and dynamic effects

of the choice to move away. Namely, workers prefer not to leave the company, to force the conditions and to give a collective reaction through their unions, and when their expectations are not met, they leave their job using it as a tool. In this way, they attract the attention of the employer and accelerate his/her attention to these problems. This increase in the collective bargaining tendency of the workers, strengthens their feelings of satisfaction and trust [21, p. 1].

If a general evaluation is made, it can be seen that a service provided to a worker has an adverse effect instead of satisfaction. As a result, a worker completely abandons the service offered to him, while the understanding of commitment is interrupted; workers express their dissatisfaction, resort to complaints and protest ways by staying true to the conditions and environment they are in, and find a solution. It maintains its sense of commitment, albeit by resisting conditions on its behalf. In other words, in case of dissatisfaction with a situation due to the feeling of frustration or the later developments in the organization and still staying in the organization, an employee either obeys the work order and shows the required performance or engages in behaviors that disrupt the work order. The results of these two approaches demonstrated by workers vary in terms of the exposed party. In this sense, according Hirschman, while the preference for distancing is an effective mechanism in some organizations, the preference for reaction can be a more effective behavior in some organizations in terms of preventing damage to the continuity of the organization [12, p. 361].



Fig. 2. The Functionality of Unions within the Exit-Voice Theory.

The preference of workers to "exit" without changing or improving the conditions they are in affects the business performance and the perspective of the business owner. The workers who prefer the "voice" way receive significant support from their unions and prefer this way by relying on the unions. Rather than providing incentives for workers to leave the workplace, unions aim to collaborate with the management on a common ground in order to change the applied production methods, while ensuring this, to strengthen the cooperation and morale of workers. Unions, as the voice of the majority, address the demands of all workers and convey this to the management [22,

p. 22]. Another important issue in this context is the relationship between business management and unions. The relationship between the business management and the unions can provide a process that can be found on a common ground and carried out in parallel with each other, low turnover rates of workers, high commitment, and thus, high satisfaction and productivity.

Conclusion

Individuals may encounter some problems in the social order they live in, in their social lives and working environments, and they approach problems with different perceptions. These perceptions, which are considered as alienation and reaction, are both contradictory in themselves and differ from individual to individual. Individuals carry various adjectives in their social lives such as a friend, a spouse, a customer. An individual may encounter problems at different times but in the same living conditions with each of his or her attributes and act with the perceptions of distancing and reaction. This research examines a title of workers in their working life rather than the adjectives describing their social life as well as their perspective to the problems in the working life and perceptions of alienation-reaction.

Albert O. Hirschman's concepts of exit and voice mainly describe the basic response options for members of groups and organizations in the face of deterioration of products or services. Exit and voice are the two main options. Whereas the exit option is a feature typical of economic mechanisms, voice belongs more appropriately to the political world. Hirschman's theory is due to the fact that it can neutralise within certain limits the tendency of the most quality – conscious customers or members to be the first to exit. This means that it can induce members to non-exit if also existing conditions made the exit option convenient. When members have nothing to lose by exiting the system, the exit option has no costs and loyalty makes no sense. However, voice is another name of determination. The members of society who belongs not only the workplace but also the social life are potential factors of the exit voice theory. According to the declaration of Marshall "To treat is better than to alleviate.", the theory finds the meaning again. People always want to feel satisfaction but it is not possible for all conditions of life. When a person comes against a position which makes him/her feel dissatisfied, the way of exit cannot be a certain solution. But endeavouring with worse and negative conditons and trying to make them better, liveable, acceptable and sustainable has certain effects.

The solutions which can be effective for short time can never be a factor of satisfaction. However, the long term solutions ensure satisfaction. People have independence in society to make decisions, so the option which is useful for the rights and benefits of a person must be chosen carefully. There are two alternatives for people's choices. One of them is to deny the facts and "exit" and another one is accept the facts, endeavour and use "voice."

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“IN THIS WORLD”: AN ANALYSIS IN THE LIGHT OF AGAMBEN AND BUTLER

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Abstract. *In a neoliberal world of global lawlessness and erosion of civil liberties, how do undocumented migrants survive on the borders of legality and illegality? Michael Winterbottom's movie “In This World” exemplifies this effort of survival and documents the journey of two Afghan children from Pakistan to United Kingdom. In this paper, I analyze the movie with Agamben's and Butler's concepts and theories of paradox of sovereignty, state of exception, homo sacer, subjection, power, and agency. In the relation between law and migrants, I focus on both directions: what does law make with the migrants and what do migrants make with the law? On the one hand, in line with Agamben, I argue that sovereign powers –that have the legal power to suspend the validity of the law– construct migrants as homo sacer whose bodies are biopolitical. On the other hand, in line with Butler, I argue that migrants turn to law and apply for legal status in order to be recognized as subjects and to claim their subjectivity. I claim that refugees turn to power and law of the state in order to be recognized as subjects whereby they experience both subjection and subjectivation. However, this turn is contextual; they can prefer not to turn, because they are not completely powerless as imagined according to the binary logic. The*

reality is rather rhizomatic, where there are gray areas of power instead of black and white logic of the root-tree. Bringing together the literatures on law and society, political theory and international migration, this paper aims to contribute to the discussions of everyday experiences of migrant legality.

Keywords: Undocumented Migrants; Agamben; Butler; Legality; Law

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1. Agamben: Paradox of Sovereignty, State of Exception, and Homo Sacer

The most general issue Agamben problematizes is the ambivalence that modernity brings, although modernity promises to erase ambivalence and categorize everything. Modern law promises justice and order through public secular reason; however, Agamben proposes to understand the law from outside of its myth. In order to do so he reviews the distinctions of *zoe-bios* and *oikos-polis* and Foucault's conception of biopolitics. He attempts to "correct" or at least "complete" Foucault, "*in the sense that what characterizes modern politics is not so much the inclusion of zoe in the polis*" [6, p. 9]. Instead he argues the decisive fact is that the realm of bare life gradually begins to coincide with the political realm. Agamben questions the relation between politics and life and asks why Western political system constitutes itself through an exclusion, which is an inclusion at the same time, of bare life.

In this relation between politics and life, sovereignty rises as the prominent issue. Agamben argues that "*the production of a biopolitical body is the original activity of sovereign power*" [6, p. 6]. Hence, he emphasizes that the inclusion of bare life in the political realm is central to sovereignty. He claims that "*the problem of sovereignty was reduced to the question of who within the political order was invested with certain powers*" [6, p. 12]; however, in our age when the great state structure enters into a process of dissolution he finds that it is necessary to look at sovereignty from a new perspective. Through Carl Schmitt's definition of sovereignty ("Sovereign is he who decides on the state of exception") he connects this discussion to the paradox of sovereignty.

What is meant by the paradox of sovereignty is the fact that "*sovereign is, at the same time, outside and inside the juridical order.*" "*The sovereign, having the legal power to suspend the validity of the law, legally places himself outside the law*" [6, p. 15]. Thus, when the sovereign suspends the validity of the law in the case of the exception, what the sovereign does is not illegal. And when

there is an exception, law covers it as an exception; it is not the case that there is no law. Agamben states that as *“if exceptional measures are the result of periods of political crisis ... then they find themselves in the paradoxical position of being juridical measures that cannot be understood in legal terms”* [7, p. 1].

In other words, *“the rule applies to the exception in no longer applying, in withdrawing from it”* [6, p. 18]. So, the exception is a kind of exclusion, yet he who is an exception is not simply excluded. He is not *“simply set outside the law and made indifferent to it but rather abandoned by it, that is, exposed and threatened on the threshold in which life and law, outside and inside, become indistinguishable”* [6, p. 28]. As far as the state of exception is suspension of the juridical order, it defines the threshold of the law. There is a division in the literature between those who include the state of exception within the sphere of juridical order and those who see it extrajudicial. In response to this division, Agamben argues that *“in truth the state of exception is neither external nor internal to the juridical order, and the problem of defining it concerns precisely a threshold, or a zone of indifference, where inside and outside do not exclude each other but rather blur with each other”* [7, p. 23]. Here there is the connection to his next argument that exception and rule, outside and inside pass through one another. In the state of exception, circles of the state of nature and of the state of law manifest themselves being in fact inside each other. Lastly, when the exception becomes the rule, the two circles coincide in absolute indistinction [6, p. 38].

After this discussion of the state of exception Agamben discusses the problem of constituting power and its relation to constituted power as an illustration of paradox of sovereignty. It is imagined that constituted powers exist inside the state, but constituting power is situated outside the state [6, p. 39]. However, although the constitution should be a constituted power by virtue of being written by those who are in power, *“the constitution presupposes itself as constituting power and, in this form, expresses the paradox of sovereignty in the most telling way”* [6, p. 40].

Agamben carries this “unresolved dialectic” to a more philosophical level and discusses the relation between potentiality and actuality. He argues that *“potentiality maintains itself in relation to actuality in the form of its suspension; it is capable of the act in not realizing it, it is sovereignly capable of its own im-potentiality”* [6, p. 45]. That is, the sovereign power puts itself in such a way that even if it does not realize itself in actuality, it maintains itself forever as ready to apply. Hence follows the idea that *“obedience precedes the*

institutions that make it possible” [6, p. 48]. It could be said that people obey the rules set by the sovereign power because of their fear that the potential punitive and even violent power may actualize itself.

Agamben gets into the issue of violence at the end of this whole discussion of the logic of sovereignty. He states that *“the violence exercised in the state of exception clearly neither preserves nor simply posits law, but rather conserves it in suspending it”* [6, p. 64]. It is again imagined that violence is outside of the realm of law and people are encouraged to apply to legal mechanisms instead of violence. However, when the sovereign appeals to violence, if we think it in relation to the state of exception, then *“sovereign violence opens a zone of indistinction between law and nature, outside and inside, violence and law”* [6, p. 64].

Physical violence means to threaten someone with death. Thus, if the sovereign power appeals to violence then the principle of the sacredness of life is of no use to clarify the link between bare life and sovereign power [6, p. 66]. Here, Agamben claims that the principle of the sacredness of life has become too familiar to us and proposes to investigate the origin of the dogma of the sacredness of life. He goes back to the archaic Roman law and introduces *“Homo Sacer”*: the one who committed a crime and whose sacrifice is permitted, *“yet he who kills him will not be condemned for homicide”* [6, p. 71]. Sacrifice here is taken as something for the purpose of the collectivity; however, it does not count when Homo Sacer dies, because his life in the political community does not count. Agamben divides here the world into two realms as the human realm and the divine realm. Those who are Homo Sacer or those who are in the state of exception are put in between and actually outside of these two realms, which implies their ambiguity. Agamben claims that their life is captured in the sovereign sphere and hence ties the discussion back to the argument of sovereignty: bare life or sacred life *“constitutes the first content of the sovereign power”*, *“in this sense the production of bare life is the originary activity of sovereignty”* [6, p. 83].

2. Butler: Subjection, Power, and Agency

The topic that Butler problematizes is the relation between subject and power. For her power constructs the subject and the subject starts its life by submitting to power through an interpellation and discursive productivity [10, p. 10]. Hence, she asks what kind of a psychic form the power takes. She refers to Althusser’s example of the person who turns to the call of the policeman on the street. Althusser says there that subordination of the subject occurs via

language namely via the call of the authoritarian voice. Why does the subject turn to the voice of the law represented by the policeman? Althusser's model of power attributes a performative power to this voice.

Butler argues that one is dependent to subjection as a result of mechanisms of the power. Hence, what does it mean that in order to continue their own existence one embraces the power which threatens to destroy them? She answers this question with the relation between subjection and subjectivation. She differentiates between individual and subject and argues that no individual can become a subject without experiencing the processes of subjection and subjectivation [10, p. 18]. Even when a subject opposes the subordination they repeat their subjection, because subjection is a power approved by the subject. This approval is the means of becoming a subject. *"For the 'I' to launch its critique, it must first understand that the 'I' itself is dependent upon its complicitous desire for the law to make possible its own existence"* [11, p. 108].

People desire to remain alive, so they calculate that it is better to be enslaved or subordinate rather than not to be at all. Therefore, Butler claims that *"if the subject can only assure his/her existence in terms of the law, and the law requires subjection for subjectivation, then, perversely, one may (always already) yield to the law in order to continue to assure one's own existence"* [11, p. 112].

Afterwards Butler differentiates between the power imagined as the condition of existence of the subject and the power said to be used by the subject [10, p. 19]. When one shifts from the former to the latter, a potentially productive reversal takes place. She asks how the power on which the subject is dependent for their existence and which they have to reiterate can turn against itself in the course of this reiteration. She claims that it is not the case that the agency of the subject is entirely dependent on its conditions of becoming or these conditions remain always the same in each case of the agency. Power comes before the agency; however, when power is used by the subject, it loses this appearance of coming first. In fact, power is not simply external to subject or before the subject; it can neither be identified solely with the subject. As long as conditions of power continue, they have to be reiterated; the subject is exactly the space of such a reiteration [10, p. 23].

Finally, she asks the question how to strike an oppositional attitude against the power with which one has complicity at the same time. *"Is there a possibility of being elsewhere or otherwise, without denying our complicity in*

the law that we oppose?” [11, p. 130]. Neither is the subject entirely determined by the power nor the subject entirely determines the power. The subject exceeds the logic of either/or, but this exceeding does not mean running away. The subject exceeds exactly that on which they are dependent, so they get their productive energy from this conflict. Thus, the possibility of an oppositional attitude would require a different turn; *“such a turn demands a willingness not to be – a critical desubjection – in order to expose the law as less powerful than it seems”* [11, p. 130].

3. Plot of the Movie “In This World”

At this point it is necessary to summarize the plot of the movie “In This World” [12]. The movie starts in the Shamshatoo refugee camp outside Peshawar in Pakistan, where 53000 Afghan refugees live. The refugee flow from Afghanistan started in 1979 due to the war with the Soviets and continues even today. Most of the children are born in the camp, including Jamal who is the key character in the film. He is a 16-year old orphan who works in a bridge factory and earns less than US\$1 a day. There is also Enayat, who is older than Jamal and whose father and uncle want to send him to London to work. They decide that Jamal goes with him, because he can speak English, whereas Enayat cannot. They find a smuggler who arranges the entire trip to London in return for money. He gives them phone numbers of contact persons, tickets and ID cards and they start their journey.

They first go to Quetta which is a Pakistani city at the border of Iran. On the way to Quetta the policeman at the checkpoint takes them out of the bus and controls their bags. They have to give him Enayat’s walkman as a bribe so that he lets them go. In Quetta, they find a smuggler who exchanges their money from rupee to rial and who promises them a safe border crossing to Iran. They wait ten days in the Iranian city Zahedan and then they are picked up for Tehran. Again, on the way a policeman at the checkpoint understands that they are not Iranians but Afghans and takes them out of the bus. With a small military truck, they are brought back to Pakistan. Then they find the same smuggler, give him their last money and end up in Tehran without being stopped this time.

Jamal and Enayat find their contact person in Tehran and after five days they are hidden in a big truck loaded with oranges and arrive in a Kurdish Iranian border village. A villager keeps them at his home and women and children at home help to care for them. When they leave, they even throw water after them. A child accompanies them while they cross the border on

foot over the snowy mountains in the night. It is too cold and dangerous. When soldiers fire their guns up in the air, the children hide. In the morning they arrive in Turkey. Afterwards they sit in a truck going to Istanbul with a family of a couple and a baby, who say that they are going to Denmark.

When they arrive in Istanbul, a man puts them all together in a flat in Tarlabasi. He makes them work in a workplace, where forks and knives are produced by mostly undocumented workers. One day a man comes and picks them up and they are locked into a container with a number of other people and the container is loaded among other containers into a big ship which goes to Italy. After 40 hours in the small and airless container they all start feeling bad. They scream “stop” and they hit the walls, but it is useless. Enayat dies. When the ship lands in Trieste, Italian workers open the door of the container and find them all fainted or dead.

Jamal wakes up and escapes all alone while Italians are busy with the others. After two weeks we see him selling something like wristlets on the streets. He steals a bag from a restaurant and with the money inside the bag he travels to Paris by train. Then he arrives at Sangatte, which is a refugee camp in France, near the coast of England. He meets there Yusuf, with whom they escape the camp and come to a place where trucks park. Secretly they hold on to the metals under the truck and in such a way they travel to England.

In London, Jamal starts to work in a restaurant where he calls his family back in Pakistan. When they ask about Enayat, he responds “He is not there. He is not in this world.” Here we see the devastated face of Enayat’s father and the refugee camp. At the end it is written that Jamal’s application for asylum was refused in August 2002, but he is temporarily permitted to stay in England. On the day of his 18th birthday he will have to leave London.

4. Analysis with Agamben

Why are refugees appropriate examples to illustrate Agamben’s ideas? Refugees are illustrative, because they are probably “*the ones most affected by the crisis that results in exceptions to the law.*” “*Indeed, in many ways, immigrants reveal the contemporary logic of political power and domination: their situation speaks to the nature of sovereign power as well as the nature of political belonging*” [1, p. 349]. The contemporary popular discourse on sovereignty relies on universal human rights; however, rights are limited with having citizenship. In this respect, migrants without citizenship, especially undocumented or irregular migrants, asylum seekers and refugees pose a challenge to this discourse.

Hannah Arendt [13] points to the paradox: The refugee, who should embody human rights in the most typical way, actually indicates the crisis of the concept of human rights instead. Hence, refugees throw the construction of modern sovereignty into a crisis. Indeed, when sovereignty is in crisis, when it *“begins to break down, the inside and outside of the juridical realm start to blur.”* *“In this space, law is practiced not as the rule, but as the state of exception”* [1, p. 358]. Detention centers where refugees are kept are examples of these spaces of exception. Laws get suspended; refugees become people *“against whom no act appears as a crime.”* They are *“stripped of the qualifications that make them human”* [1, p. 359], hence they can be symbolized by the figure of *Homo Sacer*.

Imagine the movie was only about the Sangatte refugee camp, then I would more easily analyze it and argue that the sovereign is the state of France and homo sacer are the refugees in the camp. I would claim that in Sangatte validity of French law is suspended and *“outside all legal regulation”* refugees are *“rendered invisible to French society”* [1, p. 355]. However, in the movie the “field” of analysis is different. We have to “follow people” during their whole journey, where different dynamics enter the picture, which make the analysis more difficult and complicated.

The first question that comes to my mind is: if refugees are homo sacer, who or what is then the sovereign power? Agamben writes that *“the sovereign is the one with respect to whom all men are potentially homines sacri, and homo sacer is the one with respect to whom all men act as sovereigns”* [6, p. 84]. In my interpretation there is not a single sovereign in the movie. Rather there are different sovereigns in different contexts, places and times: the smuggler who arranges the whole journey to London in return for money, the man who exchanges their money for the journey, the contact people who give them a room to sleep in each city, the policeman at the checkpoint, the state of France in Sangatte camp or the state of Pakistan, Iran and Turkey during the entire journey.

What makes the sovereign the sovereign? Is it only being in the power? No, it is also determining and applying the rules. What are the rules? Rules are the ones of the nation state; for instance, you cannot travel without a passport and visa or you cannot dwell or work somewhere without the permission to do so. However, Jamal can work in the metal workshop in Istanbul or in the restaurant in London in spite of the rules. How to explain this?

Remember Agamben’s argument that *“Western political system does constitute itself through an exclusion, which is an inclusion at the same time,*

of bare life” [6, p. 7]. Jamal is excluded from the rights and opportunities which only citizens, namely those who do not have a bare but political life, can enjoy. On the other hand, he is also included into the system, because he can do all the dirty, dangerous and difficult work, which citizens would not do, in return for a very little money. Hence, he is included as the cheap labor force. But Agamben also argues that *“in truth the state of exception is neither external nor internal to the juridical order, and the problem of defining it concerns precisely a threshold, or a zone of indifference, where inside and outside do not exclude each other but rather blur with each other”* [7, p. 23]. So, Jamal is not included like a citizen but as a cheap labor force; however, his situation is vague and undetermined. He can be fired from the job or be deported from England anytime. His life proceeds in the gray area between legality and illegality, so he lives in a state of exception, in a zone of indifference. What is worse is that the state of exception becomes the rule: in today’s neoliberal world many economies depend on the informal cheap labor force.

The situation that Jamal can be fired from the job or be deported from England anytime can be explained with Agamben’s potentiality-actuality argument: *“potentiality maintains itself in relation to actuality in the form of its suspension; it is capable of the act in not realizing it, it is sovereignly capable of its own im-potentiality”* [6, p. 45]. People usually obey the rules because they fear the punitive power of the sovereign. In the case of Jamal and Enayat, it cannot be said that they do not fear. They do not obey the rules, but they also fear; they are in such a situation, in which it is completely undetermined what the sovereign power will do with them.

At this point I want to go over three sequences of the film and explain them with Agamben’s ideas. The first one takes place in the Iranian city Zahedan. When Jamal and Enayat find the contact person and go to the place where they will sleep for 10 days, the man gives them new clothes and wants them to put them on. He says that they draw a lot of attention with their appearance, and they have to look like Iranians. They object to that but it does not help. I think Agamben’s argument that *“the production of a biopolitical body is the original activity of sovereign power”* [6, p. 6] is explanatory here. Apparently, Jamal and Enayat’s identities are embedded in their bare bodies and their bodies denounce their identities. Their bodies coincide with the political realm. Hence, the first thing that the contact person does is to interfere in their bodies and to render them biopolitical.

The second sequence I want to interpret is the one in which the policeman at the checkpoint on the way to Quetta takes Jamal and Enayat out of the bus and controls their bags. They have to bribe him with Enayat's walkman so that he lets them go. He lets them go although he knows that they are refugees. At that point he is the sovereign and *"the sovereign, having the legal power to suspend the validity of the law, legally places himself outside the law"* [6, p. 15]. From within the myth of law it can be said that the policeman violated the law. But no, if we look from outside of the myth like Agamben does, then we see that the policeman is the sovereign who both determines and applies the rule.

The last sequence to analyze is the one in which Enayat dies. In no other scene of the movie we see that they are exposed to violence. Enayat died, but nobody is responsible of his death, nobody will be punished. If they died when soldiers fired their guns up in the air in the mountains at the border of Turkey, if any contact person in any station used violence or if they were subject to violence in Sangatte refugee camp, none of these acts would be legal but it would not be punished either. Hence, again, they are neither external nor internal to law, so *"sovereign violence opens a zone of indistinction between law and nature, outside and inside, violence and law"* [6, p. 64]. Nobody is punished because of Enayat's death, hence he is a homo sacer: whose life has no value or sacredness and whose sacrifice is permitted, *"yet he who kills him will not be condemned for homicide"* [6, p. 71].

5. Analysis with Butler

Why are asylum seekers or refugees appropriate examples to illustrate Butler's ideas? Asylum seekers are individuals but not subjects in a host country as long as the legal status of refugee is not granted to them. They turn to the call of the power, because only in this way they can be recognized as subjects. They apply to the state in order to get the legal status of a refugee; otherwise they do not have the right to exist in the country. In the movie, Jamal waits in the Sangatte refugee camp in France and he applies for the refugee status in England, where these states are the powers imagined as the condition of existence of the subject.

Jamal's application for asylum is refused in August 2002, but he is temporarily permitted to stay in England. On the day of his 18th birthday he will have to leave London. The movie does not show what happens afterwards; however, it is for sure that he will have to face his legal status again and again every day. Maybe he will have to go to police frequently and he will be

demanded to speak the language of law. He will have to reiterate and perform his legal status hence he will experience the processes of subjection and subjectivation.

Another illustration of Butler's theory could be found in Nathalie Peutz' article *Out-laws: Deportees, Desire, and "The Law"* [14] although she does not refer to Butler. Peutz conducted her research in Somalia and Yemen and interviewed people who had been deported from the United States. They were deported because they "*violated US laws (through illicit acts or illegal residence) but they had also been violated by the law (through indefinite detentions or unlawful deportations)*" [14, p. 183]. Nevertheless, they consistently express their belief in the "rule of law" and wish "to access the US law to their benefit", for this purpose they would return to the US illegally. Peutz states their situation very well: "*What is clear from these deportees' preoccupation with "the law" is that for them the law is not just something contained in books; it is a force which palpably determines their own (il)legitimacy. These deportees did not consider the law to have cast them out; rather, they were cast outside of the law and access to US law (from within the United States) is what they needed to redefine themselves as law-abiding, not 'illegal'*" [14, p. 189]. In order to continue their own existence, they embrace the power which threatens to destroy them. These people feel the need of recognition by the law; hence, again we see a case where people turn to the power for subjectivation.

Butler argues that the possibility of an oppositional attitude would require a different turn; such a turn demands a willingness not to be, namely a critical desubjectivation. This would imply to turn somewhere else than the law, but does Jamal in the movie turn somewhere else? Is he willing not to exist? On the way from Zahedan to Tehran an Iranian policeman at the checkpoint understands that Jamal and Enayat are not Iranians but Afghans, and takes them out of the bus. When the policeman in Iran calls them, they do not want to turn; instead they want to hide themselves. Because they will not ask the Iranian state for asylum, for them it is even better that Iranian state does not recognize them as subjects. However, in England Jamal seeks asylum, for this reason he is willing to turn to power there. He wants that England recognizes him as a subject; he wants to exist in England. He does not want to exist on the way, but he does so in England which leads to the question: Is this attitude something temporary and contextual? I think it can be said that it is contextual that one turns to power or not and the power constructs them as a subject or not.

But do they really have the choice of to turn or not to turn? To what extent can this be called a “critical desubjectivation?” At first sight it looks like they do not have much freedom to choose and they are completely powerless; however, that is not the case. The sovereign power spreads the illusion that it is the one and only power and it wants to have certain and clear categories like citizens and non-citizens under itself; however, again this is not the case in reality. For example, in the movie a single sovereign cannot be determined. There are different sovereigns in different contexts, places and times: the smuggler who arranges the whole journey to London in return for money, the man who sells them money for the journey, the contact people who give them a room to sleep in each city, the policeman at the checkpoint, the state of France in Sangatte camp or the state of Pakistan, Iran and Turkey during the whole way. Moreover, Jamal and Enayat are not always completely powerless; their position changes from context to context.

At this point Deleuze and Guattari’s ideas are helpful for analysis. In *A Thousand Plateaus* [15] they define rhizome as opposed to a tree. Binary logic is the reality of the root-tree. Unlike trees, any point of a rhizome can be connected to anything, which is very different from the tree which fixes an order. Heterogeneity, multiplicity and rupture are some principles of rhizomes. Rhizomes do not have structures; they are made only of lines. They are an antigenealogy, whereas trees have a historical evolutionary development. Deleuze and Guattari claim that “*we’re tired of trees. We should stop believing in trees, roots, and radicles. They’ve made us suffer too much*” [15, p. 15].

In case of refugees, it is imagined similar to the binary logic of a tree that one is either a citizen or not. If you do not have the Iranian ID card, the Iranian policemen kick you out of the border; but if you have an ID card, you can continue your way. However, reality is more rhizomatic; there are different kinds of dynamics functioning. If you have money to bribe the police to let you go, or if you have enough money to give to smugglers, they will make you enter wherever you want to. Smuggling is outside of the tree, it is something exceptional or something illegal in the binary logic of the tree.

Class divisions become visible at this point. Class relations cut the binary logic of being a citizen or not. According to Icduygu and Toktas, “*the overall cost of travel to Turkey for a single transit migrant was around US\$990 and the cost from Turkey to the final destination was estimated at around US\$2800*” [16, p. 32]. Hence, Jamal and Enayat who want to travel from Pakistan to England have to possess approximately US\$3790 per person.

If a refugee has nothing to lose and takes all the risks on the way, how can they possess US\$3790 to give to smugglers? It is argued that “*in the case of Afghan migrants, instead of a cash transaction, their property is confiscated by the smuggler who then finances the migration operation.*” [16, p. 37]. Indeed, in the movie Enayat’s uncle had a shop and although these details are not shown, I guess this shop has been confiscated. Thus, with the power they have thanks to their money, they can oppose the binary logic of the powerful sovereign and the powerless refugee.

There are different sovereigns in different contexts, places and times. For example, what does the power relation between smugglers and refugees look like? Jamal and Enayat are customers, they have money and they buy a service from smugglers; hence they are powerful in this respect. But on the other hand, smugglers are also powerful, because Jamal and Enayat have to do whatever they say: On the way to the border between Iran and Turkey they are forced to hide in a big truck loaded with oranges despite their objections; in the Iranian city Zahedan the contact person gives them new clothes and wants them to put them on to look like Iranians against their will; and in Istanbul they are locked into a small and airless container with a number of other people and loaded among other containers into a big ship to Italy despite the danger of death. While obeying all these they can die –like Enayat did– which is in fact the extent of their powerlessness.

Moreover, there is no homogeneity among smugglers; there are many kinds of smugglers, who have different functions. The picture is not black and white, but there are many gray areas where different realms of power exist. Icduygu and Toktas who conducted fieldwork in Turkey for five years, interviewed many irregular migrants and smugglers and traffickers face-to-face and found out seven categories of smugglers: local initiating smuggler; cashier; guide; local transiting smuggler; middleman; landman, shipman or airman; other intermediaries, handymen and other helpers [16, p. 36]. There are also cases where the intelligence service and the police are involved in the business. These examples prove that instead of the logic of tree, the case is rather rhizomatic in the sense that power relations vary according to the context.

Conclusion

In conclusion, in this paper I have two main arguments. On the one hand, in line with Agamben, I argue that sovereign powers –that have the legal power to suspend the validity of the law – construct migrants as *homo sacer*

whose bodies are biopolitical. On the other hand, in line with Butler, I argue that migrants turn to law and apply for legal status in order to be recognized as subjects and to claim their subjectivity. I claim that refugees turn to power and law of the state in order to be recognized as subjects whereby they experience both subjection and subjectivation. However, this turn is contextual; they can prefer not to turn, because they are not completely powerless as imagined according to the binary logic. The reality is rather rhizomatic, where there are gray areas of power instead of black and white logic of the root-tree.

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“SVENSKHET” CONCEPT AND FORMATION OF A NEW SWEDISH IDENTITY

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Abstract. People’s understanding of “Swedish” has evolved over the course of history, but the realization of the existence of “Swedish” took place only in the XIX century along with the formation of a nation-state. The reasons for this were the Great French Revolution, the War of Independence of the United States, unsuccessful policy of Gustav IV Adolf, crop failure in 1808, the war on two fronts against Denmark and Russia, loss of Finland in 1809, which led to the flourishing of Swedish nationalism. Cultural figures, especially the Yotsk’s community, contributed to the consolidation of “typical” ideas about “Swedes” and “Swedish”, provoking nostalgic sentiments for unprecedented times and phenomena in society. The exact content of “Swedish” cannot be determined. The article examines the history of the concept, which makes it possible to understand that ideas about “Swedish” are changing under the influence of domestic and foreign political events. They also differ depending on the individual qualities of each person: gender, class, life experience, etc. One of the important factors of change is the sense of the «identity» threat, leading to a decrease in the inclusiveness of “Swedish”. Nevertheless, after each

radicalization leading to a narrowing of the understanding of “Swedish” in society, a sense of the threat to identity weakening emerges and “Swedish” expands again. Thus, several periods of “Swedish” understanding of radicalization have been noted throughout the history. This confirms the variability of «Svenskhet», proves that this is a construct. Nevertheless, the elements of «Svenskhet» are: appearance, citizenship, family ties, cultural acceptance and the knowledge of traditions, language skills, birth in Sweden. The selection of these criteria occurs in most cases due to a lack of the construct understanding essence, and often leads to manipulation attempts in the political sphere. At present, attempts to carry out these manipulations have sharply escalated. Another surge of debates on the topic occurred in connection with the unsuccessful implementation of multicultural policy, migration crisis, the problems of European integration and globalization deepening. The society’s defensive reaction to the identity crisis was the actualization of the debate about «Svenskhet», attempts to clearly define it, and highlight the elements.

Keywords: Sweden; “Svenskhet”; Swedish Identity; Migration Crisis; Collapse of Multiculturalism Policy

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Introduction

The concept of «Svenskhet» has once again become extremely relevant in Swedish society over the past decade. This is due to the ongoing migration crisis, the unsuccessful experience of implementing the policy of multiculturalism in Sweden itself and the further deepening of European integration. Swedish identity entered the stage of crisis, which became the subject of wide discussion not only among the scientific community, but also worried politicians and the public. What does it mean to be Swedish? What are the boundaries of “Swedish” and what concepts do they unite? These are the questions that give rise to the liveliest debates. The Svenskhet concept answers these questions. In publicist literature, authors often define Svenskhet as “what the Swedes themselves consider Swedish” [1, p. 102]. This definition ignores the multiculturalism of modern Swedish society, in connection with which the explanation of the categories “Swede” and “Swedish” is difficult.

There is no single scientific definition of the term Svenskhet. Ethnologists, historians and political scientists consider directly the content of Svenskhet, without interpreting it. The question arises: how are national identity and Svenskhet related? National identity consists of two components: social (correlation with language, everyday life, culture, economy, etc.) and political (correlation with power, its components, symbols, etc.) [2, p. 40]. Svenskhet is a broader concept, as it often also includes ethnic and religious identity. Thus, Svenskhet is a construct that has developed throughout the existence of the Swedish people and the Swedish state. It is undergoing

constant changes in connection with the processes taking place both inside and outside the Swedish society. In addition to the fact that the understanding of *Svenskhhet* is in dynamics, its interpretation has acquired many new facets due to the multiculturalism of the Swedish society and the politicization of the concept.

Mahmood Qaisar, the Head of the Council National Heritage of Sweden, in his address to the subjects of the state, drew the following analogy. According to him, the politicians represent *Svenskhhet* in the form of an avocado and try to find a core that defines the characteristics of Swedish as a whole, something inherent in each Swede, while in reality, *Svenskhhet* is an onion – many layers of different characteristics that are subject to rapid changes. Moreover, M. Qaisar does not exclude the possibility of the absence of a “core” as a whole, the absence of a single characteristic by which one can distinguish “Swedish” from “non-Swedish” [3]. Such disputes give rise to discussions of a nationalistic nature, since the question of who exactly can be considered a Swede arises: a person with citizenship; an ethnic Swede; people who self-identify as the Swedes. Thus, is it possible to speak of the existence of a single *Svenskhhet* or are there several types of it?

To answer this question, we turn to the history of the origin of this concept. It is impossible to determine the exact time when the formation of *Svenskhhet* was shaped. However, two main theories exist. The popular theory says that the emergence of *Svenskhhet* in its modern form took place simultaneously with the emergence of Sweden as a nation-state in the XIX century. The opponents of this theory argue that the formation of modern *Svenskhhet* began in the time of the Vikings, implying the IX century [4]. The authors of the study adhere to the theory that examines the emergence of *Svenskhhet* in its modern form in the XIX century. It is certainly impossible to deny the existence of some of the elements attributed to modern *Svenskhhet*, such as language or religion, even in the medieval period. However, the presence of these elements is not enough, and it is impossible to talk about a collective Swedish identity in the Middle Ages.

In the medieval period, people were not aware of belonging to one state – smaller communities, such as, for example, settlements were relevant [5]. Each city had a unique experience, history, traditions and the way of life: in this case, it would be more correct to say “*Lundskot*” (for the inhabitants of Lund) or “*Umeoskot*” (for the inhabitants of Umeå), rather than *Svenskhhet*. The echoes of such local identities can still be found today. For example, the clash of medieval identities between Stockholm and the province of Småland led to the

development of hostility between the people towards each other. In medieval Stockholm, they often talk about the origin of Smolandians from animals in connection with the sharp difference in the way of life and the dialects of the two provinces. The Småland dialects, being part of the Skan dialect, still retain the traits of the Old Norse language, and have a different pronunciation from other provinces, and a number of unique words and expressions that are not used in the other regions of Sweden. These dialects are still the object of the Stockholm residents' ridicule, that is confirmed by a study conducted with the participation of Lund University. As a result of a survey of five grades' pupils' from five secondary schools in Småland (115 respondents), it was found that 30.5% of respondents have a negative attitude towards their dialect, embarrassed by it due to the unusual or negative reaction "rural", "peasant", very different from the "capital" Swedish [6].

However, the Swedish historian Jens Lerbom considers that two *Svenskhets* can be defined at the end of the Middle Age. So, the defining characteristic of the first one was citizenship and loyalty to the king of Sweden. The second "type" meant cultural community, similarity of life and traditions and was divided into many "subspecies" tied to the settlements. Respectively, the "political" *Svenskhets* was more mobile and one could easily abandon it or lose it due to the involuntary transfer to the power of the Danish crown for example. Gotland, which is the subject of frequent disputes between Sweden and Denmark, has repeatedly lost its political *Svenskhets* in the political sense, while retaining its cultural one. Thus, it was really possible to distinguish two types of *Svenskhets* that could exist almost independently of each other. According to J. Lerbom the reunification of the two types of *Svenskhets* and the formation of a prototype of modern *Svenskhets* took place in the XIX century along with the formation of the nation-state [4].

Miller A. defines a nation-state as a state in which one of the main goals of politics is the formation of national identity. [7, p. 13]. The events of global importance and internal factors served as the strongest impetus for this. On the one hand, this is the Great French Revolution or the War of Independence of the United States; on the other hand, this is the unsuccessful policy of Gustav IV Adolf, crop failure in 1808, waging a war on two fronts against Denmark and Russia, the loss of Finland in 1809 [8, p. 206]. Strong shocks transferred by society, served as a catalyst for the formation of a sense of unity, cohesion. These events could not but affect the literature of that time: Swedish romanticism flourished, glorifying the past; the Yotsk's literary community became more active, the main goal of which was to recreate the "spirit of

freedom, masculinity and honest mind of the old gods” [9]. It played an important role in the formation of Swedish nationalism in connection with the active promotion of ideas that, before the intervention of Western Europe, the development of Sweden was much faster; it did not meet obstacles and went its own way.

It's important to note that Swedish nationalism was very different from the nationalism of neighboring states – Norway, Denmark and Finland. Sweden did not have a clear strong antagonist, namely, Norway tried to gain independence from Denmark; Denmark feared a strong Germany; Finland, unable to recover from the Swedish domination, came under the sovereignty of the Russian Empire. Thus, Scandinavism originated in Sweden. It stood out and united the Scandinavian states: “Scandinavia is a stern mother who gave birth to strong and independent people” [10]. Thus, the Yotsk's Community initiated the construction of a collective characteristic of the Scandinavians, describing them as hardworking, noble, seasoned, reasonable and independent people. In addition, the “typical” Swedish landscape, namely mountains and valleys has been described and documented.

The triumph of nationalist ideas began with the adoption of the anthem, the renaming of the national museum into “Nordic” and the erection of Gustav I Vasa (who is often considered the founder of the nation state) statue. The statue is engraved with “Warer Swenske!” (“Be Swedes!”). Special attention should be paid to the Anthem. It was written in 1844 as a simple song and was called *Sång till Norden* (Song of the North). It is significant that this composition first became entrenched in the minds of the Swedes as a national song and only later it was officially adopted as a hymn. The song identifies the Scandinavian influences – initially Sweden itself was not even mentioned in the hymn – only “Du fria, Du fjällhöga nord” (“Free, high-headed north”) and “Dina ängder gröna” (“Your green spaces”) [11]. In addition to the anthem, other symbols of the Swedish state became entrenched in the XIX-th century: flags began to be displayed in schools, vicars and official buildings. In 1873, King Oscar II decided that the flagpole would be erected in the castle of Stockholm, and that the royal flag would be raised when the king was in the castle. At the beginning of the XX century the Swedish coat of arms was officially confirmed. Thus, the XX century laid the foundations of modern *Svenskhet*: state symbols were approved, the ideas about typical Swedish people, their way of life and traditions, the ideas about nature were consolidated – Scandinavism was formed. The final form of *Svenskhet* in the modern version is observed in the XX century.

The origin and transformation of the Svenskhets concept

In the XIX century Svenskhets arose spontaneously, its formation initially depended little on the authorities and took place “from below”. The active opposition of “Swedish”, namely “northern”, with “non-Swedish” in literature mobilized the people and, moreover, influenced the authorities. The de facto composition “Sång till Norden” played by the orchestra became an anthem after the King of Sweden Oscar II rose from his seat during the Swedish Flag Day. At the end of the XIX – beginning of the XX century Svenskhets was supplemented by racial component. The role of the state was clearly defined in the construction of a new Svenskhets. Of course, the creation of a new Svenskhets is impossible. Nevertheless, the mobilization of opinions already presents in the field of national exclusively white race according to political impact on society began to be “traditionally” considered “Swedes”.

Moreover, the national minorities were discriminated against. Svenskhets of the first half of the XX century excluded Jews. At this time, the Swedish Anti-Semitic Organization was active. Jews were discriminated against both in the media (newspaper political cartoons, in which Jews were portrayed in a negative light due to the exaggeration of offensive stereotypes), and in culture (derogatory representation of Jews in films and books) were widely popular. From the 1880s, the state limited migration flows, despite the fact that most of migrants were Jews from Eastern Europe [12, p. 4]. Jews failed to obtain citizenship had an extremely limited set of rights and lost the opportunity to engage in trade in Sweden.

The part of population speaking Finnish and Tornedal Finnish also suffered from negative media representation [13, p. 522]. The Finnish-speaking part of the population living in Sweden for a long time were considered “superfluous” on the territory of the state due to the linguistic factor. The border between the Swedes and the Sami, the inhabitants of Lapland, was more clearly defined. At the same time, the government independently “prescribed” an identity to the Sami, the defining feature of which engaged in another craft as the main one, were not recognized as the Sami, and did not receive special rights in this area. Moreover, special Sami schools were opened in 1910 only for “true” Sami, which was an attempt by the state to exclude the majority of Sami from participation in the national market, while leaving them to engage in reindeer herding. These schools were compulsory for the Sami to attend. The Swedes continued to establish themselves as the privileged majority.

At the end of the XIX century the problem of the Roma became aggravated. Numerous attacks by the Swedes on the Roma were recorded in 1970–1955. Jönköping Uprising was the most notorious event in 1948. Roma were also excluded from public life. Moreover, in the 1920s, a law was passed prohibiting Roma from staying in one settlement for more than three weeks. The period of 1906–1975 was characterized by the adoption of a number of discriminatory laws affecting all “non-Swedes”. Of particular note are the Sterilization Act (1935), the Sterilization Act (1941) and the Abortion Act (1938). There were three indications for a mandatory sterilization procedure: (1) medical – if pregnancy endangers the woman’s health, (2) eugenics – if a person suffered from a serious mental illness or was physically incapacitated, (3) social – if the child’s parents were found to be incapable of bearing responsibility for his upbringing [14]. In fact, the confusing wording of the indications for carrying out this procedure led to its forcible use mainly on the non-Swedish population of the state.

In the 1930s, the state itself actively promoted the idea of national homogeneity. At this time, Sweden suffered greatly due to the outflow of the fact that the kingdom had the highest mortality statistics. The government began to encourage marriage between directly Swedish citizens or ethnic Swedes, providing such couples with social or material assistance. Thus, at the beginning of the XX century *Svenskhet* acquired sharp religious and ethnic outlines. People of a different religion, bearers of a different culture or language, representatives of other races more and more often ceased to be considered Swedes. *Svenskhet* first encountered multiculturalism, acquiring more and more radical forms and reaching its peak during the Second World War.

Modern *Svenskhet* in many ways repeats the ideas of the Social Democratic Workers’ Party of Sweden. In 1928, the party leader Per Albin Hansson put forward the concept of “*Folkhemmet*” (“People’s House”), which later became the slogan of the party and laid the foundation for the welfare state in Sweden. *Folkhemmet* is also associated with the period of history 1930–1960, which replaced the radicalism of the early XX century [15, p. 208].

According to Per Albin Hansson, “Home”, that is, Sweden, was to be built on “a solid foundation of democracy”. Consensus and universal equality were to become the main rules of the “House for the Swedes”. The history of Swedish socialism began with the *Folkhemmet* policy: the majority of the population was provided with housing, many benefits and social benefits were introduced (1848- the introduction of universal payment of child benefits, unemployment

benefits; an increase in vacations). Thus, the subjects of the kingdom were considered “Swedes”, that is, the ethnic factor did not play a role. Universal equality was implied among all subjects, regardless of their origin, gender or sexual orientation. Serious economic and demographic crisis in the 1920s and 1930s was resolved thanks to the Volkhemmet policy. The population recalled the People’s House with a note of nostalgia, especially after the ideological collapse of the concept in the 1970s and 1980s and the popularization of popular capitalism. Volkhemmet received widespread support in the society and gradually became a source of pride. Subsequently, the values of equality and universal solidarity began to be perceived as an integral part of “Swedish”.

The concept of Svenskhet at the present stage

In the XX century Swedish identity is in crisis. The unsuccessful migration policy led to the spread of nationalistic sentiments, the revitalization of right-wing and right-wing radical parties and organizations activists [16, p. 60]. People began to refer to the images of a peaceful past, which were skillfully manipulated by representatives of right-wing ideologies. The Swedish society is experiencing a conflict between two components of national identity: political and social. So, people who identify themselves with the state itself could not or did not want to go through the process of social adaptation: to accept culture, learn a language, become a part of society and its life. This is expressed by a sharp division within the state into “us” / “Swedish” and “others” / “non-Swedish”. Svenskhet again began to acquire the sharp ethnic, religious, and linguistic boundaries.

Interestingly though, the existence of Svenskhet is sometimes rejected altogether. Mona Sahlin, who served as Minister of Integration, made the following statement: “I am often asked this question, but I do not know what Swedish culture is. I think this is one of those things that make Swedes jealous of immigrants. You have culture, identity, history, something that connects you all. What do we have? Summer solstice and other nonsense” [17]. Former Swedish Prime Minister Frederik Reinfeldt stated that what was truly “Swedish” was simply barbaric. Sweden received the rest of the development from outside [18]. These statements clearly demonstrate the crisis of the Swedish identity. Svenskhet comes into confrontation with globalization under the pressure of many other identities and the abundance of migrants (20% of the total population of the country at the time of 2019) [19]. Not only the new Swedish subjects are forced to go through the adaptation process, but also the “old” residents of the state have a huge impact on each other’s identity. The

difficulty of drawing boundary exists between “Swedish” and “non-Swedish”. In this regard, even politicians rashly can declare the absence of “Swedish”.

The problem also lies in the fact that the politicians are trying to calculate the clear content of *Svenskhet*, to identify its elements. Do not forget that *Svenskhet* is a construct that is constantly in dynamics. Ironically, the statement of M. Sakhlin, namely: “...you have a culture, identity...” proves the existence of “Swedish”. The proposal clearly traces the process of opposing “we” – “they”.

The impossibility of distinguishing a clear “Swedish” is also due to the fact that when drawing the border “we” – “they”, depending on the object of opposition, different qualities of “Swedish” are emphasized. So, in comparison with the southern peoples, the Swedes position themselves as gloomy, serious people, obsessed with the order of punctuality. In comparison with the Finns and Russians, another facet of the Swedes appears – they cease to be so “gray”. This is another confirmation that *Svenskhet* is a construct, and not a set of certain qualities. The identity markers are created within the community, become generally recognized and then go beyond its limits.

So, in 1985, Nordstedt J.F. gave an exclusively cultural definition of *Svenskhet*, which presupposed the basics of everyday life and traditions knowledge. The researcher focused on life experience and common points that are shared by all Swedes. A similar interpretation was suggested by the ethnologist Billy Ehn. He proposed the idea that *Svenskhet* was a phenomenon that represented a whole cultural universe, landscapes of summer, festivity, pleasure and statehood. Such definitions contributed to a broader interpretation of *Svenskhet* and presuppose its openness and willingness to accept new members. Cultural interpretation literally means Swedish – the recognition of a phenomenon or person as Swedish.

However, the scientific community is still trying to define the criteria for “Swedish”. According to the historian K. Mattson, there are five “dimensions” of *Svenskhet*. The *Svenskhet* of a person is determined: (1) birth in Sweden; (2) possession of Swedish citizenship; (3) the presence of family ties with the Swedes; (4) knowledge of culture and language – this implies knowledge of the language from birth, belonging to the Christian denomination, the division of Western values; (5) the presence of external characteristics inherent in the Swedes. [1] The use of these categories varies according to political views: the right-wing radical groups require the inclusion of all five dimensions, while the more centrist parties are contented with the presence of a person within at least one dimension. Even if it is necessary to comply with the criteria of one

dimension, it is really difficult according to this classification to become the part of “Swedish”. Thus, living for many years on the territory of the kingdom and observing its laws, proficiency in the language and gradual assimilation during this process is still insufficient, while a person born on the territory of another state and, perhaps, even not familiar with the Swedish language and culture, but having Swedish parents, according to **K. Mattson**, represents “Swedish”.

Mahmood Qaisar, head of the Swedish National Heritage Council, tried to highlight the principles of Svenskheth:

- (1) the need for strict adherence to the laws;
- (2) the presence of common values, which, nevertheless, are subject to constant change;
- (3) the ability to adapt to unfamiliar phenomena;
- (4) a desire to understand other cultures;
- (5) self-control – since it is necessary to restrain possible anger, misunderstanding and resentment in a multicultural society;
- (6) positive perception of others, different from “Swedish”;
- (7) preserving individuality while participating in multiple social groups;
- (8) acceptance of the impossibility of stopping the identity formation through opposition according to the principle of “we” – “they”;
- (9) acceptance of the diversity “we”;
- (10) acceptance of a different understanding of Svenskheth [3].

Thus, M. Qaisar tried not to divide people, but to explain the phenomenon of Svenskheth. As a migrant from Pakistan, he was able to study Svenskheth both from the outside and from the inside, which allowed him to identify the criteria of Svenskheth without humiliating the national, religious and ethnic issues.

Ivar Arpi, a journalist who studies Svenskheth, has three definitions of Swedish:

- (1) Ethnic Swedes, children of migrants, migrants in the third generation;
- (2) “National” Swedes – Sami, Roma, Jews, Tornedals and other national minorities in Sweden.
- (3) Citizens of Sweden – however, at this stage, in his opinion, citizenship fulfills only a symbolic function and ignores the need to accept Swedish identity. The process of obtaining citizenship must include cultural and social aspects. Then getting it would be the shortest route to Swedish.

According to a survey conducted by I. Arpi, 20% of respondents believe that it is extremely important to be born in the country in order to be considered a Swede. (The data obtained is more relevant to analyze when comparing with other European states: in France, 47% of respondents hold this opinion, in the UK – 56%, in Greece – 77%). 64% of respondents believe that it is enough to know the culture and be a part of it. 7% believe that you need to be a Christian. 93% think that it is enough just to know Swedish. As a result of the survey, I. Arpi concluded that it was enough for a “Swede” to know the language, as well as to immerse himself in culture and life. In his opinion, religious and ethnic criteria, as well as the origin of a person did not play a big role in a multicultural society, which was confirmed by the results of the survey [20].

The Swedish values should receive special attention. For example, Professor of Linköping University, Goran Kolste repeatedly mentioned in his works that talking about the unique values of Sweden lead to the fragmentation of society. His opponent Thomas Gür had a different opinion and claimed that unique Swedish values did exist and were determined by (1) the special historical and cultural environment where they developed, as well as (2) the diversity of these values, their versatility. This combination turned out to be possible due to the natural interest of the Swedes in new and different things, for example, to representatives of non-Christian confessions or people from other states, and the desire to get to know it [21, p. 199].

Results

The “incomplete” integration that followed the repeal of the Integration Act had a number of negative consequences. These turned out to be the reason for the number of racially motivated crimes increase, an raise in the number of crimes against the person, the spread of xenophobic sentiments, an increase in the number of crimes committed by nationalist organizations, and the spread of radical views among migrants. The current course of migration policy does not suit both a significant part of the citizens of Sweden and refugees, that is why the Sweden society is in a state of extreme tension.

At the moment, there is no single law regulating the integration of migrants into society. The following acts regulate the situation of migrants and refugees: Law on Foreigners (2005), Law on Refugees (1997), Law on Swedish Nationality (1950), Law on Discrimination (2008), Law on Responsibility for Regulating the Position of Newly Arrived Migrants (2017).

This characterizes one of the distinctive features of Swedish multiculturalism, namely the low level of integration of migrants into Swedish society, their preservation of national identity. The Swedish Nationality Act establishes the following criteria for naturalization: availability of identity documents; reaching the age of 18; residence on the territory of the state for five years (two years for residents of Finland, Iceland, Norway, and Denmark); a promise to abide by the laws of the state [23, p. 62]. Thus, familiarity with the state system, state traditions and language are not a prerequisite for obtaining citizenship.

This assumption was a decisive factor in the escalation of the migration crisis in Sweden, which began in 2015. Due to the deterioration of the situation in the Middle East, there was a sharp increase in migration flows. In 2015, Sweden received 115104 migrants and refugees, in 2016 – 163005, in 2017 – 144489, in 2018 – 132602 and in 2019 – 115805 [24]. At the time of 2018, 24.9% of the population was born on the territory of another country or had parents who came from another state. At the same time, the largest numbers of migrants from states that are not members of the European Union are from countries such as Syria, Iraq, Somalia, Iran [25, p. 2]. Thus, the bulk of the new persons are representatives of a different culture, very different from the Swedish one. “Partial” or incomplete integration gradually led to an increase in xenophobic sentiments and fears of Islamization.

For example, the leader of the right-wing conservative Swedish Democrats party, Yimmi Okesson, said that Muslims (Islam is the most widespread religion among immigrants) are the greatest threat. According to him, it was the Muslims who caused the greatest disruption in the functioning of Swedish society. Indeed, according to the Swedish Police, Muslims account for the largest number of crimes among members of the immigrant community. According to the Swedish State Security Service, the number of jihadists increased from 200 in 2010 to 2000 in 2017 [26].

However, it is important to remember that the state indirectly provoked an increase in the number of crimes among the Muslim migrants by not regulating integration into Swedish society. The migrants and refugees who have not gone through the assimilation process are faced with an unfamiliar cultural and social environment, the orders of which contradict with their beliefs. In a society where there are a huge number of different nations representatives, where there is no need to learn the language and sometimes to work in connection with numerous benefits (for example, according to the

aforementioned 1997 Refugee Law, the main package of benefits offered to refugees includes: free housing; free medicine, including dental services; free education for children from preschool to 20 years old) [27], migrants do not need to be assimilated, to get contacts with the local population, be acquainted with the local culture and way of life.

This dangerous phenomenon has provoked the formation of “vulnerable areas” (Utsatt område) – territories characterized by a high level of crime, inhabited mainly by migrants and in isolation. In 2019, the Swedish police registered 60 districts, 23 of which were considered “particularly vulnerable”. “Particularly vulnerable” areas are characterized by the inability of the police to fully exercise their powers in the district, ethnic segregation, religious extremism, the unwillingness of residents to obey the judicial system and, most often, the creation of a prototype of state structures that establish their own laws. The examples of “especially vulnerable” areas are Rinkeby in Stockholm (35 thousand people), South Söfjelund in Malmö (4 thousand people). Thus, the partial integration has led to the consolidation of radical-minded migrants who have not gone through the integration process, and the formation of regions that are actually not subject to the authorities.

Moreover, the ignorance of the language does not contribute to the search for not only a high-paying job, but also a job in general. This provokes migrants to commit crimes not for the sake of gaining profit, but for the sake of continued existence. Nevertheless, some representatives of the Swedish society, observing the marginal behavior of immigrants from other countries, are subjected to by right-wing parties and right-wing radical organizations propaganda without trying to find an explanation for their behavior. In particular, the ideas about the impossibility of coexistence of different cultures are becoming popular. We also note the following slogans: about slowing down the development of Sweden in connection with spending funds to provide for refugees, about the possible disappearance of ethnic Swedes and Swedish identity, etc.

Since the 1990s, the Swedish Democrats Party has become an integral part of parliament. The party declares a decrease in migration. With each election, the number of seats in the Parliament grows: for example, if in 2014 the party won 49 seats, then in 2018 the number of seats increased to 62. The party adheres to the idea of democratic socialism and expresses clear concerns about the preservation of Swedish identity. It advocates a sharp reduction in immigration, the abolition of the policy of multiculturalism, the introduction of

mandatory cultural integration, the cessation of further integration into the European Union, the revival of traditional Swedish values and the restriction of the rights of the LGBT community [28]. After the migration crisis, these ideas began to gain even more popularity and were directed not only against migrants from countries that are not members of the European Union, but also against Europeans.

Undoubtedly, more radical ideas about the need to save Svenskhets have emerged. They were represented by right-wing radical organizations, the most active of which is the Northern Resistance Movement (Nordiska Motståndstörelse). Representatives of the movement suggest:

(1) Not only to stop the migration flow to the territory of all Scandinavian states, but also to repatriate the already settled newcomers who do not belong to the Germanic peoples.

(2) By all possible means to destroy the power of the “Zionist elite”, first on the territory of the Scandinavian states, and later to free the whole world from its “destructive” influence.

(3) Create a single state uniting the Scandinavian countries with a common defense system, currency and one central bank, as well as unify the laws of the Nordic countries as much as possible. This also implies the withdrawal from any hostile associations, for example, the European Union.

(4) After the establishment of a unified authority over the Scandinavian space, to start working exclusively for the benefit of the North German peoples.

(5) The media should be exclusively owned by the people of Northern Europe and work for the benefit of their interests. The activities of any foreign, as well as domestic, media that do not work for the good of the state should be immediately banned.

(6) Nature and resources must be used wisely. After the establishment of a single state, it is necessary to start developing new effective laws on the protection of nature and animal rights.

(7) Gradually from a National Socialist society in which a fair distribution of resources among citizens will be organized.

(8) Introduce universal conscription and expand funding for the defense sector. Give everyone who has completed military training the right to bear arms [29].

The party's program points promote a return to XIX century Scandinavism. These ideas did not find wide support among the population due to the radicalism and absurdity of some of them, but the program still

received some support. The rise of extremist sentiments among migrants has become another dangerous manifestation of the clash of identities. In schools and universities, the authorities found networks of banned organizations, such as Hamas, the Muslim Brotherhood, Hezbollah, etc.

In addition to the policy of multiculturalism, which, nevertheless, is the main catalyst for a return to discussions about Svenskhet, European integration played a significant role. Only 51% of Swedish population believe that European integrations has strengthened the country's economy and only 60% believe that membership in the European Union as a whole is a positive phenomenon [30].

Euroskepticism is common in Sweden. The debate on the state's accession to the EU lasted for about 20 years. The main obstacle is the possibility of losing neutrality in the Cold War, and when the obstacle was overcome naturally, the decision to join the union was made in Sweden. Nevertheless, other fears were widespread among the population: moral decay of society under the influence of Western values, the possible legalization of prostitution and certain types of drugs, the weakening of democratic traditions [31]. The Scandinavia states often separate themselves from other European states due to the difference in state systems, culture and life.

So, for Sweden, opposition with non-Scandinavian European states is customary. The Swedish population began to express dissatisfaction, under the pressure of the need for further integration, as can be seen in the aforementioned polls. The fear of losing identity, of losing Svenskhet is only increasing in connection with the integration into the European Union.

Conclusion

It is impossible to talk about the existence of several Svenskhet. Svenskhet is not an objective concept; it is subject to constant changes taking place in connection with events in society and politics, both external and internal. Svenskhet is a construct created by people who associate themselves with "Swedish", who are "Swedes". It is formed with the constant communication of the "Swedes" with the outside world.

Svenskhet unites categories constructed within society and subsequently accepted by the outside world as an "objective" reality. It can reflect historical experience, culture and government. However Svenskhet only demonstrates the categories highlighted by the "Swedes" themselves and suggests the Swedish interpretation. Svenskhet is indeed the object of constant change. It

lacks an objective dimension, which generates constant discussions. This is a very complex construct, misunderstanding and manipulation of which can lead to misinterpretation of its essence and fragmentation of society.

It is difficult to talk about the existence of a common understanding of the content of *Svenskhhet*. This is a construct that has unique features in the minds of people of different sexes, social status, religion, ethnicity, origin, etc. It reflects the understanding of “Swedish” for a particular group of people or even an individual. Discussions about the presence of a “core” of *Svenskhhet* are often conducted in order to achieve certain political goals, to discriminate against any part of the population. Such discussions are especially relevant in modern Sweden, which is experiencing another clash with multiculturalism.

Sweden’s multicultural society is characterized by a combination of many cultures, traditions, languages, religions and historical experiences. Nevertheless, there are many interpretations of the concept, including such criteria as the birth on the territory of Sweden, the presence of Swedish citizenship, family ties with the Swedes, knowledge of culture and language, belonging to the Christian confession, separation of Western values, and the presence of external characteristics inherent in Swedes.

Swedish society is faced with an unsuccessfully pursued policy of multiculturalism, leading to the growth of xenophobia, ethnic and religious extremism, crime and the popularization of right-wing and right-wing radical ideas. Many radically different national identities could not coexist peacefully on the territory of one state, being in constant interaction leading to clashes, and the migration crisis only increased the tension in society, forcing the Swedes to fear for their identity even more. The failure of the policy of multiculturalism was accompanied by intense globalization processes and further integration into the European Union, which is a common topic of debate.

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PRESIDENT XI JINPING'S ROLE IN FIGHT AGAINST COVID-19 PANDEMIC. SCIENTIFIC ARTICLE

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Abstract. *Novel coronavirus infection is a very unusual year in the Spring Festival. But a new outbreak of pneumonia in a new coronavirus infection has swept the whole country in 2020, and it has touched the hearts of millions of people. The war on "epidemic" is a big test. In this resistance war without smoke of gunpowder, whether it is the "soldiers" in the front line or the masses of self-control, the whole country, the whole people's Anti Japanese War, overcome the difficulties. People's hearts move together. First of all, the strong power to win the prevention and control of the epidemic comes from the concerted efforts of hundreds of millions of people under the strong leadership of the Party Central Committee. General secretary Xi Jinping novel coronavirus pneumonia prevention and control work to make a series of important instructions, for our win the prevention and control of the war of resistance against disease provides a fundamental guide to follow and action. Therefore the article examines the Chinese President Xi Jinping's crucial role in fight against coronavirus disease pandemic. The world is confronted by the current coronavirus disease pandemic, which brought about significant challenges to the world. As the first major country to have effectively contained the virus, China has been at the forefront of the global fight and believe that coronavirus disease pandemic knows no borders. In the*

process of fighting coronavirus disease pandemic domestically, Chinese government had attached great importance to international cooperation, for example, the sharing of information on the virus pandemic with the international community, providing bilateral and multilateral assistance to other affected countries and so on. Therefore, in this article you will see how PRC, under the leadership of the Chinese President Xi Jinping, has fought against coronavirus disease pandemic.

Keywords: China; Coronavirus Disease Pandemic; Xi Jinping; Pandemic; Fight; Leadership

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The coronavirus disease pandemic first broke out in Wuhan City in December 2019. Against this unknown infectious diseases, the Chinese government immediately took preventive measures, for instance, the implementation of nationwide quarantine, the provision of medical assistance, the mobilization of resources from all over the country, the improvement of general education, the strengthening of personal protection, medical isolation, control of population migration, and reduction of gathering. In addition, the Chinese government immediately formulated a law punishing legally violations of the prevention of newly inflamed pneumonia. These measures are directly related to the overall containment of the Chinese epidemic, but also contribute to valuable experience for the international community in fight against COVID-19 and during this process, China received material returns from lots of countries, such as Russia, South Korea, Japan, Israel, Pakistan, and some European countries. The Chinese government also actively provided assistance to the international community, including the sharing of medical materials and so on. China's commitment has been highly recognized and appreciated by many countries, such as Serbia and Italy.

In addition, the emergence of virus pandemic coincided with the largest annual human migration in the world, such as the Chinese New Year Travel season, which brought about a rapid global spread of the coronavirus. The virus pandemic seriously has threatened the lives and health of people in the world, exerting a deep impact on the global political, economic and social map. The purpose of this commentary is to analyze Chinese President Xi Jinping's role in fight against coronavirus disease pandemic, which not only is conducive to effective fight against the virus pandemic, but also illuminates the improvement in global public governance [1].

2020 was marked by the unprecedented COVID-19 pandemic has swept China. The spread of the epidemic, the scope of infection, and the difficulty of

prevention and control was unprecedented since the founding of People's Republic of China in 1949.

During the National People's struggle to carry out epidemic prevention and control and stop the war, Chinese President Xi Jinping made a series of important instructions, calling for the most comprehensive and strict prevention and control measures. Guided by the spirit of firm confidence, working together, scientific prevention and control and precise policy implementation, the Chinese government puts the safety of Chinese people's lives and physical health first, gives full play to the advantages of the state system and promotes epidemic prevention and control and economic and social development [2].

In the early stages of the coronavirus disease pandemic, President Xi Jinping stressed that the virus pandemic is the order, prevention and control is the responsibility [3], in the key stage of the most energetic, President Xi Jinping reminded to be highly vigilant paralysis of thoughts, war-weary emotions, fluke, relaxed mentality. In particular, he stressed the need to improve the admission and cure rates, reduce the infection rate and death rate. In the epidemic prevention and control a situation tends to be good, he immediately proposed to accurate and orderly and solid to promote the resumption of work and production, focusing on the future to establish a master plan [4].

At the critical moment in fight against the virus pandemic, President Xi Jinping went to Wuhan on March 10 of 2020 to investigate the prevention and control of the new Crown pneumonia epidemic, to fight in the front line of the epidemic medical workers, people's Liberation Army Commanders, public security police, grass-roots cadres, sinking cadres, volunteers and patients, community residents expressed sincere condolences [5], President Xi Jinping said that the situation of epidemic prevention and control in Wuhan City has changed positively for the better, and we should continue to make virus pandemic prevention and control a top priority at present [6]. President Xi's visit to Wuhan City gave the Chinese people a reassurance and strengthened their confidence in winning the fighting of Hubei, Wuhan City.

After two months of hard works across the country, the rising momentum of COVID-19 has been contained, with about 60,000 patients (about 70%) recovering [7] and 14 square-cabin hospitals all closed. More and more regions have no new confirmed cases for many days and no daily outbreak reports are issued. In Wuhan, where the COVID-19 is most severe, the haze of the disease is

also gradually dissipating. From winter to spring, people look forward to the day is no longer far away.

At the same time, the Chinese government has taken a series of measures, including tax cuts and fees, increased fiscal spending, and injected funds into the financial system to help enterprises resume work and production. At present, the recovery rate of enterprises has exceeded 90% [8]. The resumption of economic activity in China will not only help to reduce the impact of the epidemic on the Chinese economy, but also contribute to the recovery of the global industrial chain and the recovery of the world economy.

As President Xi Jinping said keeping in mind that people's interests are the highest priority in the current arduous battle of prevention and control against the outbreak of pneumonia caused by the novel coronavirus and his key words on coronavirus disease pandemic: People, response and confidence, hence let us discuss the controlling ideas in following each section;

China's global engagement: So far, the COVID-19 has spread to hundreds of countries and regions outside China, including more than 10 African countries [9]. As Chinese President Xi Jinping put it, viruses don't respect borders, and pandemics don't respect races and the outbreak will also hit other countries. President Xi Jinping has recently put forward the concept of a community of Destiny on various occasions, emphasising that it is imperative to build a community of destiny in the field of Health.

Exchanging views at high level: The Chinese President Xi Jinping have placed great emphasis on international cooperation on anti-pandemic policies, even as they are fighting COVID-19 in the country. President Xi Jinping until mid-May of 2020, through the telephone diplomacy or face-to-face discussion, in two months was committed to exchange views with about 50 foreign leaders and heads of international organizations. Chinese government actively participated in the G20 Special Summit on Infectious Diseases, pointed out that the international community should increase efforts to effectively implement joint prevention and control measures. In addition, President Xi Jinping declared a humanitarian and development aid package for the fewest Developed countries and other countries at the inauguration of the 73rd World Health Assembly of the World Health Organization [10].

Knowledge-sharing: China actively and generously shared information about the pandemic with the international community [11]. Thanks to China's advantages in information and communication technologies and innovative technology companies, China has developed a relatively complete

public online reporting system in a very short time. From the point of my view that China's founding shared platform and communication mechanism shared genome information promotion. In fact, there are a lot of challenges and uncertainty ahead, so it is the right choice to pursue international cooperation and focus human wisdom on vaccine research and development. Currently, China is working to develop vaccines that follow five technological pathways: inactivated vaccines, recombinant protein vaccines, attenuated live influenza vaccines, adenovirus vaccines, and nucleic acid-based vaccines, all with international cooperation and open to the international community [12]. More and more countries are switching to tougher public health strategies, such as urban barriers and forced isolation, due to knowledge sharing. And the locks are now being made in Europe. In addition, universities and hospitals actively participated in the exchange of experience. It was also an important channel for the Chinese diaspora, especially overseas students, to receive relevant information on prevention and control measures from home and to share relevant experiences with people around them.

Bilateral and Multilateral assistance: China actively provided support to other affected countries, on the one hand, battled the domestic epidemic by providing funds and medical materials, dispatching medical teams and so on. Despite the deficiencies in masks and medicines in China at the time, the GOC placed a premium on supporting the export of medical materials and welcomed export companies to organize external deliveries of masks and other medical materials to contribute to the prevention of global epidemics in a practical way. China is actively participating in international cooperation through multilateral channels, contributing to the World Health Organization, the United Nations and the African Union. Meanwhile, China is donating \$55 million to WHO [13]. In addition, at the opening ceremony of the video conference at the 73rd General Assembly of WHO, Chinese President Xi Jinping promised to give \$2 billion within two years to support and economically and socially recover countries affected by the pandemic, especially developing countries. Finally, after the vaccine was developed, China is committed to providing it to the international community as a global public product. The World Food Programme (WFP), with the support of the Chinese government, established the UN Global Humanitarian Response Hub in China, noting that the first batch of anti-pandemic goods arrived at the warehouse hub in Guangzhou on the 30th and were transported directly to other emergency points identified by the United Nations or to countries and regions affected by COVID-19 [14]. With a leading manufacturing

industry, the entire supply chain and technological innovation, China has unique advantages in setting up an emergency center.

Public-private partnerships: In May of 2020, China sought to mobilise various institutions and Parties to support global pandemic countermeasures by actively promoting public-private partnership modalities, China's Non-governmental Network for International Exchange (CNIE) [15], China's largest association of international exchange-oriented social organizations, under the leadership of the CPC Central Committee International Liaison Department, to fight the pandemic Start joint action "Silk Road and one family" [16] and call on non-state actors to help countries in need. Within the framework of joint action, China's non-state military carried out various forms of anti-pandemic cooperation with more than 50 countries, including material supply, exchange of experience, voluntary transmission, this foreign aid volume is more than 25 million dollars [17].

Therefore, cooperation between major countries, especially China and the other major world power, the United States, is still the fundamental way to effectively fight against COVID-19. Thanks to President Xi's precise strategy and crucial leadership in China's tough fight against the novel coronavirus disease (COVID-19) outbreak [18], which has shown encouraging signs. Chinese in fight against the virus pandemic has achieved important results in stages, which have been highly valued by the international community, including which Chinese actions in the fight against the epidemic demonstrate the Chinese President Xi's keen insight and excellent leadership. The Chinese often say: pure gold is tempered in a blazing fire [19]. The Chinese people are confident and determined to overcome the coronavirus disease pandemic. The Chinese nation will build a well-off society in an all-round way at a more solid pace and successfully start a new journey of modernisation.

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AN ANALYSIS ON THE INTERSECTION BETWEEN LONELINESS AND THE COVID-19 PANDEMIC

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Abstract. *Loneliness has been an important phenomenon of the world even before the pandemic. However, the pandemic has created new circumstances and new problems associated with loneliness. According to experts, one of the reasons why the pandemic crisis is very formidable is that people are stuck within their homes, realizing that it is necessary to be in quarantine. Considering the phenomenon of loneliness during the pandemic, observing people's feelings as well as their experiences, different impacts can be seen both at individual and collective levels. These impacts contain first the individual experiences and feelings of loneliness, deriving from the new conditions emerged during the pandemic, such as staying at home, social distancing, and finding fewer opportunities to contact with the beloved ones. The second corresponds to the larger context of realizing and experiencing risks, insecurities, fears, and thus, a deeply seated and collective type of loneliness. Moreover, infectious diseases and epidemics exhibit the question of living together, which turns into a problem during pandemics like this, and the hardest thing becomes related to how people are separated and integrated in such periods (Ferreria et al.). The obliged conditions of remaining isolated lead to an increase in loneliness, and individuals get differentiated in terms of being healthy or sick, staying in the private or public sphere, and being identified as the risk group or not. Therefore, loneliness has become a global problem during the pandemic crisis. This is not only a complex phenomenon of an individual human life, but also an important social issue which has affected many different groups of people in both developed and developing countries.*

Keywords: *Pandemic; Loneliness; Social Isolation; Fear*

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The phenomenon of loneliness has multidimensional content and shows itself in different forms. Therefore, by loneliness, we mean both social loneliness and existential loneliness, and both forced and voluntary self-isolation of a person. Besides, people experience and perceive loneliness at different levels. Therefore, regarding this concept, it is possible to distinguish two different phenomena – positive (solitude) and negative (isolation) loneliness [12, p. 13]. For some, loneliness is the result of a person's awareness of the isolation and limits of his or her existence, accompanied by despair and loss of hope; for others loneliness is an active creative state, an opportunity for communication with oneself, and a source of strength.

The problem of loneliness had existed in the world long before the emergence of a new strain of coronavirus and before people were quarantined [7, p. 269]. In Western countries, many have written and talked about the phenomenon and also about the "epidemic of loneliness" which is very common in the modern world. However, during the pandemic, new social content began to be put into this phenomenon. The year 2020 was certainly unique for this phenomenon when on March 11, the World Health Organization (WHO) announced the outbreak of a new coronavirus pandemic and warned all the world governments to take the problem seriously and prepare for the first wave of the pandemic by taking a number of radical measures such as imposing self-isolation for their citizens [10]. As the restrictive measures have come into force, a large number of employees of different organizations, the elderly, students, and pupils were obliged to stay at home, as well as to work or study from home, as much as possible, taking into account the functions they perform [1, p. 623]. Therefore, in 2020 and 2021, millions of people were forced into isolation for weeks or even months, and people had to distance themselves from society in many ways. Besides, now, the whole world has focused on the fight against the coronavirus and its effects. However, in the meantime, the world has been invisibly hit by another equally frightening "epidemic" – the epidemic of loneliness. Considering the phenomenon of loneliness during the pandemic, observing people's feelings as well as their experiences, different impacts can be seen both at individual and collective levels. These impacts contain first of all the individual experiences and feelings of loneliness, deriving from the new conditions emerged during the pandemic, such as staying at home, social distancing, and finding fewer opportunities to contact with the beloved ones. The second corresponds to the larger context of realizing and experiencing risks, insecurities, fears, and thus, a deeply seated and collective type of loneliness.

Moreover, infectious diseases and epidemics exhibit the question of living together, which turns into a problem during pandemics like this, and the hardest thing becomes related to how people are separated and integrated in such periods (Ferreria et al.). For the obliged conditions of remaining isolated lead to an increase in loneliness, and individuals get differentiated in terms of being healthy or sick, staying in the private or public sphere, and being identified as the risk group or not. Therefore, the coronavirus has worsened the formerly unknown issue of loneliness in the world and turned people into the participants of the largest psychological experiment on the earth. According to Volkov, the ties between people had already been weak before the forced isolation, but under the circumstances of quarantine and lockdown, it has become very difficult to create and maintain these ties [14].

“We are officially now in a state of pandemic”, says Eric Klinenberg, a sociologist at New York University, in an interview with VOX. However, we have also entered a new era of social pain. Isolation and social distancing will escalate to a level of social loss which have been barely talked about” [16].

Moreover, this problem affected not only relations between human beings, but also relations between nations and between countries. This "epidemic" has spread at an unprecedented speed and led to uncertainty which has pushed our limits of patience, shaken our sense of control and our belief in the predictability of the future. During this time, our loneliness has also increased. Since there is a risk of exhaustion and feelings of loneliness due to prolonged isolation, it is necessary to make additional efforts to provide support [5].

Keeping human beings in a confined space for a prolonged time is an important factor that increases the level of loneliness during the pandemic. A long stay at home will inevitably weaken social relations, family, friendship, and kinship bonds and thus, exacerbate the state of loneliness. Increasingly felt states of individualization and becoming shrank within space are the factors shaping the experiences of loneliness as well (Avcı).

When we analyze the state of a person experiencing loneliness during the pandemic, we naturally see that he or she is surprised by the manifestation of his or her loneliness. Therefore, being unprepared for this experience, after an initial confusion a person begins to suffer from the painful blows of loneliness.

Forced isolation is a tough experience even for those who consider themselves introverts and do not need daily social communication such as

longing for people during the pandemic could eventually be experienced by both singles and the lovers of noisy companies. The lack of opportunity to go out in public, to have a good time, and to see friends is depressing. For people who especially lack close communication and human feelings, it has become difficult to live without hugs. The active use of the internet during the pandemic does not meet the human need for close communication, which is necessary to overcome the negative experiences of loneliness.

In daily life, a person who works from home on a regular basis can compensate for the lack of communication and impressions after work: he or she can go to a bar, watch a movie, or meet with loved ones. In a state of isolation, a human being cannot support himself or herself with these available means of support. Besides, people who live alone begin to worry about daily routine: for example, the people who need help to buy medicines and food may not be able to get to the store themselves as they may be locked up under quarantine. All these have sharpened the issue of loneliness and made it more topical during the pandemic.

Assessment of the socio-psychological state of loneliness in different groups of people. Isolation due to the new coronavirus has affected a wide range of population groups. However, some groups are more vulnerable under current circumstances. First of all, it has affected the elderly who live alone and have a regular lifestyle with their rituals, walking, shopping trips, going to clinics, and having visits of relatives on weekends. The pandemic has ruined all their daily routine and, therefore, dramatically increased the level of anxiety of loneliness of this group of people.

The studies have shown that the feeling of loneliness has worsened the present health problems of the elderly. It is known that there is a relationship between social isolation and poor health, for example, dementia, cardiovascular diseases, stroke, and other health issues. Given the fact that the elderly are not very used to online communication, and as a group, under risk, they have been asked to stay at home; their encounter of loneliness has been very difficult.

Tough measures of quarantine have been also imposed on people with disabilities. Thus, with the introduction of strict quarantine measures, they have experienced further difficulties in having access to medical care, and the quarantine worsened their state of loneliness.

The problem of loneliness during the pandemic has become relevant for all ages and has been felt sharply over the past year especially by the

millennials (the generation of people born from 1981 to 1996) and the zoomers (those born between 2002 and 2005) have also become particularly acute over the past year. The studies conducted in different countries have shown that during the first lockdown, almost one out of every three teenagers experienced moderate or severe stress or fear, was subject to bad mood – up to depression and feelings of complete abandonment, and also suffered from psychosomatic disorders [3]. The results of various studies indicate that there is a growing tendency among young people to be involved in aggressive behavior, including physical aggression and suicide. Of course, many different factors play role in this situation. At the individual level, this can be restriction of opportunities to communicate with peers, both in and outside school, restriction of physical activity, freedom of movement, and a decrease in opportunities to interact with the outside world in general.

“The epidemic of loneliness”: Its manifestation in different countries. The United Kingdom has become one of the first countries to declare loneliness as an epidemic. According to the British Red Cross, 9.6 million people – one in seven people in the country have suffered from loneliness. In the UK, business loss due to low employee productivity is estimated at 2.5 billion pounds per year (USD 3.34 billion) [15].

In Europe, Sweden is the loneliest country: nearly half of the Swedish households are composed of single and childless adults. For comparison, in Europe, such households on the average account for less than one-third of the total number [15].

This problem is particularly severe in the United States, where one in every ten people has felt themselves isolated during the pandemic. The studies conducted in the United States during the first wave in 2020 showed that 50 % of aged people felt lonely; among millennials this number (those who were born after 1980) is 71 %, and among the members of the generation Z (those who were born after 1996) it is 79 % [16].

The feeling of loneliness during the coronavirus pandemic has become 25 % more apparent among Finnish people. While before the coronavirus pandemic, 20.8% of Finnish people could call themselves lonely, then during the pandemic, the number of lonely people increased to 26%. It is a fact that loneliness reached the peak in the spring of 2020 when 32% of the respondents considered themselves as such [13].

The feeling of loneliness is more acute for young and well-educated Finns, and less for the elderly and poor educated Finns. During the

coronavirus pandemic, Finnish women have become more likely to have nightmares or suffer from insomnia. In addition, according to 40% of the respondent, they have begun to spend more time with their family, whereas 25% have begun to see their relatives less often [13]. One of the main effects of the coronavirus pandemic is loneliness as Russians had to spend a long time in isolation and refused social contacts [9].

In Asia, loneliness has already become a part of popular culture, and Japan is a significant example. More than half a million people in Japan have cut off their social ties and chosen to live in complete self-isolation for more than six months. The Japanese have begun to call such people hikikomori (“loners”, “hermits”), abbreviated as “hikki” [15].

The studies and surveys conducted by us in Turkey at different times of the pandemic have shown that the respondents over the age of 60 and the young students feel lonelier because of the lack of connection with their immediate environment and the loss of usual social ties during the pandemic [8].

Different methods to solve the problem of loneliness during the pandemic. Countries employ different strategies to address the growing problem of loneliness caused by forced isolation. Americans have used technology to deal with the problem: the pandemic has dramatically increased interest in dating services and chatbots. One of such applicationsb, Replika, allows people to create a virtual friend for communication by choosing their appearance, voice, and characteristics. Every month nearly one million people use Replika’s services [15]. Mental health applications such as the Calm, have also become very popular: just in 2020, the number of the paid accounts of the Calm increased from one to four million. Besides, especially for those who are forced to work at home, but are not able to concentrate in a silent environment, a background sound generator named “Noisli” has been produced. In addition to robotic technology, virtual conversationalists have gained popularity. The number of people who use chatbots to improve their emotional well-being has also dramatically increased [15].

Establishing the Ministry of Loneliness in 2018, the UK has decided to solve the problem at the state level. The British authorities developed a strategy that enables the doctors to refer the patients suffering from loneliness to the social workers who provide them with individual support. The British government has also allocated additional 1.8 million pounds (2.4 million USD) to increase the number of available public spaces, including the opening of new cafes, restaurants, and places of leisure facilities.

In the Kreuzberg district of Berlin, a kiosk has been opened to operate twice a week to give everyone the opportunity to talk about their personal issues [2].

The escalation of loneliness into a severe condition and the 3.7 % increase in suicides, especially during the pandemic, prompted Japan to establish a ministry of loneliness. The head of the Federation Council, Valentina Matviyenko, similarly proposed to follow the experience of the United Kingdom which established the ministry for loneliness in 2018 [15].

Conclusion

The epidemiological threat, the quarantine, the restrictions on the daily life of people caused by the Covid-19 pandemic, have revealed a new aspect of loneliness. Most people under quarantine experienced both short-term and long-term problems associated with this phenomenon. Particularly, the weakening of social ties has been furthered due to social isolation.

Experts warn that loneliness along with anti-social behavior experienced during the quarantine may lead to serious psychological problems in the long term and also possibly make a person more vulnerable to diseases. In this regard, once again we need to emphasize the importance of close interaction in the context of internet communications.

It is important to see that a human being is a social animal, no matter what he or she thinks about himself or herself. We need to meet other people, be in the presence of other members of society. A human being needs nonverbal communication – smiling, winking, shaking hands, tapping on the shoulder. Video communication and social networks can only replace that partially [4]. We can learn from interaction with people more than we can receive from robots. For this reason, after the end of the restrictions of the first wave of the pandemic, even simple activities such as meeting with friends, going to the theater or a bar have become more meaningful for people. Many people have seen that these regular events have become a source of completely new emotions and an important element of life. There is no doubt that social distance is a significant measure against the pandemic, but it is also clear that prolonged practice of social distancing increases the feeling of loneliness. At the same time, we should remember that performing social distance means only practicing physical distance which is necessary to prevent the transmission of the coronavirus from person to person.

Meanwhile, Jeremy Nobel, a professor at Harvard Medical School, argues that loneliness cannot be treated by the use of technology and other

available tools. It is possible to advise the use of electronic devices and services only for temporary relief. However, it is dangerous that a person taking into account the risk of infection will ultimately prefer electronics over physical interaction with other human beings [11].

Researchers propose two methods to fight loneliness during the pandemic: to strengthen existing ties or to create new ones. Sending a message to an old friend or acquaintance can help a person who is locked between four walls lacking interaction with others. It is also advised to use video chats as much as possible. According to Scientific American, if it is possible, it is better to communicate through a video chat. This type of communication giving a maximum sense of presence plays an important role in maintaining mental health [16].

To sum up, we can conclude that loneliness has become one of the most global problems of humanity during the pandemic crisis. [17]. This is not only a complex phenomenon of an individual human life but also an important social phenomenon that affects a wide range of population groups in both developed and developing countries. Only a broad interdisciplinary approach can help us understand the phenomenon of loneliness, its transformation during the pandemic, and assess its impact on the post-pandemic world.

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ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF INVESTMENT PROCESSES IN CHINA

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Abstract. *This article examines the development of investment processes in China. In modern international relations, a significant role is played by the level of economic development of the state, which every country seeks to increase. Along with trade and economic cooperation, the investment process is a significant factor in economic growth, which contributes to the development of national economies, increase in foreign trade turnover, GDP general and GDP per capita. Even though foreign direct investment (FDI) contributes to economic growth, its inflow depends on a number of features and a special environment which not all countries are able to create. Therefore, FDI indicates state's comprehensive development, that's why it is important to pay attention to FDI level. This is the relevance of article's topic. The purpose of the article is to characterize and analyze investment processes in China. To achieve what's mentioned above, the following tasks were solved: studying regions of China with the greatest investment attractiveness; analyzing FDI income to China. The article examines the investment climate and investment attractiveness of China in the context of regional classification, which is the most interesting, in our opinion. Backgrounds of modern investment processes formation in PRC, which developed as a result of long-term economic development and cooperation with other countries, are revealed. Some historical aspects of development of these processes, as well as aspects of cooperation are also noted in this work. Attention is also paid to some unique features of investing in China. In addition, the article analyzes economic indicators of PRC, which influence country's development and investment processes. As a result of the study, authors made following conclusions: formation of Chinese economy was time-consuming, but effective, however, there are still questions that need to be resolved; investing in China with a proper analysis of benefits and risks can be beneficial, since the country has created decent conditions for investing; those who decides to invest in PRC should properly study not only preferable region's economy, but also its culture. Legislation system also requires special attention.*

Keywords: *Investments; Investor; Investment Climate; Investment Attractiveness; Economy; Industry; Trade; GDP*

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1. Investment climate and investment attractiveness

1.1. Investment climate and investment attractiveness of some regions in PRC

Modern China is a country with a well-developed economy, which undoubtedly makes it attractive to foreign investors. However, the investment processes in China are traditionally accompanied judging on a number of features that can be exclusively found in PRC. Some features complicate investment processes, while others, on the contrary, create advantages for investors, and, therefore, contribute to an increase of foreign direct investment (FDI) level. For several reasons, discussed in the article, FDI in China has increased significantly in recent years.

In present international relations a lot depends on a level of state's economic development. Higher levels are often achieved with the help of correct economic growth strategy and foreign investment flow; FDI is also what maintains stable economic growth. This statement can be approved by Chinese economic development model as an example.

It seems to us, that when considering investment processes, it's reasonable to start with studying country's investment climate and investment attractiveness. China's investment climate, as well as its investment attractiveness, significantly differs from those in other Asia-Pacific or European countries and has a number of unique features.

Among various scientific classifications of investment climate and investment attractiveness, we chose one that we find the most interesting, regarding the context of Chinese economy, – classification based on regional division, which allows to describe investment climate of each Chinese region as metropolitan, mono-industrial, multi-industrial, low-potential and especially risky. The first three categories are more often inherent in an auspicious investment climate, while latter two usually go with an adverse one. Let us apply this classification to the study and analysis of investment climate of various PRC regions. [1]

Metropolitan investment climate includes features that are most likely to be seen in big cities – developed infrastructure and service industry, big amount of companies located in megalopolis itself or in its suburbs, large

population (over 10 million people). These features create comfortable investment environment, mainly simplifying risks analysis before investing: the more information investor gets, the more likely he is to create stable and long-term investment forecast.

In 2020, population of China reached almost one and a half billion people (to be more precise, 1,409,231,105 people) and there are indeed a large number of big cities in PRC. For example, the “big trinity” – Chongqing, Shanghai and Beijing. Population of each of these cities is more than 20 million people; Thus, there lives 29 914 073 people in Chongqing, 24 150 081 in Shanghai and 21 705 021 in Beijing. [2]

Besides the “big trinity”, list of China's megalopolises includes about ten cities – Guangzhou, Tianjin, Harbin, Wuhan, Shenzhen, etc. All of these can be considered examples of metropolitan investment climate in PRC.

However, it is important to take into account peculiarity of Chinese economic development, in particular the fact that the eastern, the north-eastern and the south-eastern parts of the country are densely populated and much more developed than the other. Big cities are predominantly located on the shore or closer to it, except for Chongqing, which is situated farther in mainland. So, investment flows mostly go to the east of the country, which has an auspicious investment climate.

Mono-industrial investment climate can be defined by presence of companies and factories focused on an exact type of goods or specific services. Inner Mongolia is a decent example of mono-industrial region: despite the fact that total area of this region approximately equals 1,183,000 sq. km, there are relatively few cities in Inner Mongolia. Large ones are Hohhot, the capital with population of 2,635,000 people, and Baotou with population of 2,700,000. Most of the citizens are employed in agriculture. Cattle breeding is especially developed: sheep, horses, and camels are bred actively. The industrial sector of Inner Mongolia is so small that it is incomparable to agricultural. This fact makes it possible to consider Inner Mongolia a mono-industrial region with low-potential investment climate. These characteristics are influenced greatly by lack of facilities which, if would be created, could have attracted foreign investors to Inner Mongolia.

Multi-industrial (or industrial-diversified) investment climate is opposed to mono-industrial, because it is described as the one that is maintained by a large number of companies and factories which offer service or produce goods of various fields.

North-eastern region, which includes three provinces (Liaoning, Jilin (Jilin) and Heilongjiang), can be called multi-industrial. Jilin and Heilongjiang

are rich in minerals and raw materials: oil, coal, various metals, wood, etc. In the coastal province of Liaoning, significant hydropower resources are concentrated. Moreover, locals are involved in fishing and seafood production. Thus, the region is responsible for industrial raw materials and foodstuffs. Also, a number of heavy industry factories operate in the region: among these are plants focused on raw materials processing (primarily, oil and timber processing), a number of metallurgical factories, as well as automobile factories and shipyards.

The decent level of the region's economy is created not only due to heavy industry enterprises, but also due to convenient location: Heilongjiang province borders with Russia, while Jilin – with North Korea, which is considered to be an ally of China as a country of the socialist camp. Direct borders allow to reduce export costs to partner countries, moreover, land transportation is less costly. Liaoning borders with the Republic of Korea by sea. In recent years, due to modernist party gaining influence in South Korea, its authorities began to pay more attention to economic cooperation with China, including investment projects.

However, investment climate of the north-eastern region cannot be described as auspicious: predominance of state-owned enterprises decreases investment attractiveness of the provinces, which diminishes investment activity. In addition, investing in industrial field may imply necessity in protection one's intellectual property, and yet there are no decent legislative acts in China that would allow foreign investors to minimize risks, fully protecting their rights regarding intellectual property. Thus, the investment climate of the north-eastern region is quite contradictory: it can be rather called adverse than comfortable, and also extremely risky, although at the same time it's highly potential.

The investment climate of western, northern and north-western regions of China can be defined as totally adverse – low-potential and risky, in some cases both criteria are applicable at the same time. Low investment potential of the region can be caused by both general (undeveloped economy, low investment activity) and individual conditions: the northern and western regions of the country are sparsely populated due to mountainous terrains and harsh climate. Hard-to-reach areas, poor in human resources, with conditions only locals (mostly, national minorities living a very traditional way of life) can tolerate, certainly do not attract investors, neither Chinese nor foreign. Lack of investment flows is the reason for economic decline of this part of the country.

Thus, above it was revealed that in the case of PRC, different types of investment climate are not always unambiguous.

2. Development of investment processes in China

2.1. Reasons for FDI growth. China's economy rates

The investment processes in PRC contributed, first of all, to the rapid development of the economy, which is relatively resistant to crisis. However, at the same time it should be mentioned, that on the way to investment development, China faced a number of difficulties.

Back in the 19th century, the inept policy of Qing government led to economic expansion of the Western states on the territory of China. Western states imposed unequal treaties on China and waged a «battle for concessions». Moreover, Western countries, in particular the United States, had already invested in China by the end of the 19th century. However, Chinese economy did not benefit from those capital investments, and sometimes production could even become unprofitable. [3]

The negative effect of Western economic expansion was intensified by Japan's regular encroachments on China's industrial sector and its territorial integrity. What is more, after the formation of the Republic of China in 1912 clashes between opposing alliances (from 1912 to 1927 – the Northern militarists, then – the Communist Party and the Kuomintang party) took place.

Since the formation of PRC in 1949, it had followed Soviet economy model, which did not fit China and excluded the possible further development of investment processes in the country. During years 1949-1978, the Chinese economy, in our opinion, can be characterized as a crisis one, since adopted programs of that period were unsuccessful. For example, so called “Steel battle” resulted in economic losses that can be estimated in 2 billion yuan. [4, p. 526]

Currently, the inflow of foreign investment is caused by certain conditions and special environment that China has created. By far, foreign direct investment is an indicator of state's comprehensive development and, therefore, FDI is essential to pay attention to.

It should be mentioned, that in 1978 PRC stopped following the Soviet model of building socialism and pursued an “open” policy, which implied building socialism in a unique Chinese way. This decision led to increasing attention to investment processes in PRC, including rapid income of FDI. In general, we can say, that following its own model of economic development since 1978, China has developed significant economy and got ranked as the second economy in the world with a GDP of 15.222 trillion US dollars in 2020. At the end of 2020, China's foreign trade turnover reached 32.16 trillion yuan, and a year earlier it was 31.54 trillion yuan. At the end of 2019, foreign trade turnover of PRC and the United States, two largest economies in the world,

amounted to 541.2 billion US dollars, which is, however, 14.6% lower than trade turnover in the same period of 2018. [5]

This negative tendency towards trading decrease takes place due to the phenomenon called the «trade war». Despite states' desire for cooperation, two largest Asia-Pacific economies constantly face a number of irreconcilable difficulties, many of which are based on politics and ideology background, and, as a result, have a strong impact on country's economies and trade relations. This situation forces China to look for new trade partners, including those outside the Asia-Pacific area, where it invariably has to fight with the United States for dominant position.

Thus, successful reform processes, as well as reasonable policy, made China the most active leader in world markets, which led to a tenfold increase in GDP since 1978 (as of 2019). [6]

Some features of investing in China

These days, investment activity in China proceeds in a predominantly stable political and socio-economic environment (the legislative system is stable as well), which, in our opinion, is a feature of investing in PRC.

Investing in textile and light industries, as well as in foodstuff sector, describes investment policy of PRC as timely and successful, since the results of this policy are leadership in the areas mentioned above.

In addition, modern China is a major investor itself and invests in Third World countries' economies. In foreign markets, Chinese investors prefer investing in services sector, innovative production and new technologies – they are attracted to consumer-focused areas and stable income, which is also can be considered a feature.

Another feature of modern Chinese economy in the context of investment processes is economy's division into two major areas – innovative and traditional (or industrial). The latter is now undergoing changes under the program of state reformation. This, in our opinion, to some extent complicates the implementation of investment.

The total volume of foreign direct investment in PRC from 1979 to 2013 amounted to 1395 billion US dollars. Since 1996, the level of foreign capital inflow into PRC has rapidly increased. Of course, the global crisis of 2008 had a negative impact on the country's economy (for example, during the acute crisis phase of 2009, usage of foreign capital in China decreased by 15.81% compared to the same period of 2008), but Chinese economy coped with crisis faster than it was expected to, and now shows relative stability, which undoubtedly plays an essential role in shaping the investment attractiveness of PRC. In 2020, foreign direct investment in China reached its peak of 14.38

billion US dollars. We would like to highlight, that the Netherlands (47.6%) and Great Britain (30.7%) became leaders of 2020 in terms of investing in Chinese economy. [7]

The development of investment processes is influenced by such Chinese political system features as excessive bureaucratization, lack of transparency in the market and financial system, insufficient attention to protecting intellectual property and elements of protectionist policy. Despite the fact that Chinese authorities offer a list of benefits to foreign investors to attract them, these regulations may suddenly cease to be effective if government considers investor's actions unacceptable, so that investor loses all protection given before.

Even with such a significant number of risks, China continues to attract more and more investors, because benefits of investing in China outweigh the risks. This can be confirmed by comparative analysis of benefits and threats of investing published in the World Bank's Investment Climate Reviews, which shows that costs faced by investors do not exceed 14%. [8]

These days, innovative fields receive a lot of attention from foreign investors, precisely the service sector and IT-technologies as well as production and adaptation of equipment of narrow specialization. In 2020, 776.8 billion yuan (of the total foreign investment in China estimated in 999.98 billion yuan), went to services sector, which means there was an increase in 13.9%. [7]

According to data provided by Chinese Ministry of Commerce, for the first two months of 2021, foreign direct investment (FDI) in China grew by 31.5% (to 176.76 billion yuan), or 34.2% (to 26.07 billion US dollars) compared to the same period of the previous year. Foreign direct investment in services sector increased by 48.7% (to 141.74 billion yuan) and accounted for 80.2% of total FDI in this period. [7]

Among the main sources of investment in China, FDI from ASEAN member countries (28.1%) and the European Union (31.5%) increased, and FDI from states that are members of the Silk Road International Cooperation Organization («One Belt – One Road»), increased as well – by 26.2%. [7]

It should be noted that statistics is formed taking into consideration the low rates of last year: in 2020, FDI in China fell by 8.6% due to the negative consequences caused by coronavirus pandemic.

These are, in our opinion, some features of investing processes in PRC.

Conclusion

Formation of Chinese economy was, as we can see, long, but effective: the second place in the world in terms of GDP, status of the most active exporter and other indicators of high economic development level are, by far,

the consequences of effective economic policy and successful innovative measures.

Despite the fact that China has achieved significant economic success, reforms are not over yet: now it is necessary to get rid of overproduction regarding certain types of products, implement the adopted environmental policy for some enterprises and reduce the gap in socio-economic development between PRC regions.

In addition, the uneven development of China's regions remains an issue that needs to be solved, mainly because it affects the amount of FDI inflows in the state: the low investment attractiveness of northern and north-western provinces deprives them from opportunities and further development, while the eastern provinces attract more and more of new investors every year, including those from neighboring countries – for example, from Russia.

To sum up, it should be noted that investing in PRC with a proper analysis of advantages and risks can become really effective, since the country has created suitable conditions for investment development. But it seems to us, that investors should take into account the fact, that China is a large state, which develops in an uneven way. What is more, it's multinational: each part of China has its own unique culture and business characteristics. That is why any investor who decides to invest in PRC should study in detail not only the economy of preferable region, but also its cultural component. Studying China's legislation is required as well.

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CULTURAL STUDIES

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CLUSTER MODELING AS THE INSTRUMENT OF EFFECTIVE STRATEGIC CITY DEVELOPMENT

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Abstract. *The article presents an attempt of theoretical analysis of the “cluster modeling” as a tool for effective strategic social and economic city development in the context of existing trends in globalization and international relations. As examples of the positive practice application of cluster modeling in urban development, the most dynamically developing and strategically potential fields are selected: science, innovation and human capital (youth). Using the example of these fields’ interaction in the framework of some cluster models, the positive effect that they have on the development of large cities is noted. Among the cluster models, the following were selected: the “associated cluster” model, which assumes the system interaction of cluster participants within the selected fields; the “structural” cluster model, which assumes the integration of cluster participants by levels; and the “chaotic” cluster model, based on the random interaction of cluster participants. The article also reveals the concept of “cluster” and briefly presents the main characteristic features of this “phenomenon”. In conclusion, some of the author's conclusions are presented: the key goal of the social and economic development of any city is to create and preserve favorable conditions for human development, expressed in the accumulation of human capital. Attracting, accumulating, and retaining human capital is the main task of the city authorities. The article also pays attention to the consideration of program documents on the development of the urban environment, for example, the Strategy of*

social and economic development of St. Petersburg until 2035. It should also be emphasized that the use of the cluster approach in the development of cities actively contributes to the strengthening of international relations of partner cities at the present stage.

Keywords: *Cluster Modeling; Social and Economic Development; Megalopolis; Science; Innovations*

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In modern conditions of the international relations, in the context of strengthening crisis processes of globalization that is expressed in an accruing political tension in some regions of the world, and in emergence of new threats economic security of the world financial system, the states need to find new ways of their social and economic development. And the key differences of these ways would be efficiency, complex character and competitiveness.

In this context is quite logical for the political and business elites to create not only the system of macroeconomic regions, but also to develop megalopolises and also city agglomerations as trade and financial centers of regional integration and economic stability [12]. Growth of megalopolises, in turn, leads to emergence of a number of internal problems and the contradictions demanding effective and innovative decisions. These are the questions of the quality of the urban environment, transport infrastructure, improvement of an ecological situation, ensuring sustained economic growth of the megalopolis, attraction of investments, and creation of conditions for human development.

The cluster modeling based on the principle of creation of the functional clusters system in the long term, which are responsible for the concrete directions of strategic social and economic development of the modern cities and megalopolises. At the present stage of their economic and social development the large cities and megalopolises are confronted with complex problems that require significant financial investments. Moreover, the financial means in the city budget are often not enough to solve problems such as the need for a comprehensive development of transport infrastructure, requiring the construction of complex road junctions, bridges, viaducts, etc. Therefore the city governments are compelled to look for external sources of financing of specific projects, to attract new investors and to create favorable conditions for business for the large companies and corporations. However, such investors are also very complicated [3].

Investors are interested to make, first of all, investments with the smallest for themselves financial expenses and the greatest benefit, thereby, today the increasing popularity is gained not by power-intensive and resource-intensive segments of domestic market of the large cities which thus influence ecological situation in the megalopolis, but by the high-tech and knowledge-intensive segments focused on improvements of life quality of the consumer.

Today the market of information technologies is not only one of the most dynamically developing world markets, but one of the most profitable. So according to some statistic agencies the total sum of world sales of modern gadgets (smartphones, tablets, game consoles) in 2021 will exceed 1.3 billion units.

In close relationship with the market of high technologies there is also other sphere which also gets under attention of investors. These are innovations. Many megalopolises created the large centers of innovations which often call scientific and technical parks or the whole satellite towns (science cities) which are responsible for development of innovations and innovative ideas [4]. As in Moscow, which is one of the three largest megalopolises of Europe, it was created the scientific and technological innovative center "Skolkovo", and in the Moscow region was formed the city "Korolev" as the center for the development of Russian astronautics [15].

It is necessary to further develop the urban infrastructure for implementation of scientific and innovative activity of the private and state organizations, including the innovative and implementation centers, infrastructure for activity of small enterprises, IT parks, multipurpose office buildings for placement of the scientific and engineering organizations, centers of the general access to the scientific equipment, carrying out business and scientific and informative activities. Coordination between the research centers, located in the city territory must be provided [6, 14].

It is quite logical that today special attention in megalopolises is also paid to creating the system of the social and economic conditions for life and personal development of youth, young scientists and experts who, using their intellectual resources, can not only conduct innovative development, but also make the innovative products which possess high competitiveness and are attractive to investors [8, 10].

Thereby all three considered directions today are key spheres of the social and economic development of the megalopolises and large cities in the

context of searching new solutions of problems. But it is necessary to choose the most suitable approach for effective and complex development of the spheres of science, innovations and youth interaction in the context of prospects of social and economic development of modern megalopolises.



In the context of development of the modern trends in world economy and trade, with increasing role of the regional trade and financial centers to which, certainly, megalopolises belong, it is worth agreeing with opinion of a number of researchers and experts that one of the most effective approaches to

formation of an effective system of the megalopolis social and economic development is cluster modeling.

Cluster modeling assumes the creation of a system of the functional clusters which are responsible for the concrete directions of social and economic development of the modern megalopolis: economic and financial policy, commercial relations, budget formation, etc. [1]. It allows to create a complex view of key aspects of development of the modern city that, in turn, will promote increase of productivity, efficiency and competitiveness of making products, expansion of opportunities for innovative development, interaction and optimization between various subjects of economic development, and also increase a level of entertaining and quality of life of the population [2].

In general, the term "cluster" can be understood as a set of enterprises and organizations (members of the cluster), which are situated on the limited territory and are characterized by the:

- system of effective communication between cluster members, based on the high technologies and logistics (rational arrangement, using the remote, and electronic forms of communication);
- mechanism of coordination and cooperation of all members of the cluster (effective management);
- synergistic effect expressed in increase of economic efficiency and performance of each participant in the cluster due to the high degree of their concentration and cooperation [5].

In other words, the cluster represents a kind of base for the development of complex social and economic structure of a modern metropolis on the basis of introduction of new efficient and innovative forms of management to improve the performance of enterprises, growth of profit from trading and financial transactions, investment, saving optimal conditions for living and environmental conditions.

If the original cluster simulation, which has been actively developing at the turn of the 20th and 21st centuries, was mainly used in the field of computer technologies in designing large-scale IT-sites, and in industry for the creation of large enterprises with many factories and workshops, today it is also actively used in the development of the new solutions to the problems of modern cities and agglomerations in various sectors (transport, environment, etc.) [13].

However, when we begin to design and create a new cluster, we should consider a number of external and internal factors that may influence its development and effectiveness. The main qualifies for assessing the effectiveness of the cluster model of social and economic developments of the megalopolis are:

- Scientific and technological potential of the cluster (innovations).
- Organization and structure of the cluster (management effectiveness).
- Production potential of the cluster (profits and the amount of attracted investments).
- Quality of life, environmental conditions and the level of development of a transport infrastructure (the influence of the cluster on living conditions of citizens in the metropolis).

Taking into account these basic qualifies for evaluating the effectiveness of the cluster model today there are different typologies of the cluster models. For megalopolises, with their specific location, and also basing on the analysis of the key factors affecting the social and economic development of the city in the spheres of science, innovations and youth policy and cooperation there are three basic cluster models which can be the effective instruments of the city future development: the associated cluster, structural cluster and mixed (chaotic) cluster.

The associated cluster

This cluster model is based on the principle of continuous and systematic interaction between all participants of the cluster. The functioning

of the cluster depends on the simultaneous actions and efforts of all participants, whether scientific and innovations centers, youth associations and organizations, etc.

Purposes and goals that can be attained in each sphere:

- Helping to solve the issue with buying a flat;
- Development of effective models and forms of youth involvement in labor and economic activity;
- Development of youth business, including innovative sectors of the economy;
- Promoting a healthy lifestyle of young people
- Helping young people experiencing difficulties in socialization;
- Development of volunteering, youth activities, including anti-alcohol and anti-drug;
- Development of the spiritual, moral, civic and patriotic education of youth;
- Development of information and education on social issues relating to the lives of youth in society, access to information for young people to create the conditions and provide opportunities;
- Development of regional and international cooperation of young people, including the organization of youth exchanges.



The development of innovation culture in the society;

- Raising the status of scientists and innovators by supporting the dissemination of the best experience in the research and innovations,
- Increase advocacy role of science and innovation for the development of economy and society.

By 2030, the number of employees engaged in scientific research and development will rise to 114 thousand people (in 2012 – 80.7 thousand people). The increase of knowledge-intensive production and qualitative results of functioning regional innovation system will increase the role of science and scientific service in the city's economy and will find direct expression in the growth of residents' quality of life, sustainable social and economic development.

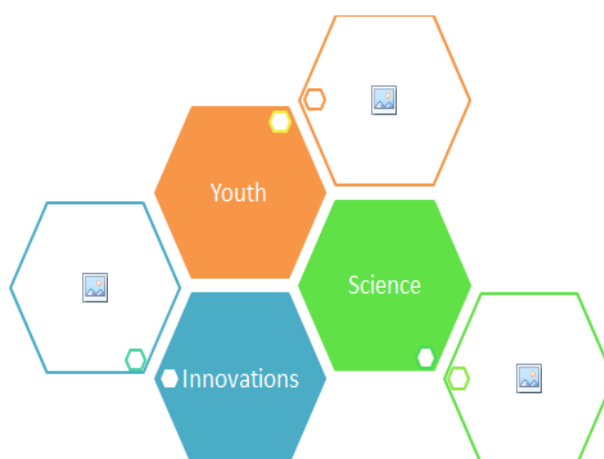


- Research and development of innovative activities;
- Coordination of activities of research organizations;
- Increased activity of young people in scientific research projects, as the most important factor of competitiveness of youth;
- Consolidation of youth initiatives to build a unified platform to discuss priority issues for young people, making decisions on the development of new ideas and innovative products.

The key goals of the development of science and innovation are to concentrate efforts and to gain leadership in the traditional scientific and technical fields (physics, biology, medicine, shipbuilding, heavy machinery, nuclear and space industry) and to develop new fields such as information and communication technologies, including software development, "cloud" computing and services, radiology, genetic engineering, cognitive development, the creation of composite materials, etc.

And briefly without the analysis of the purposes and goals that can be attained in each sphere (because they are the same) I would like to present another two cluster models which can be useful according to the long-term social and economic city development.

The structural cluster



This cluster model is based on the principle of systematic interaction between all cluster members. The distinctive feature of this model is that cluster members can interact at different levels and it is not necessary to cooperate with all cluster members. Thus, in this model, one can form more stable structures based on strong connections between cluster members. At

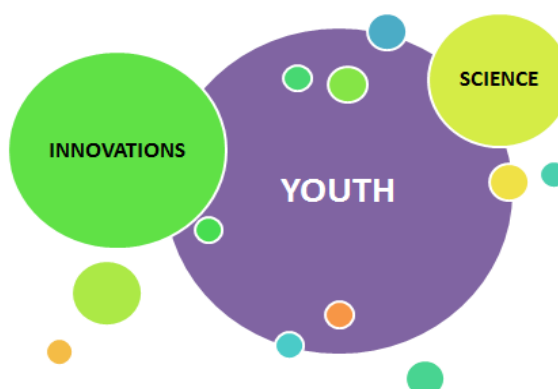
different stages of cluster development it is possible to involve in the processes as the original participants of the cluster, as well as to introduce some new cluster members. The interaction between the cluster members is done by the so-called assistants. In the context of the considered areas assistants can be independent scientific and expert centers, public organizations, etc. This cluster model is relevant because it has a sufficiently dynamic and can adapt to new conditions, and counter the negative factors affecting its functioning.

The mixed (chaotic) cluster

This cluster model is based on the principle of systematic and chaotic interactions between all cluster members. The distinctive feature of this model is that the clusters members can chaotically interact at different stages of model's development, can develop independently, and be the members of other clusters. Thus this model is the most open, which is an advantage in the solving of difficult and complex problems of social and economic development of the city. The distinctive feature of this model is the presence of various external factors affecting members of the cluster (group pressure, corruption, financial issues, etc).

In conclusion, I would like to emphasize that the key objective of social and economic development of any city is the creation and preservation of favorable conditions for human development, reflected in the accumulation of human capital

[16]. The human capital is a set of qualities of a person, allowing him to work productively and earn revenue: health, education, competence, shared culture, and social relations [7]. A set of individual human capitals of people living in the city, forms the total city's human capital. Attracting, accrual, retention of human capital is the main task of the city governments because it helps not only to create other capital (physical, natural, social), but also to develop economy dynamically.



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WORLD HEALTH ORGANIZATION: HISTORY AND MISSION

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Abstract. *The article look into the history of the World Health Organization as well as its goals and mission. As for opinion, this issue is especially relevant today as the whole world is facing a terrible epidemic of coronavirus. We hope that understanding the principle of WHO's work in the face of global epidemics and pandemics, as well as studying the historical aspects of the emergence of this organization, will help to overcome difficult times and learn to deal with the problem rationally. The article is concerned with the analysis in the history of cooperation between different states on health issues. The author describes the history of organizations that worked to address aspects of global health before WHO. In addition, it deals with exploring WHO's activities, structure, and goals and objectives. In addition, it studies the organization's field of activity and results. The official founding date of the World Health Organization is April 7, 1948. On that day, the organization's charter was ratified by 26 members of the United Nations. At the same time, the WHO mission was established to attain the highest possible level of health in the world. The very idea of international cooperation on health issues emerged due to epidemics and pandemics. Domestic activities in countries such as quarantine and isolation proved ineffective. These issues required the development of a set of measures for sanitary protection of the territories of the states. That is why international councils were established in Tangier (1792–1914), Constantinople (1839–1914), Tehran (186–1914) and Alexandria (1843–1938) [1].*

Keywords: World Health Organization; WHO; Healthcare; International Healthcare; Covid-19 pandemic

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World Health Organization as well as its goals and mission. In our opinion, this issue is especially relevant today as the whole world is facing a terrible epidemic of coronavirus. We hope that understanding the principle of WHO's work in the face of global epidemics and pandemics, as well as studying the historical aspects of the emergence of this organization, will help to overcome difficult times and learn to deal with the problem rationally.

This article is devoted to the analysis of the history of cooperation between different states on health issues. We will also analyze the history of organizations that worked to address aspects of global health before WHO. In addition, we will explore WHO's activities, structure, and goals and objectives. We will also study the organization's field of activity and results.

The official founding date of the World Health Organization is April 7, 1948. On that day, the organization's charter was ratified by 26 members of the United Nations. At the same time, the WHO mission was established to attain the highest possible level of health in the world.

The very idea of international cooperation on health issues emerged due to epidemics and pandemics. Domestic activities in countries such as quarantine and isolation proved ineffective. These issues required the development of a set of measures for sanitary protection of the territories of the states. That is why international councils were established in Tangier (1792–1914), Constantinople (1839–1914), Tehran (1867–1914) and Alexandria (1843–1938) [1].

It is important to note that the first International Sanitary Conference was organized in 1851. Russia, England, Austria, Vatican City, Greece, Spain, Portugal, Sardinia, Sicily, Turkey, France and others were involved in the development of key documents related to health. These are the International Quarantine Charter and the International Sanitary Convention. The mentioned documents prescribed maximum and minimum quarantine periods for diseases such as plague, smallpox and cholera. In addition, the main functions of quarantine stations were identified, and sanitary rules were developed for ports and docks [2].

An equally important event in terms of the formation of the World Health Organization occurred in December 1902. The first Pan American Sanitary Conference was organized under the auspices of the International Sanitary Bureau (Pan American Health Organization). It was dedicated to the development of a set of international health regulations too [3].

The next stage of WHO's formation is the establishment of the International Office of Public Hygiene in 1907. The goals and objectives of the office were as follows:

- organizing international health conventions
- food hygiene
- sanitary problems at seaports.

In addition, one of the office's main tasks was to inform the participating countries about various diseases and prevention methods. One of the related measures was the issue of a weekly bulletin on smallpox, cholera, yellow fever and other diseases.

The undoubtedly important result of the office's work was the creation of the first diphtheria antitoxin standard in 1922. Later, in 1930, the State Serum Institute in Copenhagen established a department responsible for maintaining the international standard of diphtheria antitoxin [4].

The International Office of Public Hygiene ceased to exist at the end of 1950. The office's invaluable contribution to international health as well as its tremendous experience served as the foundation for the continued creation of future health organizations [5].

It is evident, that the terrible consequences of the First World War were an important prerequisite for the creation of WHO. In this case, we are referring to the marked deterioration of the epidemic situation in the world as well as the extensive spread of epidemics and pandemics of diseases such as typhoid, cholera, smallpox and other infectious diseases.

That is why the League of Nations Health Organization (LNHO) was formed in 1923. Its competencies related to:

- developing international standards for biological and medical products
- organizing studies related to global health
- developing and creating regulations with clear requirements for the quality of medical products
- creating and developing international classifications of diseases and causes of death
- preventing the spread of the most dangerous diseases [2].

In our view, a significant result of the work of LNHO is the establishment of committees of experts as well as commissions on such issues as sanitary statistics, biological standardization, pharmacopeias development. They worked on diseases such as cancer, malaria, plague, drug control, opium

control and more. LNHO members are known for organizing humanitarian missions in Eastern Europe, Asia and Latin America. There they were engaged in the creation of local health departments, the preparation of medical personnel, providing the necessary assistance. Campaigns to fight the most dangerous diseases were also organized.

LNHO issued their weekly bulletin and annual record of epidemic diseases. These included the statistics on birth, death and epidemic diseases of the world's population. The activity was so extensive that in the late 1930s the epidemiological information system included a large part of the world's population. LNHO ceased to exist in 1946 [5].

The next important step to consider is the end of the Second World War. The United Nations played an important role at the time. In 1946, it was decided to establish a special department for health preservation.

Later, in June 1946, the International Health Conference was organized. It drafted and adopted the charter of a new health organization which we know as the World Health Organization. The main principles of cooperation of its members were established. The term for health was also defined: "health is a state of complete physical, mental and social well-being and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity" [6].

We believe that one of the most important is the issue of presentation. The Charter of the World Health Organization declared:

- "the enjoyment of the highest attainable standard of health is one of the fundamental rights of every human being without distinction of race, religion, political belief, economic or social condition
- the health of all peoples is fundamental to the attainment of peace and security and is dependent upon the fullest co-operation of individuals and states
- governments have a responsibility for the health of their peoples which can be fulfilled only by the provision of adequate health and social measures" [7].

On April 7, 1948, 26 members of the UN sent notices that they accept the WHO charter and ratify it.

An important date for WHO's formation and development is June 29, 1948. The First World Health Assembly was assembled on that day. It is considered to be the highest management authority. At that time, the organization consisted of 55 states.

The Soviet Union was among the states which established the World Health Organization. The USSR was actively involved in the development and adoption of many WHO programs. The Soviet Union regularly sent experts on world health and medicine to various WHO offices around the world.

An example of the Soviet Union's active participation is the proposal of the Soviet delegation within the Eleventh World Health Assembly to eliminate smallpox in the world in 1958. It is worth noting that the program was successfully completed in 1980.

The following resolutions were adopted on the initiative of the USSR: on the objectives of the World Health Organization in connection with the UN resolution on general and complete disarmament in 1960. We also believe it is necessary to note the UN Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and People of 1961 as well as the Declaration on the Prohibition of the Use of Thermonuclear Weapons of the same year. In addition, the USSR initiated the creation of the Convention on the Prohibition of Bacteriological and Chemical Weapons in 1970 and related to the role of WHO, physicians and other health workers in the preservation and promotion of peace between 1979 and 1983.

WHO scientific and reference centers and laboratories operate and international scientific programs and projects are developed under the auspices of Russian research and development institutions. For example, the collaboration of the D.I. Ivanovskiy Institute of Virology with the World Health Organization in the field of epidemiological information provides up-to-date data on the epidemic situation and circulating strains of influenza virus in the world. This allows for the rapid identification of influenza virus strains as they are detected in other countries [6].

In 1963, the World Health Organization's permanent courses on health organization, management and planning were established on the basis of the Central Institute for Physician Improvement.

A landmark event in the history of the organization was the International Conference of WHO and the United Nations Children's Fund on Primary Health Care held in Almaty in 1978. The results had a significant impact on the global health industry [6].

The World Health Organization has a decentralized structure divided into regions such as:

- African
- American

- Eastern Mediterranean
- European
- Western Pacific
- South-East Asia.

147 offices around the world are working continuously. To date, the organization consists of 140 states. The WHO's annual budget is approximately \$100 million [2].

Each year, the organization conducts approximately one and a half thousand different initiatives on health acts. These projects are aimed at the development of health services and departments, the fight against infectious and non-infectious diseases, staff training, environmental enhancement, protection of motherhood and childhood, development of sanitary statistics, pharmacology and toxicology, control of narcotic substances and medicinal drugs.

This is only a shortened list of WHO interests. In addition, it should be noted that the organization pays special attention to various social aspects. This means, for example, nuclear weapons and partial demilitarization, chemical and bacteriological weapons bans, etc. [8].

In terms of the goals and objectives of the World Health Organization, the following can be mentioned:

- providing international health advice
- leadership in matters of critical importance to health and partnerships
- developing a research agenda and encouraging the collection, development and dissemination of valuable knowledge
- setting standards, facilitating and monitoring them accordingly
- international cooperation to improve national health programs
- settling ethical issues
- monitoring the health situation and assessing the dynamics of its change.

The above goals and objectives are presented in the Eleventh General Programme of Work. This document provides a structural description of the program works covering all WHO bodies. In addition, the organization's resources, budgets and results are taken into account [7].

One of the most important activities of the World Health Organization is to set and monitor the quality of international standards for food and medicines. In addition, the organization reviews the global classification of injuries, diseases and causes of death approximately every 10 years. Moreover,

the World Health Organization arranges international studies on health care, medical training, public health studies, etc. The organization also establishes expert committees and scientific teams on various issues, holds international conferences on medicine and health issues, conducts international courses to exchange experience and train health workers.

These activities are an important step towards the WHO's mission, i.e. maximizing health for all people in the world. The main role of the World Health Organization in achieving the established goals and objectives is to consult and provide information, expert and technical assistance to countries.

The most pressing WHO issues today are undoubtedly tuberculosis, malaria and HIV/AIDS. In addition, issues such as child and adolescent health, pregnancy safety, chronic diseases and mental health are crucial to the organization.

It is important to note that the World Health Organization develops and adopts international health regulations, conventions and agreements. The adopted documents are not legally binding. They can be seen as recommendations. This is due to the fact that recommendations have a simplified procedure of adoption, subsequent additions and changes implementation.

The World Health Organization participated in the work of the UN Commission on Human Rights to establish the Universal Declaration of Human Rights as a specialized UN agency [2].

Health issues are part of the International Covenant on Economic Social and Cultural Rights. The covenants were approved by the UN General Assembly and released for signing in 1966. However, they did not come into force until 1976.

The adoption of the Framework Convention on Tobacco Control of February 27, 2005 is clearly an unquestionable achievement of the World Health Organization. It is also the first convention to be adopted under the auspices of the organization.

Equally important are the International Health Regulations adopted at the Fifty-eighth World Health Assembly in May 2005. They aim to limit the spread of diseases as much as possible with minimal intervention in areas such as international trade and tourism.

WHO also participates in the Women's Rights Committee and the Committee on the Rights of the Child. The Convention on the Rights of the

Child was adopted on November 20, 1989. Many of its articles contain provisions that are critical to safe child development [4].

Today, the World Health Organization is actively developing the Health for All in the 21st Century Policy. The main objectives of this policy include:

- improving access to quality health care
 - introducing global and national systems of medical information and epidemiological surveillance
 - preventing pandemics
 - poliomyelitis eradication [8].
- It is worth noting that the World Health Organization is working effectively with the following international organizations:
- the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations
 - the United Nations Industrial Development Organization
 - the International Labour Organization
 - the United Nations Children's Fund
 - the League of Red Cross Societies.

The regularly issued documents and publications include the WHO Chronicle, Public Health Notebooks, annual World Health Statistics reports, the WHO Bulletin, and Public Health Journal [6].

It can be concluded that the World Health Organization has established itself as the largest body for the settlement of health and medicine issues at the world level in more than 70 years of history. A large number of health programs have been implemented, including smallpox eradication, fight against malaria, cholera, HIV infection, etc.

In addition, WHO invests many resources in the issues related to motherhood, child health and mental illnesses.

Nowadays WHO providing help and support in solution of such global question as COVID-19 coronavirus pandemic [9]. WHO has taken actions on information, science, strategy and planning and also response and resourcing [13]. For example, on March 18 2020 WHO and partners launched the Solidarity trial, an international clinical trial that aims to generate robust data from around the world to find the most effective treatments for COVID-19 [10].

Moreover, WHO website provide access to interactive COVID-19 Dashboard where anyone can check new cases of infection [12].

We think that one of the most important responses of WHO to COVID-19 pandemic is providing information on vaccines, and latest news about virus. One of the latest posts says that New Global Dashboard on COVID-19 Vaccine

Equity finds low-income countries would add \$38 billion to their GDP forecast for 2021 if they had the same vaccination rate as high-income countries. Global economic recovery at risk if vaccines are not equitably manufactured, scaled up and distributed [11].

One of the most important things that WHO provides is advices for health workers and administrators because they are central to COVID-19 response [14].

We believe that the recommendation approach used in the World Health Organization's instructions is the most effective form of global cooperation on health and medicine. These documents are relatively easy to correct and modify. They respect and work in a collaboration with the traditions of medicine in many countries because of the contained recommendations. We hope that the world's experience in fighting epidemics and pandemics will help humanity in the current difficult period.

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THE HORIZON OF CONTEMPORARY HIGHER EDUCATION IN THE CONTEXT OF ETHICAL PRINCIPLES

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Abstract. *The inherent message for this paper is to escalate the discourse to the systems level as quickly and in as many ways as possible and consider sustainability as a key governance responsibility for institutions and governments. Ethics in academia can be broadly understood as decision-making, associated with the university's tripartite mission of teaching, research and community service, which is based on moral principles or values, and which determines how members of the university community behave and treat others: with a view to the common good. The purpose of the paper is to investigate what the ethical principles of the higher education are. The paper discusses the ethical orientations of educational leadership, highlights the ideas of equity and justice in higher education. The Universities are supposed to produce true global citizens competent to understand and engage discipline-specific issues as well as ethical, cultural, political, and social problems. The results of the work are highlighted in the idea that leadership actions are rooted in value systems, and can prosper by adhering to these values and aligning actions to them. The paper acknowledges the relationship between responsible decision-making and responsiveness to the needs of those who are affected by one's decisions and actions. The fact is that to be in the knowledge business is to be in the ethics business whether our universities acknowledge this explicitly or not. Ethical, values-driven behaviour is needed in all societies. But in a globalized world, common values are needed since this world is highly interconnected and interdependent, linked by trade, information and communication technologies, fast social media, the free trade of goods and partially free movement of people.*

Keywords: *Ethical Culture; Harmony; Collaboration; Human Rights; University Governance*

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1. Introduction

In a world of cutthroat competition, education has almost become a business aimed at ‘making money’; and the more, the better. In order to get through this highly competitive market, institutions and individuals play the game of money-spinning. Campus placement opportunity is the criterion of a best school, and character formation is almost a bygone ideal of education. The trend in education seems to be in producing or supplying the demands of the market. While some developed countries have made the concerted decision to increase student numbers, they employ a variety of practices including considerable investments of resources in foreign universities in developing countries [1, pp. 24-32]. Education has become a booming industry, often at the cost of the values of education. Such an unbridled multiplying of educational institutions needs to be checked, lest the future of humanity be in jeopardy. The need is to pump the values of life into the veins of education in order to avert the impending danger of the extinction of diversity, democracy, and the dignity of community [2, pp. 14-23]. Higher education should give adequate importance to holistic and integral formation of persons along with rigorous research and sincere commitment to address the manifold issues of our times.

2. Discussion

Education, ultimately, aims to bring out the best in a person to live in harmony with every reality out there. One is educated to fine tune the information and experiential knowledge into a beautiful melody of eternal music. Any university exists because of its ability to be inclusive and integral in accommodating all noble thoughts and possible dreams. Unity in diversity is also the soul of the university, for it is a miniature form of the universe. While working for unity and universality in higher education, it is to be borne in mind that uniformity is not the ideal; instead, multi-polarity and transversality need to be adopted as the policies for responsible leadership in higher

education [3]. Identity, unity, and solidarity are to be the guiding principles in all walks of life, especially in higher education, because it is through education that generations are moulded and equipped. A leader is one who seeks truth, speaks truth, and stands for truth. The whole purpose of education is to help the student see the truth and beauty in life and activity. The operations and structures of an ethically excellent, multi-cultural university will embody and practice the agreed basic ethical values and avoid the opposites of those ethical qualities, above all dishonesty, injustice, mediocrity, selfishness, disrespect and laziness [4].

Higher education has a responsibility to the common good, to establish the dignity of all. Often in a market driven economy, generally, attention is paid to short-term benefits and to the interests of shareholders. There is an urgency to see the interconnectivity of all things; inherent interrelation of somebody with everybody. It is this education which is of paramount importance for our times, and responsible leadership has no choice but to pilot the project of a harmony of life, which assures health, happiness. The campuses and leaders of higher education should rediscover and revive this holistic and harmonious approach to education and leadership. This means that ethical and moral discourse has to be once again alive and active in the arena of higher education [5]. Higher education and responsible leadership have to invest much time and energy in inculcating the virtue of truth-telling and righteous behaviour. While imparting a lot of information for a professional placement, the teachers and institutions often neglect or ignore the character formation of the students. Responsible leadership means good examples and attractive witness to the truth and righteousness. It is time the higher education had to invent the ways and means to attract the students to an ethical and moral life. Much time is invested in fulfilling the legal requirements, but not so much attention is given to moral formation [6].

Though there may be different goals in education, its primary end is to bring refinement and purification in thought, word, and deed. The core emergent principle of active concern for the common good provides an invaluable basis for negotiating a fresh, respectful and fully inclusive way to forge a truly inclusive global ethic and to handle the things about which our cultures differ. It is here that an important opportunity exists for the contemporary, multi-cultural university.

The business of creating and sharing knowledge is itself a core form of ethical practice (as distinct from teaching about ethics, which may have no real impact on actual practice). Knowledge must be true to count as knowledge, and in every value-system accessed in the global ethics movement, truth is judged to be a central moral value [7].

So to be in the knowledge business is to be in the ethics business whether our universities acknowledge this explicitly or not. Thought that is characterized by factual error, mere opinion, illogicality and partisanship and that is untested by the critical assessment of qualified peers is not thought leadership but an unpardonable waste of resources. Universities are inherently social. They are places, which cannot function without cooperation and interpersonal reliability. Staff members who prefer to let their self-interest outweigh their duty to act supportively towards their colleagues when that is needed harm this essential requirement. Universities are not places for the selfish any more than for the dishonest. The duty to increase knowledge is of course non-negotiable, but nobody ever does this entirely alone, without recourse to laboratories, libraries, learned journals, administrative departments and those who staff them. It will be clear that in drawing on these resources and those who work there, staff members who do so respectfully and considerately will help maintain the spirit of helpfulness that is essential for success, just as rude or inconsiderate behaviour damages that spirit.

Institutionalization of ethical checks and balances, while necessary, run the risk of mere 'paper ethics'. To create a pervasive ethical culture in the current context of the university fraught with ambivalent, jostling discourses and among the competing role sets of the professoriate, principles and values hinge on the internalization and the transmission of an ethical habitus, that is, an embodied ethics [8] or an 'ethics from below' [9]. This is of particular importance as universities receive continually new cohorts of academics who should be socialised in ethically sound and rigorous communities of practice.

3. Conclusion

In this regard university educators would benefit from a code set, such as the ethics of knowledge developed by Clark Kerr [10]. Kerr advocates ethical principles for academe based on care – for intellectual property, for intellectual freedom and discourse, for academic merit and performance, for human and animal subjects in research, for position and resources and for students and

colleagues. To reach this kind of consensus about core values that penetrate academic daily life far beyond the stated requirements of a clearance committee, the conditions of an ethical contract or the rigors of a plagiarism-checking device, collective self-scrutiny is necessary. This would also resolve the dilemma of the perceived tensions between so-called “business” ethics and disciplinary based ethics [11]. Higher education leaders are challenged to ensure that their tertiary schools not only exist but prosper in the new international, volatile and competitive environment.

As part of good governance, a university is expected to account to a number of stakeholders with an interest in higher education. These include government, employers, students and industry. Greater public accountability has been a steady feature of public policy and practice for institutions funded by the public purse [12]. While it is acknowledged and has been argued that leading higher education institutions has become ever more complex, and the pressures unrelenting. The inherent message for this paper is to escalate the discourse to the systems level as quickly and in as many ways as possible and consider sustainability as a key governance responsibility for institutions and governments.

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CULTURAL, MORAL AND INTELLECTUAL VALUES OF THE 21st CENTURY'S HIGHER EDUCATIONT

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Abstract. Higher education is leadership education. The values and virtues practised in Univeraities heavily influence the future leaders. Many institutions of higher education show excellence not only in academic subjects, as green campuses, with manifold ethics curricula and in their community engagement, but also in the value-orientation of the Board and teaching staff as well as students. The purpose of this paper is to demonstrate ways by which ethics has become essential component of good governance in higher education management. The novelty of the paper is connected with urgency to adapt the world's educational systems to the requirements of society. The educational sector is challenged to proffer practical solutions for the challenges that face mankind at this time. The conclusion of this paper is the fundamental idea that education does not happen in isolation but is carried out through societal, environmental and human channels. Through education, the young and future generations receive knowledge and traditions that help them enter into the totality of reality. The context of a new vision for education which calls for mindset shift from reading and writing to skills acquisition with relevance for daily life and society becomes imperative. Ethics education is the opportunity for a new value orientation. Such education ensures the training of both the teacher and the student, develops new technologies and conclusively allows a new vision, a new policy, a new market, new resources and a new system. The normative value of this kind of education is the emergence of a new humanity of responsible leaders driven by values and virtues and knowledgeable enough to transform their environment and serve entire humanity in a new society yearning for ethical and fair minded leaders.

Keywords: Higher Education; Values; Research Work; Diversity; Requirements of Society; Academic Leaders

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1. Introduction

The University in a digitized, commercialized age faces many of the higher education challenges of the 21st century. The most important purposes of higher education encompass a useful framework for assessing how higher education is fulfilling its uniquely important role supporting a vibrant democratic society. Those responsible for higher education's well-being, including presidents, administrators, trustees, faculty, and government policy makers, would do well to hold close these important values as they carry out their complementary roles leading the sector.

Our increasing reliance on machines to support and even replace some of our intellectual work is going to raise ethical and philosophical questions that only an understanding of the humanities will help us to address. The relevance of the paper is connected with the requirement for such university students' skills development as knowledge and critical understanding of the world as well as creating new knowledge. It is crucial for the universities to develop such values as human rights, cultures, religions, and history flexibility and adaptability. The purpose of the paper is to reveal the main values of contemporary higher educational environment that are linked both with educational technologies, and cultural diversity valuing. The following tasks have been set: – to consider the new educational technologies; – to view the research process; – to describe the students' demographic changes; – to identify the idea of global ethics.

As we consider the challenges facing them in that endeavor, it is useful to remember that higher education is not a monolith. It is made up of many independent and diverse institutional types all operating to support and sustain internal organizational self-interest even as they serve broader societal objectives. Nevertheless, there are certain core principles that all of these institutions share, and there are certain aspects of their experience that are common.

One undeniable common factor is the changing information and media environment. It is important to consider the impact of digitalization on the Universities. This next powerful wave of change emanates from the trillions of sensors capturing data of every imaginable kind, the rapidly accelerating and exponential increases in computing power to process those data, and the potential for artificial intelligence and machine learning to operate in ways that fundamentally change many of the directions we work, learn, and interact; in short, the way we live our lives.

The impact of this new wave of forces will be greater than the Industrial Revolution in the way it will transform our world. Paraphrasing from Joseph Aoun in his book about artificial intelligence: in the Industrial Revolution man learned to use machines as a substitute for physical labor, in this era we are learning to use machines as a substitute for intellectual labor. Just as the shift to machines for physical labor transformed many aspects of society, so too will the continuing transition to the use of machines to support more fully our intellectual work [1].

The ultimate impact of the migration to artificial and machine-assisted intelligence is in many ways unforeseeable, but it is certain to be fundamental. The revolution to come will play out over decades, but because of the accelerating nature of technology and the rapid spread of information in today's world, we must begin now to prepare for its impact and indeed to help shape it to positive ends for society. As teacher, the university educator communicates values to students, although some would argue that these are subverted or at least masked by the substantive issues of the discipline or field [2]. Education has become a booming industry, often at the cost of the values of education. Such an unbridled multiplying of educational institutions needs to be checked, lest the future of humanity be in jeopardy. The need is to pump the values of life into the veins of education in order to avert the impending danger of the extinction of diversity, democracy, and the dignity of community. Higher education should give adequate importance to holistic and integral formation of persons along with rigorous research and sincere commitment to address the manifold issues of our times.

2. Discussion

2.1. Educating Students to Lead Productive Lives

The demand for and value of post-secondary education will continue to increase as machines take on more physical and basic intellectual tasks. The challenges to meeting those needs fall into a number of categories:

- A changing population. Not only do higher education institutions need to be able to effectively educate more students of color, more students of modest financial means, and first-generation students in response to changing demographics, they also need to be able to educate students at different stages of their careers. This presents a variety of challenges at every stage of the education process, from admission through awarding a degree and on to meeting the needs of those who have to return periodically for additional education throughout the course of a career.

- Educational technologies. There is evidence that new teaching techniques facilitated by the technologies, such as flipped classrooms and engaged learning, offer promise, but demand that the roles of students and faculty in the learning process change in fundamental ways. Such change is very difficult to enable and support.

- Balancing the curriculum. Institutions need to respond to demand for such skills as computer programming or data science, even as they maintain and make the case for important education in humanistic fields that are essential to dealing with ethical and values- based questions being raised by societal changes.

- Unbundling and rebundling. A number of information-based industries have been threatened and altered because new entrants provide a specialized service that disaggregates a bundled offering. There are many components to the higher education bundle, and of course what makes up the bundle varies by type and even individual institutions, but three broad categories might be worth considering as we contemplate future pressures on the sector: 1) education, and by that we specifically refer to the change in understanding and knowledge acquired over a period of time; 2) credentialing, and by that we mean the validation that a person has a particular skill or competence; and 3) selection, which refers to the process by which higher education institutions identify and assemble a group of talented people, an outcome that has proven to be very valuable to those who want to find talent, either for jobs or for further education. Higher education provides a talent matching role that makes the process of finding excellent people more efficient.

- The Arms Race. There is an additional component that applies primarily to residential colleges, and drives up costs for institutions competing to attract students, and that is the need to provide a comfortable, safe, and sometimes almost luxurious environment for young men and women to transition to adulthood. Some refer to this as a student “arms race,” as schools compete on quality of life related issues like beautiful technology-enabled dorms and campuses, great food, athletics facilities, etc. University teachers produce the global leaders of tomorrow. Fact is that the teachers are leaders of future leaders because they train the young. Teachers therefore bear a grave responsibility in their institutions, alongside parents, the government and the Media with the traditional institutions amongst others, to encourage value-driven leadership through the content, curriculum and methods of training

professionals. Ethical, values-driven behaviour is needed in all societies. But in a globalized world, common values are needed since this world is highly interconnected and interdependent, linked by trade, information and communication technologies, fast social media, the free trade of goods and partially free movement of people. Global interaction needs a common set of values such as a sense of justice, fairness and peace and virtues such as respect and integrity. Without this common set of values with trust as the condition for exchange cooperation is not possible. The Significant Role of Higher Education Open and distance learning educational institutions, which we represent here, are not exempt. There is a widespread recognition of the need for effective leadership to shape institutional transformation and has led to a re-evaluation of leadership practices in higher education [3]. Ashbrook, J.B. and Albright argue that in order to build the leadership capacity for top quality institutions, leaders will have to possess good management and technical skills, as well as well-developed social and emotional skills [4]. In addition, academic leaders must develop the ability to motivate for change and articulate its relevance by establishing an authentic and

- consistent relationship with stakeholders [5]. GlobeEthics.net identifies responsible leadership as a key component in facing the economic, financial, environmental and social challenges of the 21st century [6]. Responsible leadership acknowledges that actions are rooted in value systems and by adhering to these values and aligning actions to them. It acknowledges the relationship between responsible decision-making and responsiveness e.g. responsiveness to the needs of those who are affected by one's decisions and actions. In the above light, ethical leadership in a higher education context is a social, relational practice concerned with the moral purpose of higher education since ethics is about relationships with others and leadership is a human-centred relational activity [7] Ethical leaders are individuals who act fairly and justly and are viewed as caring, honest and principled persons who make balanced decisions and who communicate the importance of ethics and ethical behaviour to their followers [8]. Moreover, they promote values such as inclusion.

2.2. Conducting Research and Creating New Knowledge

The development of networked technologies has had a dramatic impact on scholarly communications and the research process. The first phase of that change—digitized information distributed via the network—has led to much wider dissemination of scholarly content around the world. The second phase

of that evolution, enabled by the fact that the marginal cost of delivering content is nearly zero, has been downward pressure on the willingness to pay for content, leading to the emergence of the open access movement. There is increasing expectation that content should be delivered without charge to support its widest possible access and dissemination.

In response to these changes, larger scale publishers and aggregators of scholarly content have been shifting their business models to rely less on subscriptions to content and more on fees for services. They are moving “upstream” in the research process and assembling or building a variety of tools and services focused not only on the publication process, but also on helping scholars compile and manage data, collaborate with other researchers, and manage their work profiles. They are also building tools that help institutions evaluate, showcase and generate financial support for their faculty’s work. Publishers’ strategies illustrate the opportunities to deliver new tools for supporting the research and publication process, but a more fundamental change to research may be associated with the growing importance of data analytics and machine learning. The entirely new areas and types of research are being created by the ability to capture, store, and analyze massive amounts of data. Computer science is being integrated into many traditional disciplines to create new interdisciplinary fields of research. Problems that were once intractable can now be pursued using raw computing power aimed at processing enormous amounts of data. Like access to great research libraries in the 20th century or access to the transcribed texts of the monks in the 6th century, access to massive amounts of data is essential to conducting cutting edge research in an increasing number of fields. Challenges facing colleges and universities as they are surrounded by “Big Data” include:

- The largest datasets are not controlled by universities. Unfortunately, the largest datasets are often not available in the public domain or accessible by universities; they are held by corporations like Google, Facebook, and Amazon. It has been said that Google’s effort to re-enter China is driven largely not by a desire for advertising revenue, but by a need to gain access to more data. With the insatiable need for data to feed the machine learning algorithms and to pursue answers to challenging problems in new ways, universities are finding themselves struggling to gain access to the raw materials for creating knowledge. Information and Communication Technologies (ITCs) represent a huge potential for higher education and are obviously the back bone of open and distance learning education. The advantages and future potential are still

huge. But each technology is ambiguous when looked at from an ethical perspective. It can be used for good and for bad, to save lives and take lives, to democratise knowledge and to control or centralise knowledge. Excellent distance learning possibilities are improved with ICTs but at the same time cybercrime is increasing and cyber security decreasing. The ethical and legal development is always behind technological development. That is why ethics in higher education needs to look at the ethics of technologies, especially ICTs.

- Attracting top talent. Even the largest research universities are finding themselves at a disadvantage when trying to recruit top research talent. Professors are leaving the academy for jobs in industry, not only because of the potential to earn more money, but also to have access to the resources and data necessary to work on the most interesting intellectual problems.

- Potential to collaborate. Increasingly colleges and universities are positioning themselves to engage collaboratively not only with other universities, but also with private enterprise in order to get access to more data and compete to be at the cutting edge of research and discovery.

One consequence of these developments is that a smaller number of universities have the scale to compete in this domain, a trend that is increasing the gap between a small number of elite universities at the top, and all other colleges and universities far behind.

2.3. Serving as Engines of Opportunity and Social Mobility

If there is a risk of bifurcation in the research enterprise, it is perhaps even more pronounced on the education side of the college/university mission. Although the return on investment from a post-secondary degree has continued to be a great value, the cost of higher education, and the tuitions charged for earning a degree, have grown at a rate higher than that of all but the highest family incomes, making it increasingly difficult for people from middle- and lower-income backgrounds to afford a post-secondary education. A series of challenges have emerged to confront higher education as it attempts to maintain its place as a positive defender and facilitator of social and economic opportunity:

- Undermatching. Many students choose not to go to the school that will challenge them more or that is beyond their local geographical region, a decision that often leads them to choose a school with lower levels of degree completion. And for colleges and universities, it is costly to reach students from all backgrounds and they don't always have an incentive to do so.

- Low levels of public support for institutions that serve the most students. Community colleges and regional public universities, which are the starting point for many of the most economically challenged students, are severely underfunded on a per-student basis, leading to low graduation rates and fewer resources for students trying to complete their educations.

- Changing demographics. Colleges and universities have to educate a more diverse set of students from a wider range of backgrounds.

- Increasing numbers of less-prepared students. More students coming out of high school aspire to attend college but unfortunately a larger share of them are not sufficiently prepared. More students are arriving at college needing more support to complete their educations and earn their degrees. Educating these students is costlier for colleges at a time when tuition needs to be held in check.

- Students have lives. The majority of students have other commitments and face pressures outside their academic work; they are not in a position to make education their exclusive, or even a top priority. Colleges must continue to develop different ways to educate students who have to work or raise a family or meet other obligations while pursuing their education [9].

One dystopian potential outcome would be that, despite the best efforts of many institutions of all kinds, we could see a devolution back to a distinctly two-tiered system like what existed in 19th Century Britain. In this negative projection one can envision a very small number of well-endowed institutions that cater to the wealthy, well-prepared class as well as a small number of carefully picked representatives from various groups. These students would receive a world-class education, while most students would be at risk of receiving a much lower quality education that is overly-reliant on poorly built computerized teaching systems or online learning courseware that does not provide the kind of encouragement and motivation that is required to help students through the many challenges encountered when learning. Following this path could lead to a self-perpetuating system across generations where a small elite group benefits from a compounding level of social capital, while most students are left out, leading to a widening of social, political, cultural, and financial gulfs.

2.4. Protecting and Supporting Diverse Points of View

Higher education institutions hold sacred the ideal that their communities protect everyone's ability to make their arguments; that the pursuit of knowledge requires a free exchange of knowledge and perspective,

and that the use of evidence, scientific inquiry and vigorous debate are essential pillars of a democratic society and social and technological progress. There are a number of factors that are threatening higher education's ability to continue to serve that role for all perspectives:

- The very assumption that there are facts and that truth can be pursued and realized through scientific inquiry is being questioned. Sometimes this skepticism about the concept of "truth" stems from politics or ideology, sometimes it is rooted in beliefs about different forms of knowledge and "ways of knowing."

- Controversial speakers are unwelcome. Demonstrations and the threat of violence associated with providing a platform for controversial speakers threaten the ability of higher education institutions to serve as the host for important conversations and to serve as defenders of free speech.

- The academy leans left. Through a process of self-selection over a matter of decades, a super-majority of the professoriate and administration in the academy have political views that are left-of-center. This is helping to create a perception that higher education is not a welcoming environment for all perspectives.

- There is less room for nuance. The increasing stridency of debate and dialogue in the political sphere, driven aggressively by ideology and partisanship, undermines the making of arguments based on careful and nuanced intellectual reasoning [10].

Higher education needs to combat the perception as well as the reality that it is no longer a place where ideas can be truly and freely shared without fear of repercussions [10].

2.5. Defending Important Values

In addition to nurturing multiple points of view, colleges and universities are long-lived institutions that have stood for timeless values such as the disinterested pursuit of learning, the freedom to conduct research on important questions of every kind, and the importance of enlightened reason. Yet, these institutions are threatened from multiple directions, and many, if not all, of the problems framed here threaten these institutions' ability to protect these values. For example, the increase in the need to support computer science and data science majors at the same time that the number of humanities majors is falling dramatically is a direct response to "the market" for students and by the needs of students. There is nothing inherently wrong with that, but it steers these institutions toward the practical and away from

the philosophical. It also raises the question of whether higher education institutions are motivated by their values, or if they have become more akin to corporations driven by meeting the needs of consumers and responding to challenges to their financial sustainability rather than by their values and mission. This shift is occurring at a time when a rich understanding of the humanities is arguably more important than ever [11]. Currie and Vidovich argue that there are a number of macro pressures that have an impact on the 21st century teaching and learning environment, new demands associated with accelerated internationalisation, dwindling collegiality and trust, decreased autonomy, and challenges to academic freedom [12]. These add to the mix of pressures and influences which impact upon the university and the challenges of leadership, making proactive and consistent leadership all that more difficult, and more imperative [13].

3. Conclusion

The problems facing higher education are coming at the sector fast and furious, and from all angles. Multiple books would be needed (and have been published) that attempt to address some or all of these challenges. Ultimately, we need for our rich diverse ecosystem of colleges and universities, public policy makers, and the organizations that support and partner in their work, to be positioned to defend, protect and sustain higher education's extremely important role as a trusted source of knowledge, education, and freedom of inquiry.

The context of a new vision for education which calls for mindset shift from reading and writing to skills acquisition with relevance for daily life and society becomes imperative. Ethics education is opportunity for a new value orientation. Such education ensures the training of both the teacher and the student, develops new technologies and conclusively allows a new vision, a new policy, a new market, new resources and a new system. The normative value of this kind of education is the emergence of a new humanity of responsible leaders driven by values and virtues and knowledgeable enough to transform their environment and serve entire humanity in a new society yearning for ethical and fair minded leaders. Dialogue with culture, nature, and stature is urgently needed in our day. Peace is built on the basis of truth, justice, freedom, and charity. Hence these values are to be given prime place in higher education. Higher education should pitch itself in injecting hope to humanity to overcome the imminent dangers and difficulties one has to face. To achieve the ideal situation it is not enough for the multi-cultural university to open its

doors to people from any culture. It must enlist their commitment to participating in the project of creating a richly ethical, multi-cultural future for the academy and the world by understanding their backgrounds and needs, seeking to meet those needs and ensuring that the university they attend is not just inclusive in name but in reality. For this to happen a special responsibility rests on the shoulders of the senior university leadership. Only they can set the right tone for a truly inclusive campus that embraces ethical values all can share. Achieving that requires of them the visible, consistent practice of three cardinal values: equality, respect and fairness. Equality means that everyone in the university is treated and valued equally as unique human beings with hopes, fears, frustrations, needs and feelings. Respect means accepting and valuing the reality that they come from diverse backgrounds, follow different faiths or none, and have different political loyalties. Fairness means relating even-handedly towards all, and that makes it essential that the leadership shows no trace of bias on grounds of belief, culture and political party. On this kind of basis our universities can do invaluable work to create a global future worth having.

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