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Face masks in education: The cases of Greece and Singapore

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Abstract

In response to the COVID-19 pandemic, governments across the world implemented practices and rules related to masks in educational settings and beyond. Through a desktop analysis and systematic literature review, leveraging educational, governmental and journalistic sources, this article provides an extreme comparison of two nations' intra-period responses on the use of face masks in education. Taking the examples of two different countries (Greece and Singapore), we discuss their contrasting approaches to face mask use in education, ranging from pre-schools to universities, while taking into account the macroenvironmental dissimilarities of their educational systems and technological capabilities. There are significant opportunities to learn by examining the governmental, pedagogical, and community reactions of different countries about mask use, in order to strengthen educators' collective

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response to COVID-19 now and into the future. These various threads could then be pulled back together in a discussion across borders.

Keywords: case studies, coronavirus, COVID-19, extreme comparison, face masks, Greece, schools, Singapore

Introduction

Since the beginning of the pandemic and despite advances in pharmacological treatment and early vaccine development, the use of masks remains a hot topic due to its politicisation of discourse and decision making (Schünemann et al., 2020; Rudolph et al., 2021). The rhetoric on the use of masks has considerably changed since the beginning of the pandemic, when experts advised against their use, due to reasons of self-contamination, amongst others. As the pandemic kept evolving, the rhetoric shifted considerably to the compulsory use of masks, with the argument that it protects others (Schünemann et al., 2020). The shift in thinking from ‘self’ to ‘other’ is key for this article and it will be the center of our critical discussion. Clinical studies worldwide continue since 2020 to examine the effectiveness of face masks in relation to saving lives and delaying the spread of the coronavirus. Worby and Chang (2020) concluded via a mathematical model that even with limited protective effect, masks can reduce total infections and deaths for the elderly and can delay the peak time of the epidemic. However, random distribution of masks is suboptimal. Eikenberry et al. (2020) suggest that face mask use should be nationwide and, coupled with social distancing, can be the most effective measure to delay the spread of the coronavirus and reduce community transmission (see also Walger et al., 2020).

Clinical studies, such as the ones discussed above and indeed many more (e.g. Kim, 2020); Scheid et al., 2020) have subsequently informed political discourse and decisions taken by authorities, which inevitably affect different parts of the society. We focus our discussion on the use of face masks in education. After brief introductions to the educational systems of the chosen illustrative countries, we analyse the connection that masks have with learning and the impact on teachers and students. Finally, we refer to the challenges of mask-wearing in an educational environment in which communication is a key component.

The two chosen educational systems to illustrate our case are those of Greece and Singapore respectively. These two systems were chosen as they seem to have nothing in common and are situated in very different parts of the world. This choice is deliberate in order to determine the common challenges faced objectively and examine the issues that arise across two countries that are very different in cultural, political, and economic terms. The research questions that guide our analysis are as follows:

- a) What challenges do educators and students face in their learning environment due to mandatory mask-wearing during the global pandemic?
- b) How does mask-wearing affect the development of care and connection in the learning environment?
- c) What strategies have the educational system of each country and teachers themselves put in place to support students to overcome these challenges?

Methodology

Our article employs an extreme-comparative methodology (Shelley et al., 2019). Such a strategy is apt as we explore two contrasting approaches to face mask-wearing in two countries that are rather different in terms of history, culture, language, ethnic composition, geographie, economic development, Internet infrastructure, as well as COVID incidence and mortality rates.

Singapore and Greece are a study in contrasts: Greece is in Europe, Singapore is in Asia; Greece has a long and eminent history, Singapore a very short one (at least as a nation-state); Greece has 180 times the land area than Singapore, but less than twice the population – hence Singapore is 90 times more densely-populated in comparison. While culturally, there are some surprising similarities (for instance, in terms of collectivism and high power distance), there are also marked distinctions: Greeks tend to be highly uncertainty-avoiding, while Singaporeans score very low in this regard (Hofstede Insights, n.d.). Language-wise, Greek education is largely monolingual, whilst Singapore's education system prominently features bilingualism – the 'mother tongue' (for instance, Mandarin, Malay, or Tamil) plus English.

While a comparison of the gini coefficient (measuring inequality within a country) in Greece and Singapore shows insignificant variations, the average income of Singaporeans is more than three times higher than that of Greeks (undoubtedly, this is exarcebated by the fully urban character of Singapore). Finally, Greece had in excess of 350 times more COVID deaths than the city-state: As of 7 June, 2021, Greece had more than 409,000 COVID cases and 12,277 deaths, whereas Singapore had 62,196 cases and 33 deaths (Worldometers, 2021a, 2021b).

Table 1: Greece and Singapore. An extreme-comparative methodology

Country	Greece	Singapore
History	Classical Greece had a powerful influence on Western civilisation (2,500 years ago)	An accidental nation-state in 1965
National cultural dimension	High uncertainty avoidance	Low uncertainty avoidance
Ethnicities	Largely homogeneous (91.6% ethnic Greeks)	Chinese, Malay, Indian and others
Languages in education	Greek	Bilingualism: 'mother tongue' (Mandarin, Malay, Tamil etc.) + English
Geography	Southern Europe	Southeast Asia
Population	10.5 million	5.7 million
Land area	131,957 square km	728 square km
Population density	83 inhabitants per square kilometre	7,810 inhabitants per square kilometre
Per capita income (PPP)	US\$30,470	US\$92,270
Gini coefficient	0.33	0.35
Average Internet speed	56 th in the world	6 th in the world
PISA performance	Ranked 42 nd in the world	Ranked 2 nd in the world
COVID infections	364,000	61,378
COVID deaths	11,089	31

Sources: Britannica, 2021a, 2021b; *Ekathimerini.com.*, 2020; Haldon, 2021; Hofstede Insights, n.d.; Move to Singapore, 2028; PISA, 2018; Worldometer, 2021a, 2021b.

The Case of Greece

Education in Greece

Public education in Greece is free and compulsory for all children between 4 and 15 years of age. Most students attend state schools, for which there are no tuition fees, while less than 10% of the student population enrolls in private schools (Constantinides, 2014). The mainstream education system is divided into a) nursery ‘*nipio*’ (4-6 years old), b) primary education ‘*dimotiko*’ (6-11 years old), b) compulsory secondary education ‘*gymnasio*’ (< 14 years old), c) post-compulsory secondary education ‘*lykeio*’ (< 17 years old), d) vocational training institutes and higher education establishments, university ‘*panepistimio*’ (> 18 years old). In Greece, the special needs schools are not part of the mainstream education system and if followed they are compulsory (< 14 years old – Figure 1).

Compulsory Education																			
6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	Age						
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	Grade / Class							
Primary Education (Dimotika)						Compulsory Secondary Education (Gymnasio)				Post Compulsory (Upper) Secondary Education (Enieio Lykeio)			Post Compulsory Secondary Education (IEK) Vocational Training Institutes	University (Panepistimio)					
														Technical Education Institute (TEI)					
														Higher Education – Non University					
														Hellenic Open University (Anoikto Panepistimio)					
Special Needs School																			

Figure 1: Giousmpasoglou et al. (2016), p. 121.

Since the beginning of the pandemic, secondary and upper secondary schools in Greece shut down for about one-

third of the school year (May to July 2020: Centre for European Constitutional Law, 2020; Smith, 2020; Perrigo & Hinks, 2020). Concerning higher education in Greece, all the universities made use of the remote learning facilities from the outset and since the 3rd of November 2020, remote teaching and learning became compulsory. Remote learning became the norm, and decisions and changes were to be implemented quickly. The Ministry of Education and Religious Affairs reacted very well at the time, since everything turned to remote mode. Children from the ages of four to 12 were able to study in a completely remote way.

On November 7th 2020, following a rise in coronavirus cases, Greece entered its second national lockdown. From that point and until the time of writing, with small breaks depending on COVID cases, the entire country has to adhere to special measures. Measures include mandatory mask wearing in public places; a limitation on movement; allowing people to leave their homes only for specific reasons while notifying authorities by sending an SMS; a mandatory 50 percent of employees working remotely; a number of businesses like bars, cafes and restaurants remaining closed; and schools remaining closed or/and shifting to remote digital learning (GTP, 2020)..

Response to COVID-19 and changes in mask-wearing approaches

Face masks became mandatory in all public services in Greece, including schools since mid-August 2020, in response to the increasing number of coronavirus cases and coupled with social distancing measures (GCT, 2020). Children in Greece are all wearing masks whilst in school, while schools remain open (schools open and close depending on the number of COVID-19 cases in each region).

Schools responded in different ways to the measures preventing COVID-19 expansion. Referring to the periods that nursery schools (4-6 years old) remained open, there was an everyday routine of temperature taking at the entrance of the school and a change of masks three times a day (referring to the five-hour morning program from 8am to 1pm). This was not the case in primary schools, where the only measure taken was the use of one mask per day, which children removed during breaks and wore again while in class. There was no temperature-taking at the school's entrance or other obvious measures of control. The use of masks was obligatory in the classroom, while during school breaks that took place between lessons (three times a day for 15-20 minutes), all the children played together with no masks. In the event of a COVID-19 case among students or schoolteachers, schools would close for 15 days. From the beginning of the pandemic, all extracurricular activities like sports and group dancing were suspended or took place virtually.

Children might place themselves at more risk by potentially wearing contaminated masks (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 2021), for example when they put their masks on and off during breaks. It was on 23rd of October, 2020, that specialists started examining the use of masks for children in school even during breaktime (TANEA, 2020), especially for the regions at the level of 4 (increased risk) and the level 3 (increased surveillance). This measure was effective from the 3rd November 2020, when masks became obligatory everywhere in Greece (indoors and outdoors), which included both learning and teaching activities in class as well as breaks in schools.

According to the limited evidence available at the time (November 2020), World Health Organisation (WHO) explained that young children may have lower susceptibility to infection compared to adults (WHO, 2020c). Nevertheless,

benefits of wearing masks for children during COVID-19 should be weighed against potential harm associated with wearing masks, including feasibility and discomfort, as well as social and communication concerns (WHO, 2020a). In the case that children of two or three years of age are to wear a mask, WHO recommended an appropriate and consistent supervision by a competent adult, especially if mask wearing is expected for an extended period of time. Nevertheless, WHO and the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) advised that children under the age of five should not be required to wear masks, based on their safety and concerns of appropriate mask use with minimal assistance (WHO, 2020b).

Practices of wearing masks at school, proposed by the Greek government, could not easily be applied to young children (under 6 years old), as this age group could not have stayed for a long period without touching their mask and then their nose and face. Additionally, the large number of students per class for children below the age of 12 increased infection risk.

Seeing how well Greece had reacted to the first wave of the coronavirus, Greeks were confident that best practices would continue to be followed. However, even though the Ministry of Education had the necessary time to get prepared (after the first wave), due to the 2020 summer vacations, nothing or very little was done to avoid problems.

"The Ministry of Education had all summer at its disposal to work out a Plan A for a school year with less infections and a Plan B for a school year with more infections. It did not. The Greek summer can be very seductive..." (Keep Talking Greece, 2020a)

The remote learning practice (see Bonk et al., 2020, and Crawford et al., 2020) for elementary schools was put in place in November 2020, via Webex. The first three days were difficult (technical problems, new practice for young children

and their teachers) nevertheless, everything steadily improved, when children, teachers and parents started to adapt to this new reality (see Naftemporiki, 2020).

Challenges of mandatory mask-wearing

At the beginning of the school year (14 September 2020⁵), secondary schools remained closed (Stevens, 2020). The two main reasons were a) the numerous protests and strikes against the obligatory mask-wearing in schools, and b) the high number of coronavirus infections⁶.

There were challenges both in remote and face-to-face teaching contexts, as well as an increase in social issues. Whilst digital devices are an essential part of remote teaching, many teachers, at least at the beginning of the pandemic, lacked the required knowledge, skills, and tools to design quality online learning materials, as a remote facilitator has to acquire different skills on top of being an educator (Karachristos et al., 2020). Students also had to quickly adapt to this new reality of using digital tools and remote learning.

During face-to-face mode, teachers found it hard to teach and communicate while wearing a mask. Mask-wearing impoverishes communication and interaction between educators and children, especially for younger students that

⁵ Lessons in Greek schools and universities were delayed by one week.

⁶ On 30 October 2020, more than 390 units and sections of school units throughout Greece were suspended due to verified cases of COVID-19. The Greek Ministry of Education (<https://www.minedu.gov.gr/>) provides an official page that is updated constantly with information on which schools will remain closed because of verified COVID-19 cases (<https://www.sch.gr/anastoli/web/index.php>). For the suspension of a school unit or the whole school, three unrelated cases were required at a minimum, while in the case of a teacher who taught in more than one department, a risk assessment was made based on the tracking of the teacher's close contacts (Newsroom, 2020).

have the intention to observe the lower part of the face when the teacher is speaking (Spitzer, 2020). Davidson (2020) explains that when learning includes lip reading, students find it impossible to follow. Such constraints are particularly pertinent for teachers with special needs (e.g. deaf students), young children going to school for the first time, and foreign language learners. Children with hearing impairments are being hugely disadvantaged by teachers wearing non-transparent masks.

Additionally, families, educators and students in Greece, among other countries, are impacted financially and socially. There are families that cannot afford to buy one or more computers in the same household, and for that reason, some students were not able to do remote learning or they have to follow courses via mobile phones which makes attendance very difficult (OECD Policy Responses to Coronavirus, 2020).

Finally, teachers in schools do not seem to have any kind of supplies such as masks and antiseptics to use in case of need. The Ministry of Interior Affairs in Greece provided €6.2 million for the supply of free masks to students, which turned out to be a big fiasco, as masks were oversized and not suitable for students (Kokkinidis, 2020; Simos, 2020; Keep Talking Greece, 2020b).

Support strategies

The Hellenic Open University, among others (Lionarakis et al., 2020), put in place a number of seminars and made available online materials for educators to improve their online presence. Additionally, during lockdown periods, teachers had continuous technical support organised centrally by the Ministry of Education and benefited from training sessions in developing their digital skills (CEDEFOR, 2020). It was heartening that most teachers responded creatively, covering

significant gaps in digital competences with their own ability to create interactive methods and tools for their teaching (Bessios, 2021). Additionally, the educational television broadcast recorded courses for primary school pupils from 30 March 2020 onwards. Such initiatives in improving digital literacy (National Report Greece, 2019), were intensified during the pandemic. Most of the municipalities in collaboration with the government and the Ministry of Education now work tirelessly, providing free COVID-19 tests for teachers and students and lending laptops and tablets for students in need (CEDEFOR, 2020), something that is now provided to every student, after the schools have returned to face-to-face mode since 3 May, 2021 (GTP, 2021).

The Case Of Singapore

Education in Singapore

All Singaporeans must attend public primary schools (MOE, 2021). Primary school education is free (Liew, 2020), and local University fees are subsidised. An overview of the Singapore education system is provided in Figure 2 (see also: Tan (Ed.), 2012). Singapore has the highest achieving students in international education rankings, with its teenagers coming top in tests in math, reading and science (OECD PISA, 2016); in 2019, half of all the perfect scores in the world on the International Baccalaureate examination came from Singaporean students (Ang, 2020a).

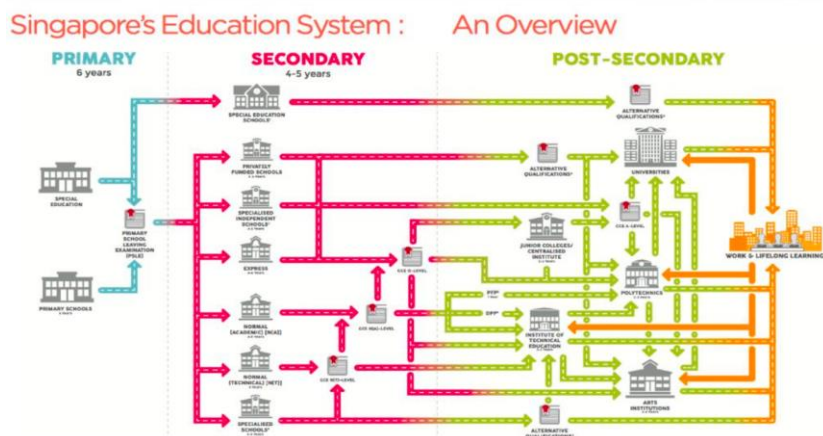


Figure 2. Singapore's education system: An overview (Haiku Deck, n.d.).

Singapore's higher education includes diverse types of university offerings: Local autonomous universities (AUs); international university transnational satellite campuses; and private education institutions (PEIs). PEIs occupy a unique facet of the education sector with a limited proprietary offering under the regulatory supervision of the Government's SkillsFuture Singapore's (SSG) Committee of Private Education (CPE). In Singapore, there are six AUs, eight international universities' branch campuses, and 329 PEIs (Lo, 2017; Skills Future Singapore, 2020b; Immigration and Checkpoint Authority, 2020).

Response to COVID-19 and changes in mask-wearing approaches

In early 2020, Singapore's use of public health best practices in response to the novel coronavirus (COVID-19) pandemic had garnered praise from the World Health Organisation (WHO) and international media (Evers, 2020). The intra-period

response from Singapore was influenced by early detection and high sanitisation and social distancing efforts, compared with other countries. Universities remained open, teaching either fully online or through blended learning approaches.

Initially, the World Health Organization (WHO) did not think that mask-wearing was necessary, and the Singapore government followed this advice (Yusof, 2020). For instance, a photo in *The Straits Times* of Temasek Junior College students having a lesson over Google Meet with a teacher who was serving a stay-home notice in March 2020 shows no mask-wearing as yet (Ng & Ng, 2020b). Later, on 3 April 2020, both the WHO and the Singapore government changed their minds, due to new scientific evidence (Toh, 2020).

In the second quarter of 2020, the rate of new infections increased alarmingly, especially among foreign workers staying in dormitories (Bonk et al., 2020). The mortality rate, however, remained low with 33 deaths from 62,051 cases (0.0%) compared to a global average mortality of 2.2 percent (Our world in data, 2021) as of 2 June, 2021.

Prior to the circuit breaker, universities made a preliminary response by delivering all learning activities online and converting summative assessments (e.g. invigilated examinations) into a variety of online or take-home modalities (Tan et al., 2021). The Singapore government's technocratic approach to COVID-19 began after an initial 'circuit breaker' (lockdown) had been imposed to contain the spread of COVID-19 from 7 April to 1 June.

From 8 April, all schools were closed for what was meant to be a "month-long home-based learning (HBL) exercise" (Tham, 2020) which was later extended till 1 June. Activities within Singapore were planned to be resumed gradually over three subsequent phases: safe reopening, safe transition, and

‘the new normal’ (Low, 2020). This background section provides a brief overview of these phases for context.

Phase 1 (‘safe reopening’: 2 - 18 June) saw the recommencement of low risk economic activities (Low, 2020). This included students and staff of higher education institutions returning to campus for practical and laboratory-based sessions, with instructional learning remaining online. However, co-curricular activities, enrichment activities and tuition were not resumed (Low, 2020).

In Phase 2 (‘safe transition’), some medium risk economic and social activities resumed (Medina, 2020). Phase 3 (the ‘new normal’) began on 28 December, 2020 and did not mean a return to pre-COVID times. It was expected to continue until the virus was under control with widely available vaccines, lasting for a prolonged period (Chew, 2020; Low, 2020), “potentially over a year” (gov.sg, 2020). More activities were to gradually resume under Phase Three (gov.sg, 2020). Among other things, Phase 3 involved the re-opening of Singapore’s borders and allowing for foreigners to transit and enter the city-state, with safeguards such as rapid health checks in place (Medina, 2020). As of 8 May, 2021, Singapore went back to Phase 2 due to a rise in COVID-19 cases (Lai, 2021b).

The pandemic has brought rapid changes to the way individuals attain knowledge. In the efforts to prevent disruption of the learning process, some institutes of higher learning in Singapore (such as Singapore Management University and Singapore Institute of Technology) embraced technology well ahead of the curve by integrating online learning in their curriculum (Hutton, 2020). Educational institutes were forced to adapt to full online learning solutions on platforms such as Zoom, Hangouts, and Blackboard to facilitate the learning process. Apart from having to adapt to these solutions rapidly, ensuring privacy and security was also

a challenge. Early into online learning solutions, there were hacking incidents reported by the Ministry of Education (MOE); for instance, a Zoom session was hijacked by pornographers (Hutton, 2020).

Despite these disruptions during the sudden move from traditional classes to online learning, it is believed that the pandemic will accelerate the integration of information technology in education and it will eventually become an integral component of school education (World Economic Forum, 2020). Whilst COVID created great challenges, this has led to long-term opportunities to change higher education forever. With in-person examinations and tests replaced with alternative assessments or moved to online examinations, the large examination halls may be a thing of the past. The rapid digitisation of lectures may eliminate the need for large, long, and passive lectures (Tan et al., 2021).

Many institutions have simply digitised their content – taking face-to-face practices and replicating them in an online environment. The next stage will be to incorporate online pedagogical principles to shift from technology being the driver of curriculum design and delivery, to technology being the tool or facilitator of quality curriculum. This change in practice needs to be driven by whole of system policy reform, including national higher education quality framework, institutional policy for online delivery, digital capability building for academics and students, and reimagining the role of the academic, educational designer and educational technologist (Tan et al., 2021).

The Singapore Higher Education (HE) response to COVID-19 has been discussed in some depth in Tan et al. (2021). There are a number of studies that provide single institutional responses (e.g. Cleland et al., 2020; Compton et al., 2020; Fung & Lam, 2020; Goh & Sanders, 2020; Rai, 2020) and

there are some articles that compare and contrast the HE responses to COVID-19 in Singapore with those of other countries (Crawford et al., 2020; Bonk et al., 2020; Wilson et al., 2020).

Ong Ye Kung, the then-Minister of Education, observed that due to the pandemic, teachers, students and parents went through "an unexpected crash course" in home-based learning (HBL: cited in Davie, 2020b). Schools offer social interaction and the building of soft skills. While HBL cannot be a substitute for school, HBL in Ong's view "encourages more independent, self-directed learning", one of the most important lifelong skills (Davie, 2020b). As a result, "Education will not be the same post Covid-19. It will be better" (Ong, cited in Davie, 2020b).

There is a concern that HBL increases inequality, due to not all students having suitable digital devices and a stable Internet connection at home (Davie, 2020b). Some children face poverty, jobless parents and domestic violence (Davie, 2020a). There had been an original plan that students would get a personal learning device by 2028 – the timeline has since been pushed forward to end-2021, a change that in Minister Ong's words had been prompted by "the universal adoption of digital learning" during the circuit breaker period" (cited in Davie, 2020b).

Challenges of mask-wearing

This section combines the discussion of the first two research questions as they are intrinsically intertwined. Apart from the eight-week circuit breaker period (that included rescheduled school holidays), schools have remained open throughout the pandemic in Singapore. There is an ongoing discussion in many countries whether or not schools should be open or closed and under what conditions. In the U.S., for instance, schools were

closed for prolonged periods, and there is evidence that shutting schools has hit poor American children's learning (*The Economist*, 2020).

When schools in Singapore, from primary to junior college levels, reopened in Phase 1, there was no drop in attendance as compared to pre-circuit-breaker levels, with attendance averaging 97% (Ang, 2020c). Initially, students (apart from those graduating soon) were on a weekly rotation schedule (one week in school alternating with one week at home). This offered the opportunity to consider feedback and schools set aside time to familiarise students with the new routines and safety measures (Ang, 2020c).

There was a long list of rules to follow, such as wearing masks or face shields except when eating or exercising and having a wipe-down routine after each lesson (Teng & Ang, 2020). Teachers used portable microphones or the classroom audio system, so they could be heard without raising their voices (Teng & Ang, 2020). Students had to stay in class groupings, fixed exam-style seating and appropriate distancing (Ang, 2020b). There was also daily temperature taking (Ang, 2020b).

Students were not used to wearing masks for prolonged periods of time (Ang, 2020c). Apart from teachers having to juggle between face-to-face class and teaching students online, they also had to get used to wearing face shields and masks (Ang, 2020c). Another challenge was social distancing, for instance during playtime. Impressively, even in pre-schools, children were able to adhere to the new rules. "Most kept their masks on through the day, removing them only during meal and nap times. They washed their hands correctly and frequently and kept a safe distance from their friends" (Ang, 2020b). Apparently, pre-school children were more open to

following practices such as mask-wearing as they saw their teachers and friends Doing the same (Ang, 2020c).

For schools and pre-schools alike, many activities like outings had been suspended; as a result, some of these activities were redesigned (for instance, using role play) or simulated (for instance, by using virtual projections of a forest) so that there would be no loss of "the essence of the social and emotional connection with the children" (Dr Jacqueline Chung, cited in Teng & Ang, 2020). Four ways how schools and pre-schools alike prepared for the reopening after the circuit breaker were: (1) helping children to understand and adhere to safe practices (for instance, using designated chairs with children's name on them; or using games to understand safe practices); (2) staggered arrival and dismissal times; (3) cleaning and disinfection through professionals and putting markers on the floor as part of safe distancing measures; and (4) meals (either brought from home or ordered from the school canteen) being had in the classrooms (Teng & Ang, 2020).

Some students complained that they were "not used to having to wear a mask most of the time": "It's suffocating because you can't really breathe well and it makes you warmer" (primary school pupil, cited in Ang, 2020b). To encourage mask-wearing, some schools got additional masks from the school uniform vendor and allowed the children to decorate these themselves. "If they personalise their masks, put buttons or ribbons or perhaps their names, they will own the masks and perhaps they will want to use them more... a new accessory for them that will be part of life and the 'new normal'" (Ang, 2020b). While a public-health necessity, it has been argued that masks are disrupting human communications, as masks challenge the ability in understanding facial expressions. This could lead to children lagging behind in learning to recognise subtle facial signals (Hotz, 2021).

Support strategies

All secondary schools and junior colleges will start blended learning for some levels from Term 3 (starting July, 2021) onwards. In addition, every secondary school student will receive a personal learning device – a laptop or tablet – by end-2021 (Ng & Ng, 2020a; Ng, 2020). Education Minister Lawrence Wong, who made these announcements in December 2020, argued that the move to full home-based learning (HBL) during the lockdown had cemented the need for students to be adaptable and nimble, and to be more self-directed and independent learners (Ng, 2020). "The question now is how we can lock in these gains and mainstream these new practices" (Wong, cited in Ng, 2020).

With blended learning brought forward during Covid-19, individuals have to prepare themselves for a different mode of education. Many changes would occur to the curriculum, school, teachers, technology, governance, and students (Gopinathan & Varaprasad, 2020). The pandemic has brought about a renewed focus on the roles of an educator. Educators had to play new roles such as an IT support, as a social worker, and a health promoter, all at once. Educators have to remind students of the safety measures (social distancing, wipe-down routines, personal hygiene) put in place during Covid-19. Moreover, educators had to take actions to keep parents calm throughout the shift to online learning. Attention was also to be placed on the psychological, physical, and emotional health of these students (Tan, J., 2020).

Educators also had to equip themselves with sufficient IT skills to manoeuvre efficiently through online lessons, differing digital platforms, familiarise students on new learning methods and platforms, and glitches that may occur during e-learning. Next, educators also had to play the role of a social worker as they attempt to ensure inclusivity and equity. Educators needed

to ensure that students had adequate home support for home-based learning (Wi-Fi, devices). They proactively reached out to those in need of these services to ensure continued learning during the pandemic (Tan, J., 2020).

Educators had to fill several roles during the pandemic and gained insights and continued learning during this process. These measures forced educational institutes to rethink and re-evaluate their current teaching practices. Looking forward, organisations need strategies for greater integration of blended learning and digital learning into school curricula. Teaching as we used to know it would be of the past, with knowledge and information being widely available. Learning can take place as online tutoring, machine learning, and AI technologies. Teachers may no longer be needed as a subject-matter experts. Hence, it is crucial for teachers to take on different roles where both the teacher and student learn from each other (Gopinathan & Varaprasad, 2020).

In a knowledge-based economy such as Singapore, the pandemic has seen a transformation of the education landscape. Education is bound to be different not just in the delivery of content, but also in determining the curriculum for each student, modulating the delivery methods across a spectrum of options and providing individual feedback (Tan, J., 2020). Educators think that the classroom of the future would have interactive video, anticipate self-paced curriculum, utilising AR/VR/360 video, and personalisation of education. Technology may provide a greater reach in education, increased diversity in employment and allows for lifelong learning (Jones, 2020).

With all the changes made to learning, the line between the public and private sector education market may become blurred and standard curricula may give way to a more open education system (Gopinathan & Varaprasad, 2020). At present,

the Singapore government is intent on upskilling individuals starting from pre-school years. The Education Ministry has developed plans so that all income groups can benefit from quality programmes. Schools with a larger proportion of children from lower-income families or disadvantaged backgrounds will be getting more resources. Allied educators, counsellors and welfare officers are also being deployed, especially for students with special needs (Lai, 2021a).

A main challenge to achieving these changes is how to bring educators and parents on board. This can be achieved through consultation and communication. Incrementalism may need to give way to more experimentalism” (Gopinathan & Varaprasad, 2020). ‘Pandemic fatigue’ abounds. A survey saw that 44 percent of 1,000 respondents said that they were tired of adhering to safety measures (mask-wearing, social distancing, contact tracing: Goh, 2020). In addition, mask-wearing has been causing increased dermatological problems such as eczema, acne, chafing and skin infections. Furthermore, mask disposal poses an environmental hazard, with one horrifying estimate saying that 129 billion disposable face masks were used across the world every month throughout the pandemic (Tan, C., 2020). Mask debris, latex gloves and other forms of personal protective equipment (PPE) have begun showing up in oceans, sounding the alarm among conservationists and non-governmental organisations around the world (Tan, C., 2020).

Findings and Discussion

Unsurprisingly, our extreme-comparative methodology yields contrasting results in our two case studies. In Greece, schools were closed for extended periods of time, while in Singapore, schools were only closed during the ‘circuit breaker’ (that period between 7 April to 1 June 2020 included rescheduled

school holidays). While in Greece, there was a relative lack of control measures and an inconsistent use of face masks (at least as late as November 2020), schools in Singapore employed a systematic approach with granular rules that were strictly adhered to, with consistent mask-wearing from April 2020 onwards.

In Greece, a ‘mask fiasco’ (with masks distributed that were oversized for children) occurred. In Singapore, from April 2020 onwards, face masks were widely available and worn consistently. In Greece, especially amongst the poor and in rural schools (see Lymperis, 2019, 2021), personal learning devices such as laptops or tablets are far from omnipresent. In contrast, the Singapore government will have issued personal learning devices to at least all secondary students by the end of 2021. COVID-19 has been called the “great unequalizer” (Zakaria, 2020, p. 151; see Rudolph et al., 2021) and in both countries, increased inequality can be observed, with students from poor families being more disadvantaged by school closures and remote learning, as compared to students from more privileged backgrounds. Table 2 provides an extension of the earlier Table 1 and continues the extreme comparison with a summary of some of the key differences observed in our case study.

Table 2: Mask-wearing in Greece and Singapore. An extreme comparison.

Country	Greece	Singapore
School closures	extended periods	one-time (incorporating rescheduled school holidays)
Face mask-wearing in educational settings	inconsistent use (at least until November 2020)	systematic use (from April 2020 onwards)
Availability of face masks	‘mask fiasco’ (distribution of oversized masks to children)	wide
Availability of personal learning devices	fragmented	near-omnipresent
Inequality	increased	increased

Sources: Human Rights Watch, 2021; Gov.sg, 2020; Garda world, 2020; *Channel News Asia*, 2020; France24, 2020; *The Straits Times*, 2021; OECD, 2020; Sustainability, 2020; Social Science Research Council, 2020.

Certain face mask issues go beyond country boundaries and have a similar effect on their wearers globally. Problems that may arise from mask-wearing are impaired face recognition and identification, impaired communication, and blocked emotional signalling (Spitzer, 2020). A face mask markedly impairs face recognition and identification, and interferes with social interactions; this is why burglars and thieves wear them (Reynolds & Roth, 2018). In school settings, the inability to recognise and identify others are even more prominent for new students. Fortunately, a quick fix to this

problem is name tags, personalised masks, and cues (body shape, voice).

Communication (verbal and non-verbal) may be impaired from wearing face masks. Humans communicate by observing and making inferences such as identity, gender, age, emotional states, personality traits, et cetera. However, when such universal language is prevented by a facial mask, the ability to understand people is reduced significantly. Individuals can only rely on language and gestures, limiting the extent to which nuance can be interpreted, with some input from decoding eye movements, which are still visible above the mask. Two detrimental consequences of face masks relating to effective verbal communication are impaired auditory signal and obstructed visual signal from the lips (Atcherson et al., 2017). Most people do not realise, but humans rely on these signals to understand speech, especially under circumstances of impaired sound comprehensibility (e.g., noisy environments). Thus, with face masks, speech transmission is dampened, increasing misinterpretation.

The inability to observe and identify facial cues due to masks is also a disadvantage. Emotions play a huge role in social interactions, especially in teaching and learning. Paul Ekman (1970) performed experiments to demonstrate the existence of basic emotions regardless of culture: surprise, fear, disgust, anger, happiness, and sadness. It was realised that different emotions displayed on an individual's face convey information critical for social cognition and action (Scheller et al., 2012). Therefore, when the bottom half of facial expressions is visually prevented, it is difficult to recognise one's positive (pleasure, joy, friendliness) or negative emotions (anger, sadness, fear). This impairs social interactions and the ability to understand, and empathise with, one another. In school, students and teachers' interaction, communication and

behavioural norms may be impacted. Moreover, students might not learn social cues and emotionality, affecting future interaction and outward emotional displays (Spitzer, 2020).

Despite mask-wearing being beneficial in preventing the spread of Covid-19, it has also brought about ample health concerns and disadvantages. Common physical health concerns with mask-wearing are bilateral headaches, perioral dermatitis with rashes and redness, false security leading to less compliance with infection control measures, and unintentional closer contact due to speech incoherence increasing infection risk (Spitzer, 2020).

Conclusion

The spread of the COVID-19 pandemic being global calls for cross-boundary, multi-actor collaboration to mobilise relevant resources, enhance knowledge-sharing and coordination, stimulate innovation, and build common ownership to joint solutions and their subsequent adaptations (Ansell et al., 2020). Our cases from Greece and Singapore show that no matter how many challenges educators and students face, they can adapt and evolve accordingly.

Even though to educate and be educated whilst wearing a mask is not an easy task to accomplish, the pandemic has highlighted both challenges and opportunities for everyone involved, with a hope for innovation and transformation. Freire's (1970) dialogical pedagogy emphasised the role of "teacher as learner" and the "learner as teacher," while each is learning from the other in a mutually transformative process. Training needs for educators were met with adaptability and innovative ideas, depending on each country's infrastructure. The complexity and importance of the teaching profession was also brought to the forefront – that of educator, facilitator and

social worker in nurturing students' evolving needs in a time of crisis.

Every child should have access to education, and we should all (teachers, parents, associations, governments), work together to make this happen. A structured and inclusive remote schooling framework can be attained by improving digital infrastructures and competences of schools and their stakeholders (Bessios, 2021). In this way, access to digital equipment, mostly for students, can be ensured and teachers will have the tools to develop their digital learning and teaching abilities, with the purpose to assure free and quality education for all, no matter the circumstances.

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The western Balkans and EU multilingualism: A focus on translation and interpreting

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Abstract

To date, four countries in the western Balkans have attained EU candidate country status: Albania, Montenegro, North Macedonia, and Serbia. However, little research has focused on the logistics of how the official languages of these countries will eventually be incorporated as official and working languages of the EU. Therefore, in contextualising the unique historical, political and sociolinguistic situation of the western Balkans, this literature-based study examines current translation and interpreting provision for Albanian, Macedonian, Montenegrin, and Serbia within the EU's language services. In addition, specific attention is focused on the availability of relevant translator and interpreter training options, as well as on further areas for potential cooperation.

Keywords: translation, conference interpreting, European Union, Albania, Montenegro, North Macedonia, Serbia

Introduction

In recent years, the European Union (EU) has been focusing its enlargement activities on the western Balkans, with a view to these countries eventually attaining full status as EU member states. At present, only Croatia has satisfied the Copenhagen criteria and acceded to the organisation, which it did in 2013 as

the bloc's most recent member (European Union, 2021a). To date, Stabilisation and Association Agreements have been concluded with Bosnia & Herzegovina and Kosovo, and Albania, Montenegro, North Macedonia, and Serbia have all now been officially recognised as EU candidate countries (European Commission, 2021a). Given that each of these four candidate countries has their own official language (Albanian, Macedonian, Montenegrin, and Serbian), some scholarly attention has been paid to linguistic aspects of the wider Europeanisation process, including the translation of legal texts and legislation such as the *acquis communautaire* into the relevant languages (e.g. Jakimovska, 2013; Čavoški, 2018), as well as other important aspects such as the provision of relevant terminological and linguistic databases (Đordan, 2017). However, building on Pym (2000), which examined the potential implications of the EU enlargement of 2004 – which brought ten new member states and nine new languages – for the future provision of translation services in the EU institutions, comparatively little research (Aleksoska-Chkatroska, 2018) has focused on the more general question of how translators and interpreters of Albanian, Macedonian, Montenegrin, and Serbian will be incorporated into the EU's language services. Hence, after contextualising the unique sociopolitical and sociolinguistic background of the western Balkans, this study aims to provide an overview of current EU multilingualism provision relating to the region, paying particular attention to issues concerning appropriate translator and interpreter training for the official languages of the four aforementioned candidate countries.

Language and politics in the western Balkans: some brief remarks

Historical and political background

In noting Anderson's (1991) notion of language as a key marker of national identity, it can be argued that the complexities of the western Balkans represent an excellent case study in this regard. As illustrated in Table 1 below, the region currently comprises seven countries – Albania, Bosnia & Herzegovina, Croatia, Kosovo, Montenegro, North Macedonia, and Serbia – with six different official languages from the South Slavonic (Bosnian, Croatian, Macedonian, Montenegrin, and Serbian) and Albanian branches of the Indo-European language family. With these various languages spoken by members of different ethnic groups and religious persuasions, the western Balkans have been no stranger to multilingualism throughout their history.

Country	EU accession negotiations opened (year)	Population (year)	Official language(s)
Albania	2018	2,862,000 (2019)	Albanian
Bosnia & Herzegovina	n/a	3,502,000 (2018)	Bosnian, Croatian, Serbian
Croatia	EU member since 2013	4,085,165 (2021)	Croatian
Kosovo	n/a	1,796,000 (2019)	Albanian, Serbian
Montenegro	2010	622,000 (2019)	Montenegrin
North Macedonia	2020	2,077,000 (2019)	Macedonian, Albanian

Serbia	2014	6,964,000 (2019)	Serbian
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Table: Relevant data regarding the countries of the Western Balkans.

Source: own elaboration, based on European Commission (2021a); European Union (2021); Eurostat (2021)

As such, the Ottoman Empire was the dominant power in the region for centuries, but, reflecting the Europe-wide rise in national consciousness during the 19th century, various linguistic and ethnoreligious groupings in the wider Balkans began to strive for independence. In terms of the western Balkans, Serbia, Montenegro, and Albania received their independence in 1804, 1878, and 1912 respectively. However, much of modern-day Croatia and parts of modern Serbia remained under imperial Austro-Hungarian rule during the 19th and early 20th centuries, and in 1878 the Habsburgs extended their empire by annexing the formerly Ottoman province of Bosnia-Herzegovina, a chain of events that would lead to the fateful assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand and his wife Sophie in Sarajevo in 1914, and ultimately, to the horrors of the First World War (Glenny, 2000; Mazower, 2001; Allcock, Danforth, & Crampton, 2021).

During the interwar years, Albania continued as its own independent kingdom, whilst the territory of the other modern six nations of the western Balkans, together with Slovenia, formed part of the then Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, which later became Yugoslavia. After the Second World War, both Albania and Yugoslavia became Communist republics, with Yugoslavia becoming a multi-ethnic and multilingual federation that was non-aligned with Moscow, whereas Albania originally joined the Warsaw Pact before pursuing a more isolationist policy aligned towards China. In the early 1990s, the fall of Communism led to significant

changes across central and eastern Europe. In Yugoslavia, the disintegration of the multi-ethnic federation and the independence of its constituent republics led to severe and bloody conflicts, the political vestiges of which remain apparent to the present day (Glenny, 2000; Mazower, 2001; Allcock, Danforth, & Crampton, 2021).

As mentioned above, Albania, Montenegro, North Macedonia, and Serbia are all currently candidate countries for EU membership. However, given the political implications of this status, this has not been an altogether smooth road, especially in the case of North Macedonia, where ructions with Greece over the name of the country threatened to stymie its candidacy (Tziampiris, 2012) and were not resolved until the ratification of the Prespa agreement by the parliaments of both countries (Maatsch & Kurpiel, 2021). In terms of future developments required for the potential candidate countries to satisfy the EU's criteria, wide-ranging political, legal, economic, and public administration-related reforms would be required in Bosnia & Herzegovina (European Commission, 2019a); in the case of Kosovo, similar such reforms would also need to be made, and wider issues associated with the country's international relations and international recognition would need to be addressed (European Commission, 2020a).

Linguistic background

Regarding the languages of the western Balkans, the region's complex political history is also mirrored by a complex sociolinguistic situation. Within the wider Balkans, linguists recognise that centuries of language contact has led to a *Sprachbund*, or series of common grammatical features between otherwise linguistically unrelated languages (e.g. Friedman, 2008, p. 363; Comrie, 2009, p. 8).

In terms of the South Slavonic tongues spoken as official languages in the western Balkans, each is descended from the relevant recensions of Old Church Slavonic. Regarding Serbian and Croatian, both tongues were standardised as related but convergent languages during the 19th century. During Yugoslav times, both languages were merged into Serbo-Croat, a multipolar language which was the common language of communication for the entire Yugoslav federation. However, following the fall of Yugoslavia and the ensuing conflicts, the independent nations that emerged were each eager to have their own languages recognised. Hence, Serbo-Croat initially disintegrated into three separate, but closely related, tongues: Bosnian, Croatian, and Serbian (Greenberg, 2004, p. 957). Following the referendum on Montenegro's separation from Serbia in 2006, newly-independent Montenegro also codified Montenegrin as a separate version of Serbo-Croat, a development which included the addition of two extra letters to the alphabet (Džankić, 2014, p. 368). Despite some minor differences in grammar and vocabulary, however, the four languages remain highly mutually intelligible (Corbett & Browne, 2009, p. 333).

Turning to Macedonian, the language was only recognised officially during Yugoslav times in the mid-1940s, although efforts to codify and standardise it had been made since the 19th century (Friedman, 2000). Closely related to Bulgarian, this linguistic kinship between the two tongues is indeed a subject of continuing controversy. Although Bulgaria has ostensibly recognised Macedonian as a separate language to Bulgarian since 1999, disagreements on the topic remain (Friedman, 2008, p. 367). In recent times, despite the 2017 Treaty of Friendship between the two nations, these contentious linguistic issues have come to the fore once again, as exemplified by Bulgaria's recent memorandum on the issue. In

the long run, this may have the potential to cause further complications regarding North Macedonia's EU candidacy (Christidis, 2019; Gotev, Michalopoulos, & Trkanjec, 2020; Heraclides, 2021, pp. 243-249).

Of the official languages of the four candidate countries, Albanian is the only non-Slavonic representative. It is a multipolar language which stands alone in its own linguistic sub-group of Indo-European. It is the official language of Albania, a co-official language of North Macedonia, and it also has official status in certain municipalities of Montenegro. In addition, Albanian is also one of the two official languages of Kosovo, alongside Serbian. Interestingly, in adopting the nomenclature and linguistic standard of Albanian as spoken in Albania itself, Kosovo remains "the sole post-Yugoslav nation-state that has not [...] been endowed with its own unique (Kosovan) language" (Kamusella, 2016, p. 217).

Translating and interpreting for the EU

As alluded to in the introduction to this article, the road to EU membership requires candidate countries to meet numerous political, legal, and economic standards. However, it is important to note that the EU's multilingualism policy also has a role to play in this process, albeit behind the scenes. This is owing to the fact that, unlike many other international organisations such as the United Nations or NATO, the EU subscribes to the concept of linguistic equality – that is, where the official language or languages of each member state also become official languages of the whole organisation.

Indeed, the legal basis for this concept was first outlined more than six decades ago (Regulation 1, 1958). Originally, this legislation served to recognise the parity of the four languages (Dutch, French, German, & Italian) of the EU's six founding

members: Belgium, France, Italy, Luxembourg, The Netherlands, & West Germany. Several enlargements, however, have extended the geographical and linguistic scope of the EU to include the majority of European nations and their corresponding official languages. As such, with its current complement of 27 member states and 24 official languages, the EU thus embodies Umberto Eco's famous dictum that "the language of Europe is translation" (Eco, 1993, cited in Frank, 2016), and vast numbers of linguists are required to manage the challenges posed by this level of multilingualism.

Exact information regarding the total size of the EU's translation and interpreting services can be somewhat difficult to determine, as each of the organisation's various institutions maintains their own data. In addition to translators and interpreters, a range of other linguistically-trained staff, for example lawyer-linguists, proof-readers, and language editors are also required (European Personnel Selection Office, 2021). As such, Cosmai (2014, p. 98) estimated that there are around 4,100 translators across the EU institutions, with the majority centred in the European Commission. Regarding interpreting, Marco Benedetti, former head of the European Commission's DG Interpretation, noted that in 2011 there were around 500 staff interpreters (who are EU civil servants), as well as a pool of 2,700 freelance interpreters. Around 700-800 interpreters were at work on a daily basis, serving approximately 50-60 meetings (Benedetti, 2011, pp. 134-135). By 2013, however, these numbers had risen to comprise over 600 staff and more than 3,000 accredited freelance interpreters, who together served over 60 meetings each day. In addition, around 40 large conferences were also organised every year (European Commission 2013b). Turning to the European Parliament, Bartłomiejczyk (2020, p. 15) noted that approximately 430 staff interpreters are employed there, whereas the European Court

of Justice has a complement of around 70. With 69 interpreters required for a meeting covering 23 out of the 24 EU languages, Olga Cosmidou, former head of the interpretation and conference directorate at the European Parliament, highlighted that up to one thousand interpreters could be required for the Parliament's plenary sessions in Strasbourg (Cosmidou, 2011, p. 129). These figures can fluctuate, of course, according to the demand for relevant translation and interpreting services; with regard to the latter, this has been particularly affected by the COVID-19 pandemic-related restrictions (Marking, 2020).

Methodology and research questions

As noted previously, the aim of this study is to provide a summary overview of current EU-related translation and interpreting provision pertaining to the region, focusing specifically on aspects relating to translator and interpreter training for Albanian, Macedonian, Montenegrin, and Serbian, the official languages of the four western Balkan candidate countries. Accordingly, the following two research questions were outlined:

- i) How will Albanian, Macedonian, Montenegrin, and Serbian be integrated into the EU's translation and interpreting services?
- ii) What is the relevant EU-related translator and interpreter-training infrastructure in the Western Balkans?

Given the exploratory nature of the article, it was decided to utilise a literature-based approach. Although it can be argued that review-based approaches can be limited vis-à-vis more empirical studies, nonetheless literature-based work can be useful for examining current knowledge on a topic, as well as benefiting scientific progress within a given field (Palmatier,

Houston, & Hulland, 2017, p. 5; Snyder 2019, p. 334). As such, the material consisted of relevant publicly available sources, including the websites of the translation and interpreting directorates of the EU institutions, as well as scholarly literature and media reports. The study is intended to provide a solid overview of the topic under analysis, thereby providing a possible prelude to empirical work at a later stage.

Analysis

Integrating the languages of the western Balkans into the EU's translation and interpreting services

In terms of preparation for incorporating Albanian, Macedonian, Montenegrin, and Serbian into their activities, successive enlargements have ensured that the translation and interpreting directorates of the EU institutions have a significant track record of accommodating new EU languages. Over time, these languages have also included less-widely spoken tongues such as Finnish (Gambier, 1998), Czech (Čeňková, 2019), as well as Irish and Maltese (Hoyte-West, 2019). As such, in this regard it can be argued that integrating the languages of the western Balkans should pose no great challenges.

Regarding the eventual recruitment of translators and interpreters of the four languages as staff translators and interpreters (that is, as full EU officials), it can be anticipated that no significant changes to the recruitment process will be made. As also outlined in Cosmai (2014, pp. 111-112), staff translator recruitment generally proceeds by means of competitive recruitment examinations (also known as *concours*). In addition to the other tests common to graduate recruitment procedures at the EU, candidates for translation roles are

required to sit two translation tests into the mother tongue: one from a language chosen from English, French, or German; and the other from any current EU official language. For staff interpreters – who must hold either a degree in conference interpreting or a minimum of a year's professional experience in conference interpreting – the role-specific test consists of consecutive and simultaneous interpreting exercises from at least two EU official languages (European Personnel Selection Office, 2021).

Turning to opportunities for freelancers, the vast majority of the EU institutions also use freelance translators; however, contracts for this kind of outsourced work are awarded via specific calls for tender (European Commission, 2019b). For translations into non-EU languages such as the languages of the four candidate countries, this is typically the way that relevant linguistic needs are managed. For freelance interpreters, however, the recruitment process is different. In a similar vein to the tests for staff interpreters, putative freelance interpreters must hold either a degree or professional experience in conference interpreting. In front of the watchful eyes of a jury of staff interpreters from the European Commission and the European Parliament, they must also pass an interinstitutional accreditation test which demonstrates their ability to interpret – in both simultaneous and consecutive modes – from at least two languages into the mother tongue. Admission to the testing procedure is competitive, and profiles of desired language combinations are published each year (European Union, 2018). As such, tests for EU and non-EU languages take place periodically. With regard to the languages of the western Balkans, for example, tests for Albanian interpreters were originally scheduled for April 2020, but have been deferred due to the ongoing pandemic (European Commission, 2020c).

Although the recruitment of linguists for the four languages should be straightforward in procedural terms, the unique political and sociolinguistic situation of the western Balkans may have an impact on translation and interpreting within the EU institutions. For example, in terms of candidates for the interinstitutional freelance interpreting tests, currently candidates offering very similar languages (for example, interpreting from Danish into Swedish, or from Czech into Slovak) are not admitted (European Union, 2018). Though information about upcoming tests for Bosnian, Montenegrin, and Serbian was not available at the time of writing, given the similarities between those tongues and also with Croatian, it can be assumed that similar restrictions would also be applicable. As has been noted elsewhere (Hoyte-West, 2021, forthcoming), this mirrors the special circumstances which apply to freelance EU interpreters currently working with Bosnian, Montenegrin, and Serbian in their language combination (European Union, 2021b). Unlike at the International Criminal Court, where interpreting needs are serviced by a single Bosnian-Croatian-Serbian booth (UN International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia, 2021), the interpreting services of the EU institutions recognise each country's official language as a separate tongue (European Union, 2021b). Thus, with Croatian already an EU official language, in the future – and in line with current EU multilingualism policy – it is conceivable that there will also need to be separate booths for Serbian and Montenegrin too.

EU-related translator and interpreter training infrastructure in the western Balkans

The translation and interpreting directorates of the EU institutions, most notably at the European Commission, have

longstanding links with relevant training institutions across the globe. In the context of translator training, the European Commission's DG Translation works with dozens of institutions across Europe via the European Master's in Translation (EMT). Despite its name, the entity is not a degree-granting programme, but rather a kitemark, given that it consists of a consortium of universities offering high-quality courses which satisfy specific entry criteria (European Commission, 2021b). Although membership of the EMT is also open to institutions operating in candidate countries (European Commission, 2021c), no members from Albania, Montenegro, North Macedonia, or Serbia have been recorded in its current iteration, which is due to last until 2024 (European Commission, 2021d). Hence, the extent of DG Translation's wider cooperation with universities in candidate countries remains largely unclear, although EU officials from the Croatian and Slovenian translation units have delivered advanced professional training on translating the *acquis communautaire* for linguists from the four western Balkan candidate countries (Regional School of Public Administration, 2015, pp. 3-4). However, this activity appears to be separate from the translator training courses that are available at universities in all four of the countries. An example can be seen in the case of Lakić & Pralas (2016), who outlined their experience of developing and enhancing the postgraduate translation programme at the University of Montenegro's Institute of Foreign Languages. Their study highlighted significant references to EMT competences in the planning, design, and implementation of the course, thus demonstrating moves towards complying with EMT criteria in the Montenegrin context.

Regarding the EU's interpreting directorates, analysis of sources from the European Commission's DG Interpretation

reveals more extensive collaboration. The assistance most freely available is an open-access pedagogical resource, the Speech Repository. This is a virtual tool which provides interpreter training speeches in over thirty languages. To date, Montenegrin is not included among this number, but there are speeches available in Albanian (4 videos), Macedonian (28 videos), and Serbian (7 videos) (European Commission, 2021e). In addition, DG Interpretation also works closely with relevant MA programmes in conference interpreting in Serbia and North Macedonia. In the 2019/2020 academic year, pedagogical assistance including teaching assistance and virtual classes were made available to conference interpreting students at the University of Belgrade. This was supplemented by weeklong “training the trainer” courses for interpreter trainers at the university, as well as financial aid to attend the relevant SCIC Universities Conference, an annual event organised by DG Interpretation which brings together members of all partner universities across the globe (European Commission, 2019c; European Commission, 2020c). Although no course ran at the Ss. Cyril & Methodius University in Skopje during 2019/2020, the university is listed as working with DG Interpretation (European Commission, 2019d), and teaching staff from the university were able to be funded to attend the SCIC Universities Conference (European Commission, 2020c). However, no conference interpreter training programmes in either Albania or Montenegro were listed as collaborating with DG Interpretation. A glance at the study programmes available at the University of Montenegro reveals that there is currently no specialist conference interpreter training course available (Univerzitet Crne Gore, 2021). In the Albanian context, universities in Tirana and Vlora do offer interpreting modules under the auspices of postgraduate translation studies degrees. However, as noted by Kanani & Bîrsanu (2017, pp. 102-103),

training in simultaneous interpreting is often hampered by a lack of necessary technological infrastructure such as booths. In Kosovo, in the past a full master programme in translation and interpreting has also been offered at the University of Pristina's Faculty of Philology (Universiteti i Prishtinës, 2021), thus reflecting increasing demand for relevant services (Karjagdiu & Krasniqi, 2020, p. 96).

Concluding remarks

In providing an overview of the intersection between the western Balkans and EU multilingualism, this study has demonstrated that the integration of Albanian, Macedonian, Montenegrin, and Serbian into the EU translation and interpreting directorates should not pose significant logistical problems. As illustrated by previous enlargements, the EU's language services are used to meeting the necessary requirements. However, with regard to Montenegrin and Serbian, the similarities between the former Serbo-Croatian languages may also require some accommodation at a practical level.

Turning to training issues, it is clear that cooperation in the field of translator training is an area for development for all four languages and their respective candidate countries. As such, in satisfying the quality requirements for the EMT consortium, regional institutions will strengthen and enhance their postgraduate translation degrees. Although EU cooperation with interpreter training institutions in Macedonia and Serbia appears to be strong, links still need to be forged with relevant institutions in Albania. As exemplified by the postponed interinstitutional accreditation test, it is clear that there is a demand for Albanian interpretation services at the EU level. In addition, the provision of online training material on

the Speech Repository in Albanian, as well as in Macedonian and Serbian, is a positive indication that training and development needs for these three languages are being considered. For Montenegrin, however, it appears that cooperation could still be deepened, including the provision of a relevant conference interpreter training programme in the country at a later date.

However, it is crucial to bear in mind that the EU's translation and interpreting services are primarily responsive in character. Given that a country's EU candidacy is, first and foremost, a political act, what remains clear is that the state of affairs can change at any time. A recent example is the case of Iceland, which was awarded EU candidate country status in 2010, but ultimately chose to withdraw its application in 2015 (European Commission, 2017). As such, there is always an element of conjecture in anticipating future needs at the supranational level, given the vicissitudes and complexities of international affairs. What is assured, however, is that subject to the necessary political will and once the Copenhagen criteria have been met, the translation and interpreting services of the EU institutions will incorporate the languages of the western Balkans as official and working languages of the European Union, thereby ensuring multilingual provision at the highest level.

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Lexical and Grammatical Interference in Translation from Albanian into English

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Abstract

This study aims to investigate lexical and grammatical interference in translation from Albanian into English. The study raised the questions: To what extent students rely on their mother tongue when learning a foreign language grammar? In which cases does mother tongue interfere in translation from first into a foreign language? To reach the objective of the study and answer these questions, the research examined students' errors in translated sentences from Albanian into English. Results demonstrated that the problems that occur from interference are lexical and grammatical. The results also proved that these kinds of interference occur as a result of students' lack of knowledge of the source and target languages. For the purposes of this study it was designed a translation test and it was used with students whose native language is Albanian. The aim is to show that native language interferes to a high extent in learning L2 grammar, especially when the two grammars differ in structure.

Keywords: native language, second language, translation, errors, interference

Introduction

According to Aljumah (2020), numerous studies have been carried out around the world, chiefly after the establishment of second language acquisition (SLA) in the 1970s. Since this time, many researchers and linguistic experts have carried on examining the influence of native language interference in the learning of a foreign language (FL) or a target language (TL). A research by Stivens (2017), which highlighted the grammatical fragments of English affected by the grammatical fragments of Lumarachi among the Lumarachi students of English where he investigated the examples of interference by virtue of errors of morphology demonstrated that differences regarding the phonological and morphological structures between Lumarachi and English cause L1 interference. In addition, another study conducted by Adebayo (2018), investigated the extent to which the grammatical and structural differences between English and Yoruba influence the L2 acquisition. Budiharto (2019), investigated the role of mother tongue among Indonesian students and the errors made by those students which come as a result of language dissimilarities.

Linguists use different terms that are associated with the phenomenon of interference, such as: language transfer, cross-linguistic influence, interlanguage etc. Smith & Kellerman, (2018) use the term cross linguistic influence; Corder, (2019), in order to overcome the behaviorist connotations of the term transfer, he uses the term 'the role of mother tongue'. Language interference was studied by many linguists, such as: Nation (2001), Ellis (1997), Gass and Selinker (1994), Dulay & Burt (2012), Patten, Keating, Wulff, (2020), Kellerman, (2018), Larsen-Freeman (2019), Adebayo (2018), Budiharto (2019), Aljumah (2020), etc.

However, no study involved the Albanian language interference in learning a second language grammar. Therefore,

the major aim of this research is to show the Albanian language interference in students' translations from their mother tongue into English language.

Language transfer or interference is defined in different ways in different theories of L2 acquisition research. "Those instances of deviation from the norms of either language which occur in the speech of bilinguals as a result of their familiarity with more than one language, i.e. as a result of language contact, will be referred to as *interference phenomena*" (Lynch, 2017, p. 1). While, Nation (2001, p. 27), defines transfer as "the influence resulting from the similarities and differences between the target language and any other language that has been previously (and perhaps imperfectly) acquired", thus, this theory is widely accepted and it is considered to be the most accurate one, since, it has been confirmed that previous knowledge has an influence on what is being learnt. "Lado defined transfer, either positive or negative, as the extension of a source-language habit into the target-language, with or without the awareness of the learner (as cited in Krzeszowski, 2019, p. 11). According to the Contrastive Analysis Hypothesis (CAH) there are two types of transfer or interference: positive transfer, whose role is facilitative and negative transfer, whose role is inhibitive. In cases where there are similarities between the grammars of the two languages, then positive transfer or interference takes place, however, negative interference also takes place, and this occurs in cases where the two grammars differ in their structure. Positive interference is neglected in second language acquisition (SLA) research since it facilitates learning, and its results are already not noticed, thus, are less often discussed, while negative interference is discussed more often, as it causes difficulties in learning. The more differences there are between the two grammars, the more negative interference is likely to take place.

According to Corder (2019), “Errors fall into four categories: *omission* of some required element; *addition* of some unnecessary or incorrect element; *selection* of an incorrect element; and *misordering* of the elements” (p. 264). Dulay, Burt and Krashen (2012) described omission as “the absence of an item that must appear in a well-formed utterance” (p. 154). Errors can vary, they can be small or big errors, and they can include a phoneme, a morpheme, a word, a sentence and also a paragraph. Ellis (1997) holds that “classifying errors in these ways can help us to diagnose learners’ learning problems at any stage of their development and to plot how changes in error patterns occur over time” (p. 264). Indeed, it is important that the teacher classifies learners’ errors in order to better diagnose and prevent learners’ problems and difficulties that they may further encounter when making errors.

The sources of errors can be categorized within two fields: 1) Interlingual transfer, and 2) Intralingual transfer. As defined in the Dictionary of Language Teaching and Applied Linguistics (1992), interlingual error is a result of language transfer, which is caused by the learner’s first language. Erdogan (2019) points out that “these kinds of errors may occur at different levels, such as transfer of phonological, morphological, grammatical elements etc. of the native language into the target language” (p. 265). On the other hand, Ellis (1997) claims that “some errors seem to be universal, reflecting learners’ attempts to make the task of learning and using the target language simpler” (p. 266). He adds that “the use of past tense suffix ‘-ed’ for all verbs is an example of simplification and overgeneralization” (p. 267). Intralingual errors may be caused by the influence of one target language item upon another. “These errors occur as a result of learners’ attempt to build up concepts and hypotheses about the target language from their limited experience with it” (Erdogan, 2019,

p. 266). Such an example can be seen in the translation of the sentence: *How much did you paid for the notbooks?*, which contains two past forms, which is a result of the insufficient learner experience with the target language or the incomplete mastering of the target language.

Linguists distinguished various types of errors: global and local errors. According to Dulay, Burt and Krashen (1982), “global errors affect overall sentence organization significantly, whereas local errors affect single elements (constituents) in a sentence” (p. 191). If the error is global then it provides a deviant sentence which does not make sense and interferes with communication, whereas local errors affect only a small part of the sentence which does not cause difficulties in comprehension and communication.

In teachers’ experiences with teaching English as a foreign language to students of different levels, the issue of the role of mother tongue in English classes has been a continuous concern. This research deeply analyzes the intereference of Albanian language in production of English forms, and the results from this research are important especially when taken into consideration that such a study was not carried out with the Albanian learners of English in North Macedonia. This study is descriptive and has characteristics of qualitative research.

This research investigates the interference of native language (L1) in learning the grammar of a second language (L2). It explores, analyzes and clarifies the cases where native language interferes in a large degree, and explores the errors that come as a result of the impact that native language has on learning other languages.

This study aims to give answers to the following questions:

1. To what extent students rely on their mother tongue when learning a foreign language grammar?
2. In which cases does mother tongue interfere in translation from first into a foreign language?

Literature Review

The role of learning and teaching grammar and interference has always been an important issue in second language acquisition research. Larsen-Freeman gives a great importance to the teaching of grammar in order to produce accurate forms of a language and also to develop communicative skills. "Grammar is about form and one way to teach form is to give students rules; however, grammar is about much more than form, and its teaching is ill served if students are simply given rules" (Larsen-Freeman, 2019, p. 251). However, Krashen (1981) does not give enough importance to the acquisition and use of grammar rules. He points out that "Language acquisition does not require extensive use of conscious grammatical rules, and does not require tedious drill" (p. 6-7). Instead, he suggests that language acquisition requires more communication. Krashen (1981) also claims that "Acquisition requires meaningful interactions in the target language-natural communication-in which speakers are concerned not with the form of their utterances but with the messages they are conveying and understanding" (p.7). However, this theory received many criticisms from other researchers who did not agree with these views, for example, Long (1990) concluded that form-focused instruction (attention on form) does affect acquisition. "Krashen (1981) has argued that people learning foreign languages follow

basically the same route as they acquire their mother tongue, hence the use of the mother tongue in the learning process should be minimized" (as cited in Tang, 2020, p. 17). In many cross-linguistic and cross-cultural studies, transfer among other sources is considered responsible for error occurrences. Language transfer or interference is defined in different ways and in different theories of L2 acquisition research. Nation (2001) defines transfer as "the influence resulting from the similarities and differences between the TL and any other language that has been previously (and perhaps imperfectly) acquired" (p. 8), thus, this theory is widely accepted since it confirms that the previous knowledge has an influence on what is being learnt. Chireac, Francis & McClure (2020) define interference as "the automatic transfer, due to habit, of the surface structure of the first language onto the surface of the target language" (p. 12). Interference can happen consciously or unconsciously. Lotto (2016) and Bhela (2019) consider that interference is one of the major sources of errors in the learner's use of the foreign language that can be traced back to the mother tongue.

The issue of native language usage and interference in the classroom has been a very controversial topic as there were researchers who were completely against native language transfer. Researchers who opposed the transfer view considered the majority of errors as developmental errors rather than errors resulting from L1 transfer. It was argued that L2 errors were similar to the errors made by the L1 learners when learning their own native language.

Methodology

The methodology of the present study is based on qualitative approach where there was used a translation test containing 12 sentences translated from Albanian into English. Students' performance in this test helped in investigating native language interference in learning English language grammar. It also helped in identifying L1 morphological and syntactic interference in the process of translation. Through this translation test there were identified types of errors and the reasons for the occurrence of such errors.

Participants

The present study was conducted at high school '7 Marsi' in Tetovo, North Macedonia, involving 54 students of intermediate level, 31 females and 23 males. The study was conducted with students from two different classes, one with 26, the other with 28 students of the same study year. They all have learned English for seven years, starting from the 3rd grade of the elementary school. Their mother tongue is Albanian language; they all speak Macedonian language, too; 23 of them speak German apart from English and Macedonian. They all come from Tetovo, both, the city and surrounding. According to the state curricula, English courses are offered three times a week and are taught by non-native speakers of English, which means that the students and teachers share the same native language.

Instrument

The data collection tool as the translation test (see Appendix 1) was designed to identify the probable morphological and syntactic interference of the mother tongue in foreign language learning. It was a test containing 12 sentences in Albanian that had to be translated into English. This instrument aimed to

identify the problems with the proper use of different parts of speech such as nouns, verbs, prepositions, articles, adverbs, adjectives, as well as the sentence structure. The instrument was a pen-and-pencil test done in the classroom settings.

Procedure

The test was implemented in the last week of February 2020. For the purposes of the study, prior to visiting the classes, it was discussed with the school principle, as well as with the English teacher who teaches in the first study year. With their permission, the study was carried out in two classrooms. The 12 sentence test was distributed to the students who were explained with the purposes of this task. The students were asked to read each sentence in Albanian and carefully translate it into English. They were encouraged to work individually and were assured that the test results will not have any impact on their course grades. The time given to the students for this activity was 30 minutes.

Data Analysis

The results that were derived from the present study and discussion of the findings are presented in the following:

Figure 1 presents interference of mother tongue in learning L2 grammar

Figure 2 shows the interference of mother tongue in translating from Albanian into English

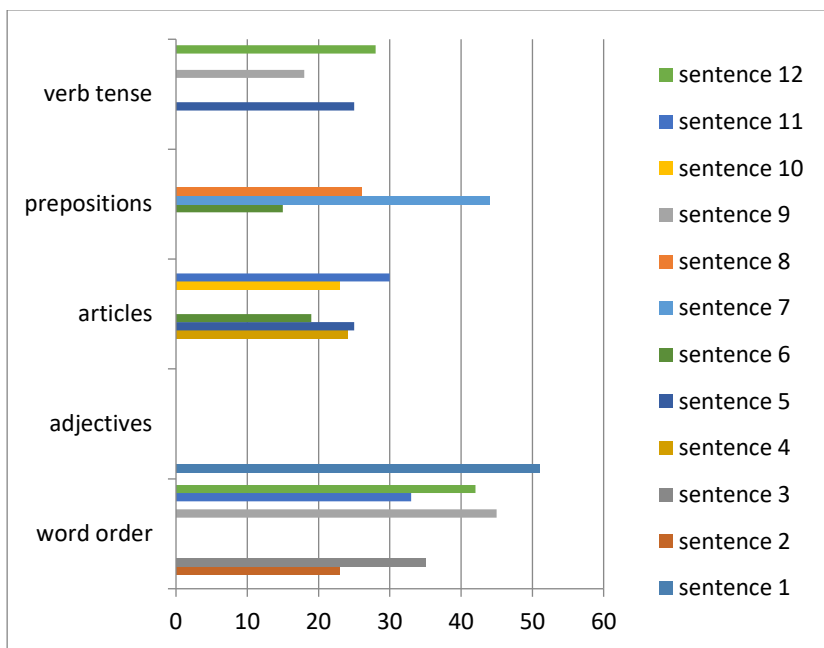


Figure 1: Interference of mother tongue grammar in L2 grammar

According to the findings, English infinitive and gerund were the parts in which no difficulty was observed. When it comes to adjectives and prepositions, learners have difficulty at the rate of 60%. Additionally, with the use of articles, both definite and indefinite ones, the learners have notable difficulties. As the definite form of the noun in the Albanian language is made with the suffixes *-i* for male, and *-a* for female gender, the errors made in translation from Albanian into English come as a result of mother tongue influence. The findings of the present study revealed that 60% of students face difficulties with the proper use of English tenses, particularly with the irregular verbs in past simple and past participle. 50% of students are challenged by the proper use of past simple and present perfect, which also interpreted as an influence of native language. In Albanian language these two tenses express

actions that have happened in the past whereas in English present perfect is used for finished actions as well as for the actions that are occurring at the present. One of the most notable and characteristic features of the impact that native language has on foreign language learners is the sentence structure, more particularly, the word order in the sentence. 55% of the total number of students rely on the native language sentence structure. Word-for-word translation was found in 90% of translated sentences.

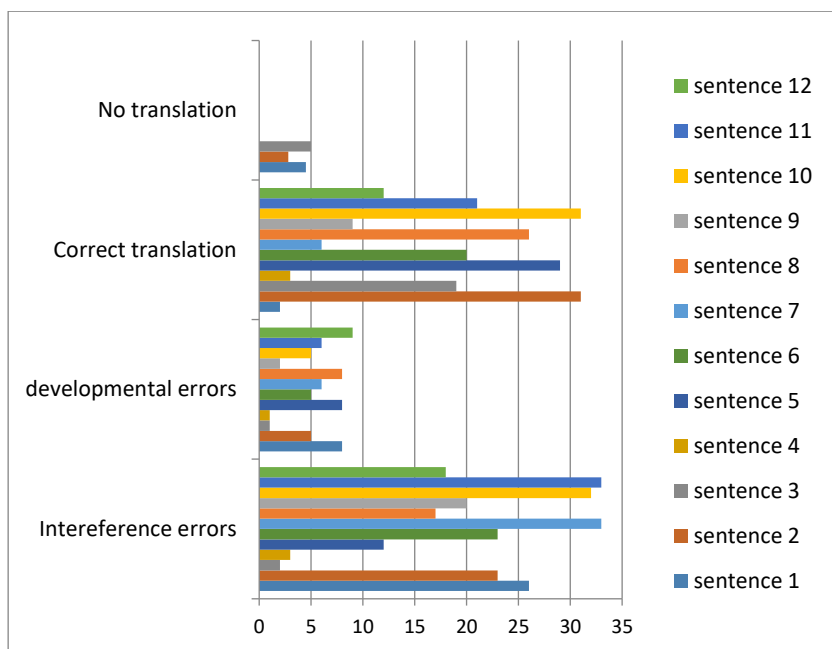


Figure 2: interference of mother tongue in translating from Albanian into English

The students' errors in compositions are divided into two categories; 69 % of errors come from students' native language interference, whereas 31% of errors are accounted for developmental, intralingual or overgeneralization errors. The

majority of students' errors in this study are interference errors, which come as a result of the impact that mother tongue has on learners of other languages. This occurs because students first think in their native language then write in English, therefore, the number of L1 interference errors in this study is very high.

The linguistic knowledge of Albanian language may interfere with the learning of English and it is the teachers' obligation to maximize their students' exposure to English grammar, vocabulary, and English as the only language spoken in the classroom.

Collaborative interaction is essential to learning a foreign language. Swain and Lapkin (1999, p. 321) pointed out that 'what occurs in collaborative dialogues is learning'. So the studies of L2 learning have focused on looking at how foreign learning is mediated by language use in collaborative interactions between students and teacher (see, for example, Anton and DiCamilla (1999); Donato (2004); Brooks et al. (1997); Villamil and De Guerrero (2006); Swain and Lapkin (1999) who have discussed the role of the L1, and the functions it serves in collaborative interaction in the foreign language classroom.

Results

The findings of the present study reveal that 60% of students face difficulties with the proper use of English tenses, particularly with the irregular verbs in past simple and past participle. In Albanian language these two tenses express actions that have happened in the past whereas in English present perfect is used for finished actions as well as for the actions that are occurring at the present. According to the findings, English infinitive and gerund were the language structures where no difficulties were observed. When it comes

to adjectives and prepositions, learners have difficulties at the rate of 60%. Additionally, as the definite form of the noun in the Albanian language is made with the suffixes –i for male and –a for female gender, the learners have notable difficulties with the use of articles, both definite and indefinite ones. One of the most notable and characteristic features of the impact that native language has on foreign language learners is the sentence structure, more particularly, the word order in the sentence. 55% of the total number of students rely on the native language sentence structure. Word-for-word translation was found in 90% of translated sentences.

The results show that the majority of errors belong to the field of morphology and syntax, which come as a result of different sentence patterns that Albanian language, as source language (SL), and English language, as target language (TL) have.

Sentence 1: *Ajo është shumë më e lartë sesa unë.* (She is much taller than me.)

Correct translation: 2 students

Incorrect translation: 49 students

No translation: 3 students

- a) 26 students: *She is taller than me.*
- b) 12 students: *She is more taller than me.*
- c) 7 students: *She is very tall than me.*
- d) 4 students: *She is lot taller than me.*
- e) 2 students: *She is much taller than me.*

As the superlative of the adjective is rarely used in the Albanian language, the interference of mother tongue can be seen in the translations of 26 students who omitted the adjective *much*, and provided a translation in comparative degree.

Sentence 2: *E pashë vëllain tënd para dy ditësh.* (I saw your brother two days ago.)

Correct translation: 31 students

23 incorrect translations: *I saw your brother before two days.*

The Albanian sentence pattern is directly transmitted in the translation of this sentence into English language.

Sentence 3: *Unë mund të këndoj shumë mirë.* (I can sing very well.)

Correct translation: 19 students

35 incorrect translations: *I can sing very good.*

Having in mind that the word *mirë* in Albanian is an adjective, and is used after the adverb of measure, the students find it difficult to use two adverbs that would describe a verb. However, in this case this error can also occur due to insufficient L2 knowledge on irregular adverbs.

Sentence 4: *Sa pagove për fletoret?* (How much did you pay for the notebooks?)

Correct translations: 3 students

Incorrect translations: 48 students

No translation: 3 students

- a) 24 students: *How much did you pay for notebooks?*
- b) 9 students: *How much you paid for notebooks?*
- c) 11 students: *How much you pay for notebooks?*
- d) 4 students: *How much did you paid for notebooks?*

The English language, different from the Albanian, uses the article to define nouns, and as a result of that difference, in 24 cases the students omitted the article *the*. In the Albanian language, the main verb is the one that denotes the past simple, different from the English where we use the auxiliary verb *to do*, and as a result of these differences, there were 9 students who

omitted the verb *did*. Another characteristic translation that comes as a result of mother tongue interference was given by 4 students who use verbs, the auxiliary and the main verb, in past tense. Generally, it can be said that these group of students have major problems with the use of definite article *the*, as well as with the word-for-word method of translation.

Sentence 5: *Unë i gjeta librat. (I found the books.)*

Correct translations: 29 students

Incorrect translations: 25 students

- a) 15 students: *I found books.*
- b) 5 students: *I find books.*
- c) 5 students: *I find the books.*

As same as with the previous sentence, there were students who show that the Albanian learners of English find it difficult to use different sentence patterns other than the ones that are used in their mother tongue. Again, as the most characteristic errors made by the students are the use of definite article and verb tense.

Sentence 6: *Më pëlqejnë lulet në oborrin tënd. (I like the flowers in your garden.)*

Correct translations: 20 students

Incorrect translations: 34 students

- a) 14 students: *I like flowers in your garden.*
- b) 15 students: *I like the flowers on your garden.*
- c) 5 students: *I like your flowers in your garden.*

Incorrect translation provided under a) and b) occurs due to the interference of students' mother tongue. The purpose of this sentence was to find out the proper use of prepositions by the Albanian learners, and as it was expected, 15 students use preposition *on* instead of *in*. Prepositions of place, such as *in*, *on*

and at, are one of the biggest problems for the Albanian learners, as in their mother tongue these prepositions are not subdivided into prepositions of place and prepositions of surface. The other constant problem for these students remains the use of definite article *the*.

Sentence 7: *Ju lutem përgjigjuni pyetjes sime!* (Please answer my question!)

Correct translations: 6 students

Incorrect translations: 44 students

No translation: 4 students

- a) 32 students: *"Please answer in my question!*
- b) 8 students: *Please answer to my question!*
- c) 4 students: *Please answer at my question!*

As it was expected, the problem would occur with the use of proper preposition. Furthermore, it was the same case as with the previous sentences and it generally it comes as a result of the fact that prepositions in English don't always match up neatly to case endings as they do in Albanian.

Even though Albanian language has prepositions, the translation problems appear in cases when English doesn't use one, or the ones they use in specific situations are different from the ones used in the target language.

Sentence 8: *Khaxhai im do të arrijë të hënë.* (My uncle will arrive on Monday.)

Correct translations: 26 students

Incorrect translations: 28 students

- a) 13 students: *My uncle will arrive in Monday.*
- b) 10 students: *My uncle will arrive at Monday.*
- c) 5 students: *My uncle will be arrived in Monday.*

There is only one preposition of time and this is the reason that a large number of students use incorrect preposition when required to translate from Albanian into English. Since the developmental errors reflect on the lack of experience, it is expected that intermediate students will make such errors which prove that the rule and structures of their mother tongue can hardly be replaced by the new rules and patterns of the non-native language.

Sentence 9: *Ç'bën Paola në Shqipëri?* (What is Paula Doing in Albania?)

Correct translations: 9 students

Incorrect translations: 45 students

- a) 26 students: *What does Paola in Albania?*
- b) 13 students: *What is Doing Paola in Albania?*
- c) 6 students: *What Paola Doing in Albania?*

The first group of students made these errors due to their native language interference. The question in Albanian language was formulated with the apostrophe, which might have confused the student; they might have referred to it as a determiner rather than a pronoun. The influence of the native language can better be seen with the group of students who used word-for-word translation, with the Albanian pattern: Pronoun+Predicate+ Subject+Adverbial Phrase. The errors made by the third group of students come as a result of insufficient level of knowledge in both the languages.

Sentence 10: *Djali i Agimit është 8 vjeç. (Agim's son is 8 years old.)*

Correct translations: 31 students

Incorrect translations: 23 students

- a) 17 students: *Son of Agim is 8 years old.*
- b) 6 students: *The son of Agim is 8 years old.*

Both these groups of students make interference errors; the first group applies word-for-word method of translation, whereas the second groups would belong to literal translation method.

We have divided them into different groups because 6 students, by adding the article *the* try to incorporate the definite form of the noun *son*, which in Albanian appears as a definite noun, with the suffix *-i* for the masculine gender.

Sentence 11: *Tirana është një qytet i madh dhe i bukur. (Tirana is a big and beautiful city.)*

Correct translations: 21

Incorrect translations: 33

- a) 10 students: *Tirana is big and beautiful city.*
- b) 8 students: *Tirana is big city and beautiful.*
- c) 9 students: *Tirana is a big city and beautiful.*
- d) 6 students: *Tirana is one big city and beautiful.*

The problem with the use of articles is constantly repeated in this research. The first group of students has omitted the article *-a*, which translated into Albanian is *-një*. The second group of students, apart from omitting the article, they have translated the sentence word-for-word, following the Albanian sentence structure: *qytet i madh dhe i bukur*-big city and beautiful. The fourth group, similarly with the third group, uses the word-for-word method of translation following the patterns, rules and structures of the Albanian language.

Sentence 12: *Këtë fustan e bleva në Paris. (I bought this dress in Paris.)*

Correct translation: 12

Incorrect translation: 42

- a) 31 students: *This dress I bought in Paris*
- b) 11 students: *This dress I buy in Paris*

The word order and the sentence pattern used by 31 students prove that mother tongue plays a big role in the learning a second language and translating from mother tongue into a non-native language. *Këtë fustan -This dress + e bleva- I bought + në Paris-in Paris*, as it can be seen, the translated sentence follows the source language word order. The second group of students, apart from following the Albanian sentence structure, they make other errors due to incomplete knowledge of the target language grammar.

Interpretations and Conclusions

The results from the translation test showed that native language interferes in target language grammar mostly in cases where the two grammars differ in structure. We also found out that the Albanian linguistic knowledge reflects on the learning of English language and translating from Albanian into English. The research was conducted with students who are hardly ever exposed to English that is spoken by native speakers of the language. The language and its grammatical rules are taught by teachers who share the same native language with their students. Due to time consuming, very often these rules are explained in the students' mother tongue, which minimizes the students' exposure to the English language. The learning material is designed in English speaking countries; no space is

given to the mother tongue and to translation to mother tongue or vs. These materials do not encounter students' linguistics specifics; they do not raise the students' awareness of differences between their mother tongue and English. Accordingly, we can say that the conducted research with these students was the first task where they were required to use and practice two languages at the same time. The research also prove that the biggest problems that the Albanian students face with while translating into English are: word order, the use of prepositions and articles, and the use of tenses.

According to Lems, Miller and Soro (2018), "word order differs among languages, and trying to construct the same sentence in a new language can create errors" (p. 9). These types of errors were very frequent in students' production of L2. Krashen (1981) also generalizes that "first language influence appears to be strongest in complex word order and in word-for-word translations of phrases", thus, the same was concluded from the results of this study.

According to some previous studies, interference errors are regarded as unimportant since they seem to be lower in number. Budiharto (2019) claims that the majority of errors were developmental errors rather than L1 interference errors. He adds that only 3% of the analyzed errors were due to L1 interference. On the other hand, Ellis (1997) states that the percentage of interference errors was 33%. Nevertheless, the results of this study show that the majority of errors are interference errors (69%) rather than developmental ones. These results might vary due to the different group of students, different levels of English, different students' native languages, and different cultural and linguistic background.

This study provides insights into native language interference in the process of translating from students' mother

tongue into English. Thus, as far as these participants are concerned, this study yielded the following conclusions:

- Native language interferes to a high extent in translation from Albanian into English.
- Native language interferes in translation, mainly in cases where the two grammars differ in structure and rules, resulting in errors of word order, omission and addition.
- Word-for-word translation is the main cause of word order errors in translation from L1-L2.
- The most common cases of negative interference in translation occur when the students are required to apply grammatical forms that are different from their L1 grammar rules.
- The most frequent errors due to L1 interference belong to articles, prepositions, and word order.
- The majority of students' grammatical errors in writing are native language interference errors rather than developmental.

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Appendix 1: The Translation Test Results

Sentences for translation from L1-L2	Interference error	Developmental error	Correct translation	No translation
1. Ajo është shumë më e lartë sesa unë.	23	26	2	3
2. E pashë vëllain tënd para dy ditëve.	23	-	31	-
3. Unë mund të këndoj shumë mirë.	35	35	19	-

4. Sa pagove për fletoret?	48	24	3	3
5. Unë i gjeta librat.	20	10	29	-
6. Më pëlqejnë lulet në oborrin tënd.	34	20	20	-
7. Ju lutem përgjigjuni pyetjes sime.	44	32	6	4
8. Xhaxhai im do të arrijë të hënën.	28	28	26	-
9. Ç'bën Paola në Shqipëri?	45	6	9	-
10. Djali i Agimit është 8 vjeç.	23	-	31	-
11. Tirana është një qytet i madh dhe i bukur.	33	-	21	-
12. Këtë fustan e bleva në Paris.	42	11	12	-
	398	192	209	10

***The Impact of Transformational Leadership on
Organizational Citizenship Behavior (OCB) in
the Workplace: Case study at the Recycling
Company Rec-Kos, Kosovo***

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Abstract

This research examines whether there exists a positive correlation between the transformational leadership style and factors such as civic virtues, responsibility, altruism, correctness, and civility to practice Civic Organizational Behaviour (OCB) constructively. Employees who tend to support colleagues with the above factors become more outstanding later on. Additionally, these employees excel by acting beyond the set minimum to successfully complete a task. Indeed, OCB can be stimulated by the transformational leader. The quantitative data from the case study in REC-KOS, a private company based in Kosovo, highlight that factors such as age and less work experience are related to the creation of an OCB-supportive work environment. An environment in which the flexibility of rules is praised by the transformational leadership style shows no relevant influence on the promotion of the empathic side of employees. On the other hand, full identification with the company for which one works is achieved primarily through organizational culture.

Keywords: OCB, transformational leader, civic virtues, sense of responsibility, altruism, correctness and courtesy.

Introduction

In the ever-evolving organizational world, many types of leadership styles are under scrutiny for their usefulness. In this sense, the transformational leadership style is considered to be more effective than the transactional leadership style. In fact, transformational leaders promote the personal growth and development of their followers by appropriately communicating the importance and value of shared goals (Haworth & Levy, 2001). Whereas the transactional leadership style is mainly focused that specific goals are being achieved (Avolio et al., 2009; Bass et al., 2003). One characteristic of the transformational leadership style is that it also communicates organizational citizenship behaviour (OCB). This manifestation of OCB includes both innovative and spontaneous behaviour to perform beyond the minimum requirements of an organization, taking into account how people's thoughts, feelings, and behaviours are influenced by the implicit presence of others (Bass et al., 2003). This paper will also investigate whether OCB is individually or organizationally driven. Its importance lies in finding out why employee behaviour differs and how to make the most of it.

OCB

Basically, OCB is a term that encompasses positive and constructive aspects that employees do out of their own good will. The advantage is that employees support their colleagues and the sense of teamwork is promoted. Since OCB affects a large area, one needs to observe on an individual basis why a particular behaviour is being chosen, and its impact on the organization. Typically, employees who provide the OCB characteristics are not the most outstanding employees in an

organization but they may excel in acting beyond the minimum set of criteria later on (Tsui et al., 2006). The benefits of OCB are increased productivity, overall efficiency, and customer satisfaction. These features also reduce employee absenteeism (Podsakoff et al., 1990). As OCB is a behaviour that arises from spontaneous conditions, leaders need to promote the right indications that address this behaviour. The presence of OCB in an organization also affects employee well-being (MacKenzie et al., 2001). Thus, integrating social and psychological factors leads employees to have a more productive self-image (Cameron, 2012). One drawback is that the features of OCB are either not perceived or only informally rewarded. It needs to be emphasized that OCB contributes to specific behaviours and goal-oriented actions. On the other hand, OCB can be harmed if employees feel they are not being treated appropriately during times of crisis when the leader's support is most needed (Huang & You, 2011). Another importance of this research is to examine how equal treatment is perceived by employees. This basis of equality is tested using the characteristics of transformational leadership style and the features of OCB.

Literature review

The transformational leadership style establishes a clear vision for the future of the organization and encourages employees to take responsibility. Prior to this, acceptance of group goals needs to be facilitated (Cameron, 2012; Kim, 2014). Indeed, the transformational leadership style provides a positive correlation with employees' level of performance not depending merely on rewards (Kirkman et al., 2009). Therefore, transformational leaders focus on interpersonal relations and the realization of their objectives. Bass et al. (2003) point out that transformational leaders emphasize the growth and

development of employees. Based on Avolio et al. (2009), the four dimensions of transformational leaders will be addressed, which are known as idealization, intellectual stimulation, taking into consideration the individual context and the inspirational motivation. The charismatic part includes, first of all, that the employees fully identify with their leaders. In terms of intellectual stimulation, special emphasis is placed on how a particular issue is effectively handled (Van Knippenberg & Sitkin, 2013). It is being acquired from employees to task risk and to present well-thought ideas freely. It must not be neglected that different personalities cooperate with each other in a company. Therefore, various approaches should be articulated by leaders in an appealing manner. All of the above factors promote a sense of organizational culture.

Characteristics of OCB

Generally, OCB incorporates behaviours that promote organizational effectiveness and is not necessarily followed by an external reward such as prices, money or other forms of acclaims. Thus, it can be concluded that OCB is more related to intrinsic motivation (Shamir & Howell, 2018). More specifically, intrinsic motivation is driven by internal rewards where employees are naturally satisfied in an environment where everyone is treated equally. This behaviour is also related to how emotionally connected employees are to the organization they contribute to (Hui et al., 2004). It is like an unwritten contract where each employee has their own perception of how they should contribute to an organization. Violation of this personalized contract tends to damage the employee's perceptions of OCB's credibility. Thus, when employees perceive that they are being wronged, they will make less effort to respond to intrinsic motivation. Based on Podsakoff et al.

(1990) the features of OCB are divided into five subdomains: civic virtues, sense of responsibility, altruism, correctness, and courtesy. These indicators can be called change-oriented behaviour because they are helpful and cooperative in the organizational environment.

Civic Virtues and the Feeling of Responsibility

According to Podsakoff et al. (1990), civic virtues refer to the responsibility of employees to contribute in their own way to achieve the goals of the organization. It involves prosocial behaviours while gathering enough information to make a productive contribution (Ma et al., 2013). First, there need to exist a mutual respect between employees and the leaders. Otherwise, OCB is not performed because it is considered of little worth (Shaaban, 2018). Such self-initiated behaviour to solve a problem before it has arisen contributes to a sustainable competitive advantage (Graham Shamir & Howell, 2018). This sense of responsibility indicates employees' intention to exceed certain performance expectations. However, a distinction should be made between the degree of responsibility of the employee and the impact of making a decision. The sense of responsibility is consistent with compliance with the rules and instructions of a company. To clarify, civic virtues make it possible to make working conditions easier and more amusing.

Altruism

In an organizational context, altruism involves helping other colleagues and spreading less feelings of rivalry. Widén-Wulff and Ginman (2004) indicated that the variable of reconciliation and altruism increased the level of overall performance. Personality traits, on the other hand, were shaped by learned experiences and social consideration. Argyle (2013) emphasized that the moral side of behaving as prosocial as possible is

focused on the good of others as well as one's own good. Moreover, Marjan and Khakpour's (2015) study found that age is not a determinant of altruistic behaviour. In an organizational context, employees with more work experience associate the characteristics of altruism with OCB (Shaaban, 2018). A supporting argument is that perspectives on self and others change in middle age. In this case, it includes the desire to help others without thinking of personal gain.

Correctness

A critical aspect of OCB is also the perception of justice procedures (Shamir & Howell, 2018). In fact, perceptions of equity are associated with employee participation in the process of decision-making. It is observed as a true reflection of the leader's support. Leaders shall integrate the awakened motivation into practical work in order to achieve the full capacity of each employee (Janssen & Van Yperen, 2004). Correctness is associated with the leader recognizing employees' full capacity and personality traits. Additionally, the approach is observed and whether the right words are articulated by the leader to clarify a situation.

Courtesy

Employees need an environment where it is easy to manage workloads while demonstrating civility in attitude and behaviour toward colleagues. Based on Janssen and Van Yperen (2004), a leader who demonstrates civility in attitude and behaviour shows employees how to handle crises more effectively. There is a debate about where altruism and the desire for emotional reward differ in the organizational context (Marjani & Khakpour, 2015). So, behaviour that benefits another employee at the cost of oneself is not organizational-driven but an individualized standpoint. Even though a lot of factors are

driven by organizational rules it is not known how OCB can be controlled (Kim, 2014). In this context, transformational leadership style defines the role of organizational culture. The leader sets the tone, atmosphere and culture of an organization (Foote & Li-Ping Tang, 2008). Organizations that consider internal and external interests are likely to strive for great success in terms of positive employee engagement. Internal integration reinforces a sense of shared vision, where employees identify more with the organization and thus become more engaged.

Based on Avolio et al. (2009), the transformational leadership style promotes affective commitment by encouraging intrinsic values, such as motivation that derives from within, to achieve goals. Special attention is given to efforts that go beyond the minimum criteria. A correlation of employee affective commitment and OCB was associated with workplace civility and the fulfilment on personal and professional levels (MacKenzie et al., 2001). Further research is needed to determine whether OCB is directly or indirectly related to transformational leadership style. Based on Ilies et al. (2006) the transformational leadership style is closely related to altruism and the sense of responsibility in order to promote OCB. Special attention is paid to the individual needs of employees and to increase capacities with the support of a transformational leader (Schuh et al., 2012). It is important how problems are politely articulated so that employees can identify with the organization's values, goals, and norms. Additionally, Lavelle et al. (2009) summarized that when employees balance their success with organizational performance, they are willing to support other colleagues. In other words the transformational leadership modifies the core values, beliefs and attitudes of the follower so that they are able to perform beyond the baseline level specified by the company.

Research Methodology

Study objectivities

The main aims of this study are:

- to assess the role of transformational leadership style in promoting organizational citizenship behavior.
- to assess the correlation between civic virtues, responsibility, altruism, correctness, and civility for practicing OCB and the transformational leadership style.
- to assess the degree to which the employees perceive justice in the workplace.

Participants

One hundred employees (N = 100) of the company "Rec-Kos" with branches in Pristina and Fushë Kosovë participated in this research. The highest percentage, 33% of employees, belongs to the 25-29 age group. This percentage is closely followed by the 30-39 year old categorization with 32%. Surprisingly, a quarter of the participants were either in the 20-24 age group or even 40-49. The age range of 20 or younger and 50-56 is representative at less than 5%. Hereby, gender differences were not analyzed in this study because only 1% of participants were female. Precisely, figure 1 depicts the distribution of the sample by age.

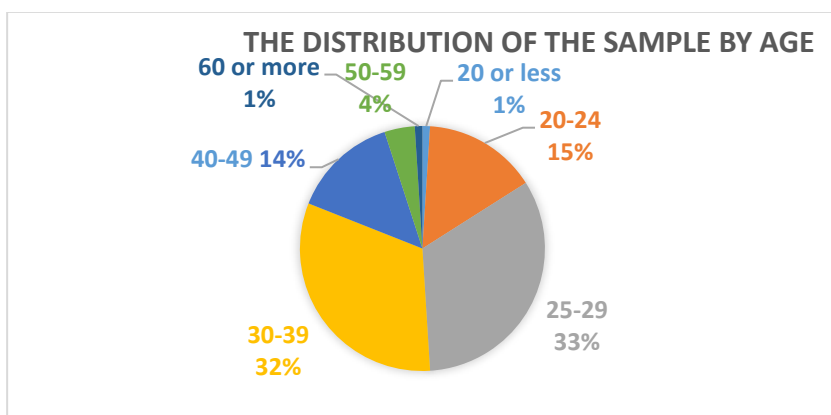


Figure 1. The distribution of the sample by age

Procedures

The questionnaire was handed out to the participants individually. The purpose of this questionnaire was described in detail and the anonymity of the given answers was guaranteed in the consent form. Confidentiality of responses was assured, and participants were allowed to end the survey without being penalized. Ambiguities were clarified during the piloting process. The Likert scale has been used throughout the questionnaire to find correlations among the independent variables of OCB characteristics such as altruism, sense of responsibility, civic virtues, courtesy, and correctness. The data were analyzed using the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS). This statistical tool was used for descriptive statistics and to analyze correlations between the variables of OCB and transformational leadership style. In our research, the transformational leader is considered as a dependent variable. Our case fits the internal validity, which allows the researcher to make inferences about causes and effects and how independent variables influence dependent variables. The

hypotheses were tested using Pearson correlation coefficient and the collected data were examined using the regression analysis. A pilot study was first conducted where five leaders took place and ten employees of another company were interviewed. This process was conducted to verify that the questions conveyed the same message as given by the author of the questionnaire. Thus, the questions that caused ambiguity were modified, such as whether the leader follows the rules even if no one sees it. Reliability analysis, known as Chronbach's alpha (α), was used to determine the consistency measure within the questionnaire. Its determination values are based on Cortina (1993), where alpha .70 is an acceptable value.

Variables	Question	(α)
Altruism	12, 13, 16, 17, 18, 19	.86
Sense of responsibility	1, 4, 6, 15, 23, 49	.77
Civic virtues	10, 21, 30, 34, 50, 35	.58
Courtesy	11, 27, 32, 36, 38, 42	.72
Correctness	3, 5, 14, 20, 22, 31	.87

Table 1. Chronbach's alpha of OCB variables

Results

The results of descriptive statistics include the mean and standard deviation of the given variables. The largest average of 4.55 is attributed to altruism. Work experience, on the other hand, has the highest standard deviation of 1.35, which means that this datum is more distributed or scattered than the others

approaching the mean. Other descriptive statistics of age, working experience and the characteristics of OCB can be seen on the table below.

Descriptive Statistics			
	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
Age	3.5900	1.12002	100
Working experience	3.5000	1.35214	100
Altruism	4.5500	.10000	100
Sense of Responsibility	4.1000	.20000	100
Civic virtues	3.6775	.24350	100
Correctness	3.5350	.07000	100
Courtesy	3.6050	.13404	100

Table 2. The descriptive statistics of OCB with the variable of age and working experience

It has been shown that the middle age of 30-39 is more representative to convey the sense of responsibility. The frequency of the other group ages can be seen in the figure below.

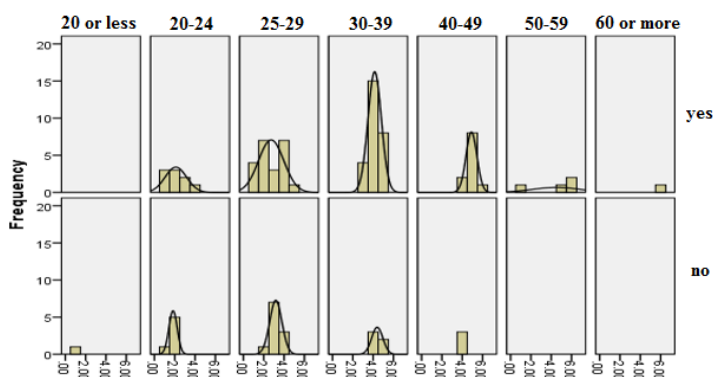


Figure 2. The frequency of the group ages

Furthermore, table 3 illustrates whether there exists a correlation among the variables of age and working experience with the five components of OCB. A statistically significant correlation was found among age ranges and working experience ($r=.704$, $p=.000$). In contrast, no correlation was found between age ranges and work experience with OCB factors. A statically significant correlation was found in between the age and the components of civic virtues ($r=.983$, $p=<.017$). Finally, but no less importantly, a statistically significant negative relationship was found between employees' sense of responsibility and their correctness ($r= -1.000$, $p=.000$).

	Age	Working experience	Altruism	Sense of Responsibility	Civic virtues	Correctness	Courtesy
Age	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed) N	1 .704** 100	.160 840 100	.801 .199 100	.983** .017 100	-.801 .199 100	.084 .916 100
Working experience	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed) N	1 .704** 100	.000 1.000 100	.617 .383 100	.900 .100 100	-.617 .383 100	-.161 .839 100
Altruism	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed) N	.160 .840 100	1 1.000 100	.333 .667 100	.294 .706 100	-.333 .667 100	.870 .130 100
Sense of Responsibility	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed) N	.801 .199 100	.333 .667 100	1 100 100	.883 .117 100	-1.000** .000 100	.522 .478 100
Civic virtues	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed) N	.983* .017 100	.294 .706 100	.883 .117 100	1 100 100	-.883 .117 100	.261 .739 100
Correctness	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed) N	-.801 .199 100	-.333 .667 100	-1.000** .000 100	-.883 .117 100	1 100 100	-.522 .478 100
Courtesy	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2-tailed) N	.084 .916 100	.870 .130 100	.522 .478 100	.261 .739 100	-.522 .478 100	1 100 100

Table 3. Correlation of OCB with the variables of age and working experience

Additionally, the values show that the leader's consideration part was not statically approved ($r = -.333$, $p < .667$). Also, no correlation has been depicted on the leader's idealization part ($r = -.577$, $p < .423$). On the other hand, the

leaders inspirational impact has been positively resulted ($p < .000$).

Discussion

This section discusses the data obtained from our research questions and hypotheses in correlation to the characteristics of OCB and the transformational leadership style. If we recall the hypotheses, one of them was to assess the role of transformational leadership style in promoting organizational citizenship behaviour. In our case, the representative sample with the highest average was inclined towards employees who have been working for about 3-4 years and belong to the age range of 30-39 years. This percentage is likely to influence the final result of the independent variables of altruism, the sense of responsibility, courtesy, correctness and civic virtues. Relying to the variables of age and the employees' sense of responsibility, it can be observed that the age groups 30-39 are more inclined to practice OCB. With increasing age, the awareness of having achieved a great deal for the company decreases (Shamir & Howell, 2018). This is also confirmed by the fact that employees who have been employed for 10 years are less likely to practice OCB. One argument was the perception of injustice. The most willing to accept volunteer work were those employees who had 1-3 years of work experience. However, this does not mean that the working hours need to be exceeded, as it is negatively correlated. Within the broader practice of OCB, altruism and correctness tend to be associated with OCB. So, interpersonal interactions that may occur during collaboration at work need to be praised. Courtesy has not been shown to correlate with interpersonal interactions. Similarly, it turns out that civic virtues do not have a decisive influence, even if they originate from the organization culture

itself. OCB is particularly impaired when employees feel that they are not treated properly in times of crisis. Attention must be drawn to this point, as it is directly related to employees' worth. This self-initiated behaviour of OCB is critical to finding a solution to a problem before it becomes too difficult to manage it. This promotes a healthy competition in the organization. There was a strong correlation with the transformational leader's characteristic of emphasizing inspirational motivation. But it did not promote the intellectual stimulation of the employees. To fully realize the intellectual potential of employees, they need to be intrinsically motivated (Foote & Li-Ping Tang, 2008). When all of the above characteristics are achieved, overall well-being increases and employees are more likely to identify with the company they work for.

Conclusion

There exists a positive correlation between the transformational leadership style and some characteristics of OCB. It was emphasized that the employee's goodwill must first be fostered in order to adopt OCB attributes that are not directly linked to the delivery of outstanding performance. OCB's characteristics are presented as a firm basis for outstanding and stable performance. The results proclaim that age ranges and lower work experience are related to the creation of an OCB-supportive work environment. Consequently, employees with 10 years of experience are less inclined to prefer OCB because it is associated with unfairness. As the characteristics of OCB tend to be individually driven, altruism and the sense of correctness are correlated with OCB, but this is not the case for courtesy and civic virtues. Indeed, the employees were inspired by their leader but it did not foster their intellectual stimulation. In

summary, to promote employees' self-initiated behaviour, innovative and spontaneous intentions need to be acknowledged by the leader in order to increase overall well-being.

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Theodor W. Adorno's Criticism of the German Concept of Bildung

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Abstract

The question of how to conduct oneself in the world is arguably as old as mankind itself. Ancient Greek philosophy, namely the sophists, identified a problem which shaped the world since it was first articulated – the negotiation of internal truth and external application. While neither can truly guide one's way – epistemological relativism and ethical utilitarianism await at the extrema – dialogue of all kinds seems to be a way to prevent the drift and shift towards these extremes. After having framed the philosophical problem, this paper will exemplarily examine Germany's concept of *Bildung* with regard to these extremes. The analysis will focus on the end of the 19th century (*fin-de-siècle*) as this has been the phase of *Bildung* which can, at least in part, be held accountable for the horrors of the 20th century. *Bildung* was and still is a central aspect of German culture and has been the matter of analysis and discussion ever since. One of the most potent criticisms has been uttered by Theodor W. Adorno who analyzed *Bildung* after the Second World War and exemplarily outlined traits of fascist societies. However, Adorno was also influenced by the zeitgeist and did not grasp the problem at the deepest possible level of analysis. Based on but not limited to the intellectual accounts of Theodor W. Adorno, it will be tried to identify commonalities among totalitarian systems and reconnect these with the aforementioned philosophical problem of ethical utilitarianism and epistemological relativism.

Keywords: Theodor W. Adorno, Halbbildung, Education, Humanities, Fascism

Introduction

One of philosophy's oldest and most central questions is about the conduct of life. More specifically, philosophy reflects on the constituents of the *Good Life*. This question is frequently debated in different disciplines and traditions and does not seem to lose its appeal to academic as well as non-academic audiences. The tremendous success of Jordan B. Peterson's book *12 Rules for Life*ⁱ (2018), in which he outlines and explains principles how to conduct oneself in the world, supports this hypothesis. However, the questions on how to conduct oneself in the world, ergo which standards to follow, which norms to live by, and what goals to strive for are much older than the recent discourse may suggest. Depending on the historical, political, and intellectual environments as well as the divergent zeitgeists, different ideals have been emphasized. In this spectrum of ideals, two extrema can be identified: epistemological relativism – which can be understood as the internal search for truth – and ethical utilitarianism, the urge for real-life application (cf. Böhm, 2010, p. 15). The first part of this article will outline key aspects of these philosophical positions and provide exemplary cases of their manifestations in different areas and disciplines. Further, their co-dependency and on-going mutual replacement will be discussed.

While the introspective search for truth as well as the outward-oriented application of one's forces have shaped the course of literature, architecture, philosophy, education, politics, and a plethora of other disciplines, some real-life events' impacts are so far-reaching in their scope that basic propositions of academia and philosophy need to be

questioned. One such event was the Holocaust, in which industrial-style efficiency, precision, and technology were combined with never before seen cruelty and malevolence (cf. Frankl, 1977/2019). As a response to the horrors of the early 20th century and the Holocaust in particular, Theodor W. Adorno re-examined philosophy, culture, and education/self-formation (German: *Bildung*ⁱⁱ) and tried to identify central flaws in these. Especially the aspect of *Bildung* is crucial in his analysis as *Bildung* can be considered the intersection of self-cultivation, moralization, and acquisition of skills. The lack of the first two combined with a highly skilled and technologically advanced society led, in part, to the horrors of the 20th century. While having been morally corrupted during the National Socialist's era, the concept of *Bildung* has always been Germany's genuine approach to tackle the question of the *Good Life* and has occupied a central position in public discourse, schools, society as well as German philosophy ever since. *Bildung* works on the same question which also occupied the minds of the sophists, Plato, Socrates, Aristotle, Immanuel Kant, Wilhelm von Humboldt, and the aforementioned Jordan B. Peterson (as well as a variety of other thinkers). In his post-War re-examination, Theodor W. Adorno criticizes *Bildung* by introducing a concept which he conceptualized as *Halbbildung* (semi-*Bildung*) and whose emergence he held partially responsible for the detrimental actions of the 20th century and beyond. In his criticism of *Bildung* as well as his conceptualization of *Halbbildung*, Adorno picks up and draws upon the aforementioned sophists' argumentation and positions himself with regard to the dilemma outlined above. *Halbbildung* – as one case study in which application was emphasized over truth – will be outlined and historically framed in the second section of the paper.

Even though Adorno's focus was primarily directed at the mechanisms which enabled the two World Wars and the Holocaust, his theory of *Halbbildung* primarily focuses on the economization of culture, cultural goods, and ultimately *Bildung*. Based on his observations, it can be argued that pure rationality – riddled of everything irrational, such as morals, art, culture, or the humanities in general – ultimately leads to totalitarianism (cf. Woodley, 2010, p. 39). Furthermore, Adorno discusses how the economy's logic – as one of the ultimate manifestations of rationality and its preference of impact/application over truth – deforms *Bildung* as well as the corresponding institutions. The last section of this article will deploy the aforementioned theoretical considerations – alongside the exemplary, philosophical case study – to identify and present commonalities of totalitarian ideology and revisit these by reframing them with the philosophical concepts and terminology of this paper.

The Ancient Greek's Ideals and Dilemmas

The Ancient Greek philosophers were united in their belief of moral as well as practical excellence – a state of being, which Aristotle called *Eudaimonia* (cf. Deci & Ryan, 2008, p. 2). *Eudaimonia* described the most perfect and completely balanced out state of an entity – an imagined state of excellence, wisdom, and virtuousness. *Eudaimonia* was considered to be the ultimate goal of the individual – sometimes referred to as their true nature –, the polis, and the state. Before these insights of the Ancient Greek thinkers were turned into common ideals, thriving for individual perfection used to be a privilege exclusively reserved for the wealthy, powerful, and well-off. The Ancient Greek philosophers however transformed it into an aim which could be achieved by every individual (cf. Böhm,

2010, p. 12). Therefore, the central unit of analysis and target group of these considerations used to be the individual as "moral value is centered within a person" (Birmingham, 2004, p. 316); however, the double-edged nature of virtuousness – pending between the internal and external – was also considered as "one cannot just be virtuous, one must become virtuosity by performing and hence embodying virtuous actions in public" (Hawhee, 2002, p. 187). In order to embody the spirit of virtuousness to the fullest and to reach one's true nature, the individual had to thrive for theoretical wisdom (*arête*), practical wisdom (*phronesis*), and technical/creational skill (*techne*) (cf. Nonaka & Toyama, 2007, p. 377/378) – a holistic approach of self-cultivation. Further, the different variations of wisdom served as a link to connect the individual to the wider community as through acting these values/wisdoms out (i.e. in the form of speech) "good is beyond being" (McGuirk, 2008, p. 170). Therefore, through physical, intellectual, and/or verbal actions, values transcend the individual and ultimately transform the polis, community, or state as a whole which, in turn, also transforms the individual – a dialogical relationship between the two, which can either be a vicious or virtuous cycle. By linking the community and the individual through (articulated or otherwise realized) values, a dialogical process of constant renewal, feedback, correction and ultimately improvement is triggered. This understanding of the relationship of the state – or ultimately culture – and the individual also manifests itself in Gaddis' observations as he states that the "Greeks thought of culture as character" (Gaddis, 2018, p. 44).

However, the sophists' school of thought identified a problem related to acted out and/or articulated virtues. The problem – yet, also its greatest strength – with the articulated word (*logos*) arises from the fact that it can actually change the

world. The dilemma the sophists identified relates to the concept of truth and opposes the external (impact on the status quo) and internal (quest for truth) direction of truth. Following the direction of external-oriented ethical utilitarianism, truth would be defined by its potential to reach an “individual’s desired end” (Noel, 1999, p. 276); true would be that, which has the highest degree of utility for a person or group (cf. Böhm, 2010, p. 15). The opposing paradigm would be that of inward-directed search for truth, which – in its most extreme and thereby unfortunate realization – could result in epistemological relativism (cf. *ibid.*). In the case of epistemological relativism, every aspect of life is questioned and devoid of its legitimizing real-life basis as truth is tried to be found in the object, action, or thing itself without considering externalities as potentially legitimizing factors. As nothing can really be considered true if stripped of its real-life implications, this approach results in either nihilism or relativism; the latter being fostered by the observation that all interpretations of the world (all truths so to speak) are of equal value – a school of thought which should establish itself roughly 2000 years later as branches of postmodernism. Ultimately, all human actions and manifestations are pending between the extremes of real-life applicability and inward-directed search for truth.

The solution to the above outlined dilemma was developed by Socrates. According to him, a person could never be a *sophoi* (the knowing) but only the *philosophoi* (seeker of knowledge/truth) – the latter also the name-giver to the discipline of philosophy. Further, all efforts to find truth through exchange of ideas or dialogue, are only approximations of truth. As a result, the process of seeking truth is never completed (cf. Böhm, 2010, p. 20). Socrates understood that external as well as internal considerations were necessary to

find or at least approximate truth. To incorporate both and get closer to truth and ultimately wisdom, dialogue became his tool of choice. Dialogue or, to frame it more broadly, the exchange of ideas and perspectives can take place between individuals, between cultures, or between times. Framing history in this manner, progress in the sciences, humanities, and arts – as well as the intersections of the two – can be read as an on-going dialogue with the past, the world, and others attempting to improve mankind's approximation of truth and wisdom.

As outlined earlier, human's approximations of truth are constantly pending between real-life application and introspective self-reflection. The patterns of this process of pending – so to speak, an on-going dialogue through the ages – can be illustrated in multiple disciplines. Thereby it is no coincidence that truth can also be translated as knowledge, beauty, and the good in general (cf. Hall, 1980, p. 74). An exemplary look into art, literature, intellectual history, or architecture shows that every time beauty or aestheticism has been overemphasized, the next generation's reformation focused on leaner, cleaner, and more functional designs, drawings, or (writing) techniques; in this context the word reformation can be read in its fundamental meaning as bringing something back into its original or purest form (cf. Liessmann, 2006, p. 161). Often times, proponents of this kind of reformation were in search of a model of perfection and found it in the form of Ancient (Greek) architecture, text, thought, or art (cf. Lamm, 2005, p. 93; cf. Oelkers, 1999, p. 28). After such a reformation, the cleaner, leaner, and more functional school of thought/art/writing/design established itself, fossilized, and was then replaced by a new paradigm, which – following the ideal of constant change between internal/external or truth/impact – emphasized the opposing school of thoughtⁱⁱⁱ.

Theodor W. Adorno's Criticism of the German Concept of *Bildung*

As outlined earlier, Theodor W. Adorno's philosophy and cultural criticism has massively been impacted by the observations made during the National Socialist's dictatorship, the Holocaust, and the Second World War. However, his cultural criticism focused primarily on the concept of *Bildung* as it was (and still is) a uniquely German concept and subsumes questions of self-cultivation, moralization, self-formation, and moral education. Furthermore, *Bildung* and the theorization thereof attracted Germany's most prolific thinkers as the accounts of Immanuel Kant, George W. F. Hegel, Wilhelm von Humboldt, or Friedrich Nietzsche prove. *Bildung* used to be Germany's unique and highly-valued concept. Therefore, for Adorno the root cause of the Holocaust could only be found in the failure of *Bildung* as a generation educated based on the ideals of (new) humanism committed mass murder (cf. Bulthaup, 2007, p. 60).

German New Humanism and How It Was Corrupted

Before taking a closer look at Adorno's contributions and criticisms, the history – and with it the ideas, ideals, and understandings – of German New Humanism and the failure thereof will be briefly outlined as Adorno takes this particular school of thought as a starting point for the development of his criticism. German New Humanism – primarily shaped by Wilhelm von Humboldt and his ideological allies – can be considered a re-run of Ancient Greek ideals as it oriented itself at the Renaissance and thereby developed a fascination for antiquity (cf. Horlacher, 2011, p. 37/38). According to Humboldt, each person has forces – these days we would call

that potential – inside him- or herself. It is each individual's duty to cultivate and balance these forces by confronting artefacts in the real world, such as languages, natural science, or history. By confronting these artefacts, the individual grows its forces but also changes the world – a growth-driven dialogue between the individual and the world emerges (cf. Rieger-Ladich, 2019, p. 50-51). Contrary to the idea of early specialization, Humboldt suggests that these forces need to be balanced as a state of harmony is considered desirable. In this context, the desired balance or equilibrium can be read as a re-emergence of the holistic perspective suggested by the Ancient Greeks. Just as the Ancient Greek philosophers, Humboldt also puts the individual at the center of his analysis and (educational) efforts as he “proposed the reduction of state power to the barest minimum in order to insure freedom for individual self-cultivation [...]” (Sorkin, 1983, p. 55). Further, New Humanism defines the relationship between the state and the individual in Ancient Greek fashion as “the individual and the public must be in harmony. Personal morality and politics are two sides of the same coin” (Nordenbo, 2002, p. 348) – a re-run of the culture as character understanding brought forward by Gaddis (cf. 2018, p. 44). Based on the aforementioned similarities, it could be argued that German New Humanism – the school of thought which preceded two World Wars and the Holocaust – was tremendously inspired by the ideals of antiquity. However, the question remains: How could a system which is based on the ideals of emancipation, self-cultivation, moralization, and the search for truth result in a society which commits mass murder?

Humboldt was German New Humanisms' key figure as he contributed central ideas and paradigms but also realized these by designing Prussia's school system. In its most basic realization, Humboldt's system and ideas can be spotted in

Germany's educational sector until the very day as the emergence of Humboldt's school system temporally coincided with the unification of Germany as a nation under Prussian leadership. The historical context of creation, alongside the educational sector's advantages, partially explain their longevity and continuity as realized in German schools and classrooms. One of these advantages was *Bildung*'s potential to unify the, at this point, relatively young German state. At the times of unification, Germany was divided among many lines and *Bildung* served as an external demarcation, primarily against the courtly and, from the German perspective, highly suspicious French culture. Even though *Bildung* draws from a diverse range of intellectual traditions, it was during the time of Germany's unification that *Bildung* emerged as a uniquely German philosophical concept. Simultaneously, the *Kaiserreich* "appeared to be a strange mixture of highly successful capitalist industrialization and socio-economic modernization on the one hand, and of surviving pre-industrial institutions, power relations and cultures on the other" (Kocka, 1988, p. 5; cf. Wehler 1973). This kind of internal disruption opened up possibilities for the middle classes to rise in social status as well as prosperity. This could either be achieved through mercantile endeavors or by joining the state administration. For mercantile as well as administrative ascension through the ranks, formal education in the institutions designed and realized by Humboldt seemed essential and *Bildung* thereby became a tool for economic, social, and political advancement of the individual. As such, *Bildung* opened doors for wider parts of society which have been closed during aristocratic dominance of the state. Thereby, the emerging role of *Bildung* can also be read as the cautious introduction of meritocratic ideals into German society.

Over time, a new social, political, and economic class emerged: The *Bildungsbürgertum*. This (upper middle) class legitimized their success by the efforts they invested into their education and the *Bildung* they received – a meritocratic argument. By the end of the 19th century however, the class of *Bildungsbürger* fossilized, abandoned their meritocratic ideals, tried to demarcate themselves from others, and were primarily occupied with defending their position in society. What used to be a dynamic, active, growth-oriented, and risk-taking society became a wary, dull, and defensive bunch. Especially the abandonment of meritocratic ideals and the overemphasis on material wealth led critics, such as Friedrich Nietzsche, at the *fin-de-siècle* to the observation that the “triumph of the middle class” and the “crisis of values” are the “the seeds of the destruction of European civilization” (Washburn, 2019, p. 173). In the same line of argument, he criticized the deformation of *Bildung* as it was merely seen as a tool for economic and political gain (cf. Horlacher, 2011, p. 63). The cruel irony of this development seems obvious as a generation formally educated in institutions inspired by the Ancient Greek ideals of truth and wisdom, reduces their education to a tool for monetary gain, influence, and power.

The reasons for wars are always manifold, interconnected, and cannot be reduced to a single factor. However, one often neglected factor is the fossilization of (value) structures and the reduction of concepts and/or institutions to a single cause. In this particular case, it is the reduction of holistic education/*Bildung* to a tool for the acquisition and protection of material wealth as well as social status. In the case of Germany, the concept of *Bildung* serves as a magnifying glass to reconstruct the societal and intellectual patterns which led to the horrors of the 20th century as *Bildung* was not just tightly attached to an institution but also to a

certain class of people while constituting a core element of the German state and society at the time. This omni-presence and relevance of *Bildung* led Theodor W. Adorno to put *Bildung* at the center of his analysis.

Theodor W. Adorno's Theory of *Halbbildung*

Adorno grounds his criticism on the developments, hopes, and promises of German New Humanism as the introduction of *Bildung* (and the widespread availability thereof) promised an equal, free, and meritocratic society. While some individuals got educated/received *Bildung* and ascended the hierarchies of business, administration, or academia, the overarching dynamic of the less-privileged versus the privileged remained largely intact (cf. Rieger-Ladich, 2019, p. 97). Thereby, it can be argued that *Bildung* only created the illusion of meritocracy and convergence (cf. Tischer, 1989, p. 7). The reasoning behind this observation is hidden in Adorno's specific understanding of *Bildung*, which is loosely related to the sophists' dilemma outlined above. Adorno conceptualizes *Bildung* as an entity which – in order to exist – needs to oscillate between the inner process of understanding the world and the real-life application of *Bildung* (cf. Adorno, 1959/2003, p. 95) – the re-emergence of the sophists' dilemma with special emphasis on the Socratic idea of on-going dialogue between the two extrema. However, Adorno's argumentation for the need of oscillation differs from Socrates' as he adds a Marxist twist to it. If *Bildung* only focuses on the inner workings, the individual closes its eyes for real-life injustices and thereby legitimizes these. In the case of German New Humanism and beyond, the version of *Bildung* realized by the *Bildungsbürgertum* focused almost exclusively on the real-life application, which constitutes the other end of the extrema and exemplarily stands for the other side of the sophists'

dilemma. By only focusing on real-life application and impact (i.e. the accumulation of wealth and power), this corrupted version of *Bildung* adapted itself to the system in power and thereby (in-)directly legitimized it (cf. Adorno, 1959/2003, p. 104). In order to remain its integrity, *Bildung* needs to be free-floating between the poles of application and truth. As soon as an institution or state defines *Bildung's* aims, declares its outcomes, or sets up structures to realize it, *Bildung* contradicts itself. Look at from this perspective, the institutionalization of *Bildung* can thereby be considered Humboldt's greatest mistake even though he "proposed the reduction of state power to the barest minimum in order to insure freedom for individual self-cultivation [...]" (Sorkin, 1983, p. 55).

However, *Bildung* was not just deformed and corrupted by its institutionalization but the institutionalization should rather be understood as the manifestation of a larger problem. As argued earlier, *Bildung* is a highly personal process which was being turned into an award, a certificate, or a skill. Thereby, *Bildung* turned from an introspective endeavor into a signaling device being presented at job interviews or in social settings. Adorno argues that the main driver for this development – which has started in the late German New Humanism phase and was continued in post-War societies – is the commodification of *Bildung*, which is perpetuated by the capitalistic system as well as the mass media (cf. Liessmann, 2006, p. 9) and can be considered a self-reinforcing mechanism. The implications of this argument cannot be overestimated: the driver of moral corruption, which ultimately contributed to two World Wars and a Holocaust, is one of the few aspects which survived the wars and was not only continued but also gained in relevance and scope.

For Adorno, the outward-oriented application of *Bildung* has always been associated with the logic of the economy,

commerce, and capitalism as these permeate – at least in Adorno’s worldview – all levels of analysis. Even though less-privileged people can go through the motions of experiencing *Bildung* – i.e. reading the same books and watching the same movies or theatre plays as the privileged classes – they will, due to their lack of economic and cultural capital, never get the same in-depth experience out of it (cf. Rieger-Ladich, 2019, p. 97). Due to *Bildung*’s potency to open certain opportunities for the middle class, *Bildung* – and culture, which Adorno uses almost interchangeably – will eventually be reduced to its mere economic value. Following this line of thought, Adorno argues that the consumption of cultural artefacts under a capitalistic paradigm only allows a shallow experience, an experience Adorno coined *Halbbildung* (semi-*Bildung*) (cf. Tischer, 1989, p. 7). By definition, *Halbbildung* is not the half of the original concept but its fiercest antagonist (cf. Gruschka, 2001, p. 30) as culture and *Bildung* are consumed with the sole intention of social demarcation, bravado, and intention to signal belonging to an assumed to be prestigious group (cf. Adorno, 1959/2003, p. 115; Gruschka, 2001, p. 18) – the ultimate opposite of *Bildung*’s original intentions.

According to Adorno and Horkheimer, the capitalistic mode of operation deforms *Bildung* and culture alike and degrades cultural productions to amusement, which ultimately intends an emerging degree of conformity among citizen and producers of culture alike (cf. Horkheimer & Adorno, 1944/2008, p. 153). If reduced to their economic value and/or operating under a capitalistic paradigm, culture and *Bildung* turn themselves into propaganda of the, at that moment, dominant worldview. As stated, Adorno argues that capitalism and the related concepts can be considered the dominant paradigm of the past as well as the present. The omni-presence and longevity of capitalistic ideology – it was the only ideology

which survived two World Wars and in fact thrived after them – and its power to engage in and permeate almost all areas of life made Adorno “abandon[ed] the hope that education for humanity [...] could retain its normative power in our time” (Lovlie & Standish, 2002, p. 317).

Conclusion and Reflection on the Nature of Totalitarian Systems

Every journey or endeavor – may it be personal, political, spiritual, or intellectual, just to name a few – starts with two consecutive questions: Where do I/we go to and, after the first question has been answered, how do I/we get there? The question concerning the destination is value-driven as the aim should reflect one's idea of the highest possible good. Thereby, the choice of destination is (or should be) primarily guided by one's idea of *arête*. As argued earlier, all attempts to thrive towards *arête* are solely approximations. Approximations, by their very nature, involve uncertainty and require constant reflection and revision; the moral compass can only provide a general direction while the person in charge has to decide how to get around the immediate hurdles and obstacles. The second question – how do I/we get there? – is a question related to procedures, tools, and approaches as application is at its very core. While the question of what constitutes a worthwhile destination can never be ultimately answered, the question of how to get somewhere can be answered, at least for a certain temporal-spatial point of reference. The question of destination requires *arête* (wisdom) while the second is a combination of *phronesis* (practical wisdom) and *techne* (technical skill). In case that the two dimensions of ideals and realized procedures are aligned and directed into the same (or similar) direction, the

person, group, community, or state is on its way towards Eudaimonia.

Adorno's analysis of German society prior to the World Wars and beyond has shown that one key problem of culture and *Bildung* has been its deformation by the surrounding economic system and workings. Under a capitalistic framework, the consumption of culture can only result in *Halbbildung*. In case that individuals and societies adopt this framework and adjust their deeds, lives, and institutions accordingly, both will end up cleansed of meaning and moral guidance, yet they will be highly functional in realizing their aims – *phronesis* and *techne* without *arête* to guide them. At this point, all it needs is a detrimental idea or destructive ideology to take over such societies. Adorno's analysis stops there. The same holds true for Critical Theory and Marxist's approaches as they primarily criticize capitalism and the economic logic as the root cause of evil (cf. Purvis & Hunt, 1993, p. 477). However, Friedrich Nietzsche, who foresaw many of the horrors of the 20th century, argues that these horrors were not caused by the moral deformation provided through capitalism but by an overemphasize of rationality itself. Arguing from Nietzsche's point of view, the lack of morals, beliefs, and ethics – which ultimately caused the two wars and the Holocaust – stem from mankind's over-rationalization. Famously, Nietzsche states that mankind has killed God with the help of rationality, science, and technology (cf. Cybulska, 2016, p. 196). Following Nietzsche's line of reasoning, science and technology murdered introspection and made moral guidance obsolete as even these questions were reduced to a matter of scientific realizability. It can be argued that not capitalism deformed *Bildung* and ultimately led to fascism but the victory of rationality ridded of morals – capitalism being one manifestation thereof – over

subjective introspection, personal doubt/insecurity, and the desire to find truth.

Exposed in such fashion and without moral defense, societies all across Europe – instead of thriving for wisdom – fell for simple and all-encompassing answers presented by totalitarianism. Further, due to the lack of belief, doubt, and reflection of morals and morality, human capacity for evil could fully unfold multiplied by the power of technology. Contrary to Adorno's analysis, these evils were not limited to capitalistic societies: Stalin's, Mao's, and Pol Pot's dictatorships (and their measures) killed approximately more than 100 million people in the 20th century (cf. Phillips 2018). These were countries which actively opposed capitalism, yet they all emphasized rationality, efficiency, and exhibited a lack of – what Richard Feynman called – productive doubt (cf. 2005, p. 28). Therefore, the question must be asked: What are the underlying similarities of Mao's China, Stalin's Russia, Pol Pot's Cambodia, and Hitler's Germany?

On the most abstract level, totalitarian societies have in common that the question of moral destination is no longer asked. Their aims are set in stone as their ideology^{iv} provides the blueprint for all decisions. If (Western) civilization is based on the Ancient Greek philosophical ideas outlined above and societies generate progress through discourse and dialogue of ideas, then totalitarianism can be considered the “reversal by which progress turned against itself” (Sauer, 1967, p. 405). Totalitarian societies abandoned the idea of approximating *arête*; totalitarian ideologies assume that they know *arête* as their ideology does not leave room for any kind of doubt. They are, as the label *totalitarian* indicates, total, all-encompassing, and complete. As soon as the aim or destination is clarified, all other aspects are degraded to matters of technicalities. This could be one reason why totalitarianism – independent of its ideological

positioning – is highly compatible with all tool-like disciplines, such as the sciences or economics (cf. Sauer, 1967, p. 405). Further, this could explain the observation that totalitarian dictatorships operate with such efficiency as outlined by Victor Frankl (2019/1977) in his accounts of the Holocaust. In their very nature, sciences and economics solve problems, are highly output-oriented, deliver quantifiable results, and only need a direction/aim to work towards (cf. Wolin 2015). On the contrary, the arts, humanities but also religion are about introspection, deliver far less quantifiable outputs, and their results cannot be categorized as right or wrong but should rather be regarded a matter of perspective. But, if done with the necessary degree of seriousness, the arts, humanities, and religion can chip in some much-needed wisdom and serve as a moral corrective. However, if the arts and humanities submit to a predefined (political) aim and operate with certainty (which, by definition, they cannot), they become propaganda (cf. Arnold, 2003).

Almost all totalitarian systems have in common that they operate with certainty as they assume to know (with certainty) the cause of any problem at all times. As the alleged truth has been found, the totalitarian ideology is then perpetuated without question. Ideologies have an agenda, which is based on a rationale. This agenda is then carried it out with hyper-efficiency – an uninformed and unwise understanding of rationale and rationality as totalitarianism actively avoids dialogue with doubt-creating and/or truth-seeking disciplines.

Truth needs tools to be unfolded in the real world and tools require guidance to direct them towards the *right* purpose. Both extrema, truth and application, need each other. This holds true for the individual as well as society as a whole. Following Isaiah Berlin's differentiation, a good ruler/system requires hedgehogs – people with long-term vision/aims

(referred to by some as *arête*) – as well as foxes, people who can solve the day-to-day problems with their practical as well as technical wisdom (cf. Gaddis, 2018); basically, the healthy mixture of *arête*, *techne*, and *phronesis* which can be considered a key feature of the functional individual, group, community, and ultimately state. By cultivating this equilibrium of the different forms of wisdom, neither perspective – the rather truth-seeking or the application-oriented one – can exercise too much authority in a given problem. The Ancient Greeks knew that self-cultivation requires both of these extrema as they incorporated the fine arts and rhetorical training as well as physical education and technical skills in their version of education aiming at a balanced human being. This idea was later adopted by Humboldt and, through him, found its way into the German school system as well as German (higher) education. Based on the Ancient Greek's as well as the Humboldtian understanding of self-cultivation and *Bildung*, most universities are designed as campuses – the architectural manifestation that humanities, arts, and science need to co-exist while allowing active dialogue among the disciplines and the involved individuals. Even though the economy and capitalism – as one proponent of rational disciplines – are currently governing and structuring huge parts of the world, the truth-seeking disciplines should not forget their task of creating uncertainty by asking the right kind of questions and chipping in some much-needed wisdom by enlarging society's perspective.

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ⁱ It can be observed that the genre of self-aid books – and genres related, such as self-improvement or self-help books – have had a mass appeal in the 20th century and beyond. From Dale Carnegie's *How to Win Friends and Influence People* (1956) to Anthony Robbins *Awaken the Giant Within* (1991), the demand for literature of these kinds seems to be increasing over time. For the introduction, Jordan B. Peterson was chosen as a reference as he is the latest and currently most successful, international author of this genre.

ⁱⁱ As shown elsewhere (cf. Vogt/Neuhaus, 2021), *Bildung* is distinctively different in its direction, history, and outlook from the global discourse of education. Simultaneously, translation as well as incorporation into the global discourse seems to be impossible. Therefore, I will use the German word *Bildung* throughout the text.

ⁱⁱⁱ The author acknowledges that, over time, the paradigms decrease in amplitude as each paradigm is a comment on the prior and thereby incorporates aspects of the prior. One reason for that could be that we, as a society, gradually improved our approximation of truth and thereby the follow-up school of thought does not need to correct everything but only certain aspects of the prior school of thought. Further, it can be observed that the life-cycle of a paradigm, today these would be labeled as trends, decreases.

^{iv} Purvis/Hunt (1993, p. 477) differentiate between „positive“ and “negative ideology”, the first being the creation of social consciousness (i.e. class consciousness), the latter being marked as “distorted thought” (read as: distorted from reality). In this paper, the concept of ideology is exclusively understood as what Purvis & Hunt would call “negative ideology”.

“Il faut défendre la subjectivité”: Vulnerability in Levinas’s Ethics

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Abstract

Levinas conceived ethics as a contestation of the ontological imperialism and its asphyxiating order dominating Western culture, arguing that, rather than ontology, ethics is first philosophy. Supported and led by a phenomenological description of the concrete life of the embodied subject, his philosophical work achieves a radical critique of the sovereign subject by emphasizing the exceptional ethical significance of subjectivity. This paper discusses three key features that, according to Levinas, define human subjectivity, namely, vulnerability, passivity, and weakness, stressing how he thinks of subjectivity in terms of both welcoming and persecution at one and the same time. Lastly, by relying on Butler’s critique of the Levinasian ethics, the paper addresses Levinas’s take on politics, pointing out why political issues enter his ethical discourse.

Keywords: Emmanuel Levinas; ethics; vulnerability; politics; Judith Butler

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Introduction: Subjectivity must be defended.

Il faut défendre la subjectivité ("it is necessary to defend subjectivity"): this was the answer given by Levinas, at the *Société française de Philosophie* in Paris in 1962, during the discussion that followed the presentation entitled *Transcendence and Height*, in order to explain his criticism against the oppression of the subject by the State, against "the element of violence in the State, in the hierarchy" (Levinas, 1996, p. 23). This formulation calls to mind the renowned title of Foucault's lecture course "*Il faut défendre la société*" ("Society must be defended") that took place fourteen years later, in 1976, just around the corner, at the *Collège de France*. At that time, Foucault was concerned with the genealogy of power and knowledge, and he delved into the analysis of the effects of domination and subjugation in concrete manifestations of power. Beneath the "great absolute power [...] of sovereignty," he glimpsed the emergence of what he calls the "power of regularization," which relies on the "technology of biopower" that is politically exerted over and scientifically experimented on human beings "insofar as they are living beings" (Foucault, 2003, p. 247).

Although from different perspectives, and following different methodological paths, as Visker (1999, pp. 115–143) has noted, this same concern towards the concrete life of individuals and the power embedded in everyone's life can be identified in Levinas's statement above. In what follows, this paper discusses three key features that, according to Levinas, define human subjectivity: vulnerability, passivity, and weakness (section 2); how Levinas thinks of subjectivity in terms of both welcoming and persecution at one and the same time (section 3); Levinas's path towards politics, that is to say, why political questions enter his ethical discourse (section 4); Butler's analysis on vulnerability, which extends the reasoning

to the biopolitical challenges for a global ethics. In so Doing, the precontractual dimension is attained, suggesting the possible scope for a phenomenologically oriented radical political enquiry (section 5).

A power made of impotencies: Vulnerability and Responsibility.

Extreme vulnerability, radical passivity, and originary weakness: these are the key features defining human subjectivity as it is described in Levinas's ethics via a particular phenomenological method (Levinas, 2011, p. 183; 1979, pp. 28–29). All these phenomenological findings concur in presenting the ethical significance arising directly from the core of the "constituted, willful, imperialist subject" (Levinas, 2011, p. 112), of modern man, who is "merely concerned to maintain the powers of his sovereignty" (Levinas, 1989, p. 78).

Levinas's "ethical metaphysics" (Bergo, 1999, p. 37) aims at the unDoing "of the substantial nucleus of the ego" (Levinas, 2011, p. 141), so that the "extraordinary and everyday event of my responsibility for the faults or the misfortune of others" (Levinas, 2011, p. 10) begins to make sense thanks to an alternative, phenomenological consideration of ontological subjectification itself (Calin, 2008; Bernasconi, 2018).

Vulnerability characterises subjectivity "qua signification, qua one-for-another," which can be traced back to the "vulnerability of the ego, to the incommunicable, non-conceptualizable, sensibility" (Levinas, 2011, p. 14). Accordingly, one of the key questions of moral philosophy – i.e. what is the origin of responsibility? – is tackled by Levinas when he describes the very subjectivity of human beings as "extreme vulnerability," a condition that signals an

irrecoverable “divergency between the ego and the self” (Levinas, 1987, p. 149).

Bernasconi (2018, pp. 261–263) remarks that this duality, of the me and the self, had already been glimpsed by Levinas in his early works during the 1930s, such as 1934 *Reflections on the Philosophy of Hitlerism* (Levinas, 1990b), 1935 *On Escape* (Levinas, 2003a), and 1947 *Existence and Existents* (Levinas, 1978). After noting that Levinas reconducts both suffering and enjoyment to the duality of the me and the self, Bernasconi further explains that the subject is exposed to wounding in enjoyment (he quotes Levinas, 2011, p. 64), and that this wounding is understood as vulnerability, “following its etymology back to the Latin *vulnerabilis*,” a term that becomes crucial by 1970, insofar as it refers to the openness to the other, which is said to take the form of vulnerability (Bernasconi 2018, pp. 268–269; Levinas, 2003b, p. 64). Thus, vulnerability turns out to be *one’s own* vulnerability, and, therefore, at the same time, vulnerability entails the experience of the sudden collapse of the autonomy of the subject construed as a self-sufficient, sovereign subject.

According to Levinas’s phenomenological reinterpretation of the “concreteness of egoism” (1979, p. 38), the me finds itself vulnerable even in the most elementary acts of existence, such as while at rest. This raises, and indeed has raised, an array of essential problems in Levinas’s account of ethics. To remain with the question of responsibility, for instance, it is worth noting that, during a conversation held in 1975 (just a year after *Otherwise than being* appeared), Levinas tackles the following question from the audience: “If I am vulnerable as you emphasize in your books, how can I be responsible? If one suffers, one can no longer do anything.” Levinas’s answer to this question gives him the opportunity to

clarify how he arrived at his critique of the sovereignty of the subject (1998a, p. 83):

By vulnerability, I am attempting to describe the subject as passivity. If there is not vulnerability, if the subject is not always in his patience on the verge of an already senseless pain, then he posits himself *for himself*. In this case, the moment at which he is substance is not far away; the moment at which he is pride, at which he is imperialist, at which he has the other like an object. The endeavor was to present my relationship with another not as an attribute of my substantiality, not as an attribute of my hardness as a person, but on the contrary as the fact of my destitution, of my deposition (in the sense in which one speaks of the deposition of a sovereign).

The phenomenological account of ethics finds in vulnerability the way to that "radical passivity" (Levinas, 2003b, p. 63), which discloses the pre-original involvement in the relationship with the Other. As Critchley rightly recalls, the ethical relation takes place at the level of sensibility, not at the level of consciousness, and the subject's "sentient vulnerability or passivity" (2002, p. 21) towards others takes place "on the surface of the skin, at the edge of the nerves" (Levinas, 2011, p. 15). That is why the irreducible face-to-face relationship is described by Levinas as an asymmetrical, singularizing bond in which all the powers and rights of the alleged autonomous subject are irrevocably destroyed. The extreme vulnerability on the one hand, and the absolute passivity of the embodied subject on the other, define the dual system of moral obligation established between the me and the Other (Franck, 2008).

In order to provide concrete examples of the alterity of the Other, Levinas draws on biblical figures, such as the widow and the orphan, the stranger, and the poor man, whereas the me is "the rich or the powerful" (1989, p. 48). However, the power and richness of the self-sufficient subject, or

“hypostasis,” are traumatically and concretely undermined by the very presence of the Other, which imposes him/herself just because s/he is Other and “this alterity is incumbent on [the] me with a whole charge of indigence and weakness” (Levinas, 2011, pp. 17–18). If the hypostasis of the subject represents the ontological core suitable for the grounding of its autonomy, the incumbent weakness of the Other causes the “coring out” of enjoyment (Levinas, 2011, pp. 64 and 181), that is, of the very egoity or substantiality of the subject.

In Levinas’s account of ethics, a certain philosophical anthropology, based on egoism and enjoyment pursued via the *conatus* towards satisfaction, is maintained only to be radically criticised and also in order to emphasise the “disquietude” (Levinas, 1979, p. 149) experienced right in the midst of the ego’s life. As Peperzak has noted (1980, p. 93), the egoism-enjoyment synergy is the first step taken by the soul in pursuing the good, but this synergy expresses no mere attitude; rather, it is an ontological structure that constitutes the subject in its substantiality and separation.

The entire phenomenological effort expressed by Levinas in breaching the ontological self-centred interiority by describing the ethical meaning woven into the concrete life of the embodied subject, leads to a particular notion of “responsibility,” construed as “a power made of ‘impotencies’” (1986, p. 354). Impotency which is also a power: this means that the burden of responsibility does not prevent the subject from assuming all its duties; rather, it discloses an exponentially increasing obligation. Indeed, responsibility is “infinite,” because it increases “*in the measure it is assumed*” and “duties become greater in the measure that they are accomplished” (1979, p. 244). Responsibility from vulnerability is “absolute” (Levinas, 1998a, p. 84) because it pushes the me to the point of a

"substitution" that goes one way only (Levinas, 1998a, p. 84; 2011, p. 119).

Along with this "hyperbolic notion of responsibility" (Bernasconi, 2002, p. 236), the weakness of the Other infects, so to speak, the sovereign subject in what is its most crucial and fundamental feature, that feature that defines the sense of the word 'power' when ascribed to a human being, namely, the liberty of acting in self-determination as an autonomous individual. Thus, Levinas's fundamental thesis on the primacy of ethics over ontology implies that the ethical subject is a weak subject, and, as Jacques Derrida has noted, the thought of substitution goes back to "a force that is nonetheless made vulnerable by a certain weakness," and leads towards "a logic that is hardly thinkable, almost unsayable" (Derrida, 1999, p. 70).

Host and Hostage.

In the asymmetrical relationship with the Other, proximity turns out to be a traumatic exposure to alterity that incessantly upsets subjectification. The very notion of 'subject' takes on a crucial, different meaning, which Levinas emphasises by drawing on the Latin etymology of the noun: "[t]he self is a *sub-jectum*; it is under the weight of the universe, responsible for everything" (2011, p. 116). Face-to-face with the Other, the subject finds itself responsible before it has any comprehension of what freedom can be, and before any agency. The significance of the responsibility faced by the subject is prior to both conscious acceptance and linguistic mutual exchange or agreement. The very identity of the subject "comes from the impossibility of escaping responsibility, from the taking charge of the other," so that it is no longer possible to discuss ethical issues anonymously, since "[t]he subject which is not an ego,

but which I am, cannot be generalized, is not a subject in general" (Levinas, 2011, pp. 13-14).

Subjectification is as radical as the emblematic case that Levinas takes from the Bible, namely, the cheek offered to the smiter. This example substantiates his basic thesis according to which the subject is called into question in the relationship with the Other:

The subjectivity as *the other in the same*, as an inspiration, is the putting into question of all affirmation for-oneself, all egoism born again in this very recurrence. (This putting into question is not a preventing!) The subjectivity of a subject is responsibility of being-in-question in the form of the total exposure to offence in the cheek offered to the smiter. This responsibility is prior to dialogue, to the exchange of questions and answers, to the thematization of the said, which is superposed on my being put into question by the other in proximity, and in the saying proper to responsibility is produced as a digression (Levinas, 2011, pp. 111-112).

Again, just like in the case of other key words from Levinas's account of ethics, such as vulnerability (from *vulnerabilis*) and subject (from *sub-jectum*), one might trace his powerful argumentation on the being-in-question of the subject back to the Latin etymology, since, as Benveniste (2016, p. 435) puts it in his *Dictionary of Indo-European concepts and society*, the Latin noun "*quaestio*" means "(judicial) investigation" and also "'torture' (whence *quaestio* 'investigate by means of torture, to torture')."

Moreover, the philosophical language at use here, in describing responsibility as 'being-in-question,' clearly addresses, and also attacks, Heidegger's fundamental ontology, which Janicaud has interpreted as "ontological fundamentalism" (1996, pp. 227-228), particularly its outrageous political consequences, as it has been recently taken

up again in the wake of the publication of the *Schwarze Hefte*, Black Notebooks (Farin and Malpas, 2016). In fact, the possibility of the ontological investigations presented in *Being and Time* in 1927 lies in the opportunity to philosophically retrieve "the questionableness of Being," which was fatally evoked during the formal address that Heidegger delivered when he became rector of the University of Freiburg i.B. in May 1933, during the Nazi regime (M. Heidegger, Harries, H. Heidegger, 1985, p. 477; Richardson, 2003).

This being-in-question that the subject undergoes in the inescapable responsibility towards the Other (Levinas, 2011, pp. 13–14) is ambivalent. Indeed, on the one hand, "the subject is a host," insofar as the conscious life of the subject is attention and "hospitality," that is, the "welcome of the face" (Levinas, 1979, p. 299). In the epiphany of the Other, the face and its cheek, before any intentional act of welcoming or refusal, signifies extreme vulnerability, as well as a calling forth for "unconditional hospitality" (Derrida, 1999, pp. 54 and 141).

On the other hand, the subject is a hostage, "obsessed by the neighbor" as much as it is "obsessed with responsibilities" (Levinas, 2011, pp. 123 and 112). The "uncondition" of being hostage, mentioned at the outset of *Otherwise Than Being* (Levinas, 2011, p. 6), condenses what Levinas means by "an obligation, anachronously prior to any commitment" (2011, p. 101), just like the covenant that Israel makes with the Lord, in which obligation precedes the delivery of the basic laws of the covenant itself (*Exodus*, 19: 5), namely, the ten words, or Decalogue (*Exodus*, 34: 28).

Rather than a condition, the obsession of the hostage goes back to a situation, namely, an ethical situation, in which obedience precedes the hearing of the order (Levinas, 2011, p. 150), an obedience that is "prior to any voluntary decision which could have assumed it" (2011, p. 54). Therefore, the

ethical relationship between the me and the Other takes the shape of a very concrete situation, which calls to mind the one depicted in the parable of the Good Samaritan (*Luke* 10: 25–37), where responsibility concerns “the first one on the scene” (Levinas, 2011, p. 11).

Obsession, which affects responsibility; persecution, to the point of substitution: it is clear that Levinas’s account of the ethical intrigue does not entail an optimistic take on human nature (Vogel 2008). In his words, responsibility for others does not mean “altruistic will, instinct of ‘natural benevolence,’ or love” (2011, pp. 111–112).

Yet, the subjectivity of the hostage is at once the subjectivity of the host. As Bernasconi points out (2018, p. 267), whereas in *Totality and Infinity*, the subject is construed as a host, in *Otherwise Than Being*, the subject is a hostage. However, to be a hostage can still be explained in terms of hospitality: in fact, the-one-for-the-other relationship is not a mere coming together of two subjects; rather, it is a traumatic situation by which the me undergoes an incessant alienation by the guest who is entrusted to it. The subject is not a hostage *despite* the fact that it is a host; rather, it is a hostage *because* it is a host, visited by the upsetting presence of the Other in the Same.

Alienation thus represents the other side of substitution, the key notion in Levinas’s ethics. Persecution can go to the point of substitution, in which the me replaces the Other in his/her duties and responsibilities, whereas no one can replace the me: “the substitution of the one for the other does not signify the substitution of the other for the one” (Levinas, 2011, p. 158). Levinas’s own idea of alienation, in turn, addresses the very identity of the subject, i.e. the “uniqueness” of a psyche: “alienation [...] does not empty the same of its identity, but constrains it to it, with an unimpeachable assignation,

constrains it to it as no one else, where no one could replace it" (2011, p. 141).

Starting from this ethical situation, which is characterised by obsession, persecution, and alienation, the following section tackles the role of the third party and the function of justice in Levinas's account of ethics. The aim is to rephrase the objection from the audience that was mentioned in the previous section, by asking how a subject, who is not only vulnerable, but also alienated, who is a host and a hostage at the same time, can fulfill his/her duties by balancing vulnerability and responsibility, *conatus essendi* and original obligation to responsibility.

Equal among equals.

In order to contextualise the argument of this section, it is important to note that according to Levinas, egoism and responsibility are neither moral choices nor symmetrically opposed notions; rather, they are ontological features of the same subjectivity, which, in the relationship with the Other, finds itself both host and hostage at one and the same time. This means that the opposite of the vulnerable subject is not the invincible subject. In fact, the vulnerability Levinas speaks of has no contrary notion. It is, literally speaking, an unparalleled situation that defines the me in proximity with the Other. Moreover, this situation is asymmetrical, with respect to responsibilities and duties, as has just been stressed at the end of the previous section.

Nevertheless, a counterweight to vulnerability is to be found in justice, and in the rectification that the latter entails. This issue takes the shape, and the function, of a touchstone for Levinas's ethics, inasmuch as justice begins with the "third man" (Levinas, 2011, p. 150), whose presence demands the

rectification of the asymmetrical dual relationship that constitutes the ethical intrigue. This “third party” is the “source of justice” (Levinas, 1998a, p. 83), the judge; in other words, s/he speaks with authority, and such an authority upsets the dual system of obligation. In the face of the third party, the me finds itself invested with responsibility for all human beings, not only for its neighbor, so that the very notion of *proximity* acquires a new meaning. Indeed, by its presence, the third party rectifies the one-way obligation, and limits responsibility (Levinas, 2011, p. 157). It is important to stress that the Levinasian notion of justice is pre-institutional, namely, it does not trace back to the concept of justice as exercised by courts or sovereign States; rather, it is an essential element of part of the strategy of the primacy of ethics (2011, 159).

So, contiguity is extended proximity, in which the subject finds itself among other subjects, finds itself as an equal among equals. As Levinas acknowledges during the conversation mentioned in the second section above, the third party is represented in the Other from the very beginning of the relationship, that is to say, the relation with another is never uniquely the relation with the Other: “in the very appearance of the [O]ther the third already regards me.” And with the appearance of the third party, “proximity becomes problematic: one must compare, weigh, think; one must do justice, which is the source of theory” (Levinas, 1998a, p. 82).

The question of justice in Levinas’s account of ethics has garnered an array of problems, some of which were addressed by Derrida during the opening speech delivered at the conference that took place a year after Levinas’s death. Indeed, as Derrida puts it, “formidable problems arise with the third” (Derrida, 1999, p. 29). What we might be tempted to call the providential irruption of the third party in the dual relationship, can be summarised in two basic moves, which are

also the effects of the rectification brought about by the third party.

First, the third party "interrupts the face to face of a welcome of the other man, interrupts the proximity or approach of the neighbor" (Levinas, 2011, p. 150). In this sense, the third party brings about an "incessant correction of the asymmetry of proximity" (Levinas, 2011, p. 158). Second, the third party mitigates the traumatic experience of alterity. Ricœur noted (2004, p. 91) that Levinas draws on "extreme terms", such as obsession, wound, and traumatism, in order to emphasise the description of the vulnerable subject, generating an 'escalation of the pathic to pathetic and the pathological.' However, the third appeases such an escalation, inasmuch as its presence affects both the obedience prior to intentionality and the obligation towards the first party on the scene. The model of the Good Samaritan, which helps in understanding the dual relationship, does not apply to proximity construed as a human plurality (Levinas, 1998b, 166–167).

Thus, the presence of the third party is structural to the very idea of plurality, of humanity, which represents the wide scope of Levinas's reflections (2011, p. 83). That is why Derrida pinpoints a "double bind" in Levinas's account of ethics, which moves in two simultaneous and complementary directions, both towards the Other and towards the third party. This perspective entails a crucial criticism. As Derrida puts it: "if the face to face with the unique engages the infinite ethics of my responsibility for the other in a sort of oath before the letter, an unconditional respect or fidelity, then the ineluctable emergence of the third, and, with it, of justice, would signal an initial perjury [*parjure*]," which is "as original as the experience of the face" (1999, p. 33).

Before any code of law or court of justice, even before any planned action or agreed protocol of interaction, the third party

is, so to speak, providentially there to protect the me from exposure to potentially unrestrained violence within the immediate relationship with the Other, which, as we have seen, is understood by Levinas in terms of persecution. As judge, neighbour of the neighbour, trigger of a plurality in proximity that awakens the subject right in the midst of the world, the very presence of the third party is, at once, sufficient to interrupt the drift of a limitless, unachievable obligation, and to disturb the “exteriority of two people” (Levinas, 1999, p. 142), as Tahmasebi-Birgani (2014) also notes.

Furthermore, the ‘formidable problems’ that arise with the third party are rooted in Levinas’s basic claim on the primacy of ethics over ontology, since the “quasi-transcendental or originary, indeed, pre-originary, perjury,” as Derrida remarks, might be considered “*ontological*, once ethics is joined to everything that exceeds and betrays it (ontology, precisely, synchrony, totality, the State, etc.)” (1999, p. 34).

It was utterly clear to Levinas that an account of ethics based solely on the dual relationship with the Other, in which, as he puts it, “I owe him everything” (1998a, p. 83), would undermine and reduce the very idea of responsibility. However, to extend the concept of proximity in order to welcome the plurality of subjects involved in the concrete, political relationship means also to delve into the dimension in which the account of ethics becomes truly philosophical, i.e., it points right to the heart of the issue. He expresses this concern best in *Otherwise Than Being* (2011, p. 157): “If proximity ordered to me only the other alone, there would have not been any problem, in even the most general sense of the term. [...] The responsibility for the other is an immediacy antecedent to questions, it is proximity. It is troubled and becomes a problem when a third party enters.”

Thus, proximity must include contiguity. The latter concerns a plurality of equal subjects, and, therefore, it entails the obligation to compare unique and incomparable others, as outlined above. As Bergo argues (1999, pp. 83 and 129), besides the face-to-face, we must also consider the 'side by side' relationship. At this stage, ethics meets politics, that is, political problems arise right at the heart of Levinas's account of ethics. In this case, therefore, politics is to be understood as the concrete public and institutional space, just like the "space of appearance" that Arendt refers to with the Greek term "*polis*": "the space where I appear to others as others appear to me, where men exist not merely like other living or inanimate things but make their appearance explicitly" (1998, pp. 198–199).

Levinas was well aware of the entanglements of ethics and politics, and, in coherence with his main thesis on the primacy of ethics over ontology (1979), he defended the reasons he considers ethics to be not only before ontology, but also before politics, being firmly convinced that "[p]olitics must be able to be checked and criticized starting from the ethical" (1985, p. 80).

For instance, he was well aware that the "passivity of the hostage cannot exist in an organized society or a State" (Levinas, 2000, p. 23). We started by commenting on a statement by Levinas, delivered during the discussion of *Transcendence and Height*, in 1962: it is necessary to defend subjectivity. This statement was in response to Wahl (convener of the lecture), who asked: "You spoke of the State. I very much want us to criticize the State, but I also sense its utility. Without it, what would happen?" (Levinas, 1996, p. 23). Levinas's reply avoids both a sterile opposition to the State and an economic, calculative approach to the worth of the individual's life. Subjectivity must be defended before and beyond any reason of

State, before and beyond any cost-benefit calculation, but this does not necessarily mean *against* them (albeit hostilities between individuals and the State often spring from this latter). Levinas's take on ethics is not about this hostility; it leads elsewhere, by addressing the ethical relationship that makes itself known before (and notwithstanding) any societal institution. This does not mean that such an ethics does not need institutions; rather, it alludes to the fact that the need for institutions does not represent the reason that humans create societies, and, consequently, that this allegedly originary need should not be considered the alpha and omega of political thought.

Moreover, Levinas's approach remains phenomenological when he suggests that politics can greatly benefit from a modified grasp (Heidegger, 1996, 167) of the relations established within institutions, which are, first and foremost, relations among human beings. However, rather than delving into that "enigmatic relationship in Levinas's thought between an ethics and a politics of hospitality – or of the hostage" (Derrida, 1999, p. 63), the final section will continue to investigate the theme of vulnerability, by extending, in the wake of Levinas's reasoning, the scope of the inquiry on vulnerability to plural proximity and contiguity, namely, to sociality.

Towards a phenomenological approach to politics. Some provisional conclusive remarks.

Vulnerability is a key concept of Levinas's ethics that also extends its signification into the plural, political setting opened up by the third party and by the birth of institutions of human coexistence. However, Levinas is quick to warn that ethics strives to reassert its primacy against the tide of "Western

tradition," in which plurality is construed as "the reciprocal and formal alterity of individuals composing a genus," individuals that are "equals among themselves through the community of the genus." In brief, "the plurality of humans" should be understood "against the logic of the genus" (Levinas, 1998c, pp. 190–193). This is Levinas's ethical take on politics. Ethics responds to a logic that takes each individual, in the exceptionality of her/his living meaning, out of the genus and puts her/him before her/his own an-archival uniqueness, which makes itself known in inescapable responsibility (2011, p. 101).

Judith Butler's criticisms, however, stem precisely from these same reasons. Indeed, she pinpoints "two dissonant dimensions" in his ethical philosophy, suggesting Levinas should be read "against himself" (Butler, 2015, p. 106). On the one hand, while emphasising the importance of the category of proximity, she extends the reach of the notion of vulnerability to societal order as a whole, comprehending collective subjects, such as entire populations and nations, along with individual subjects. On the other, she denounces Levinas's patent contradiction in affirming forms of nationalism, Israeli nationalism in particular, in the light of his premises on the exceptional significance of the human subject.

The crucial ontological point around which Butler's analysis revolves is that, in proximity, the neighbour has nothing in common with the me, and not even vulnerability and precarity can constitute any communal essence. The reasoning on vulnerability and precarity, in turn, represents the opportunity for critical thinking to understand the relationship with other humans. She follows Levinas when she argues that we are nonetheless bound up with a rigorous notion of responsibility to those we do not know, even to those "we did not choose, could never have chosen," and also stresses that

“these obligations are, strictly speaking, precontractual” (2015, p. 107), as also Bernasconi remarks (2018, p. 260).

Butler’s criticisms, in turn, rely on the possibility of extending the ethical relation “to those who cannot appear within the horizon of ethics, who are not persons or are not considered to be the kinds of beings with whom one can or must enter into an ethical relation,” with the aim of articulating a “global ethics” that is not grounded in or traced back to national belonging or communitarian affiliation (Butler, 2015, pp. 107–108).

This perspective is taken up in the conclusive chapter of the *Notes Towards a Performative Theory of Assembly*, where, Butler understands biopolitics as “those powers that organize life, even the powers that differentially dispose lives to precarity as part of a broader management of populations through governmental and nongovernmental means, and that establish a set of measures for the differential valuation of life itself.” She further points out that the organization of life under these forms of governance of humans as living beings entails that “the status of a subject who is worthy of rights and protections” is allocated in a “differential way” (2015, p. 196). Accordingly, her approach shifts the focus to the “ungrievable,” i.e. to those lives already considered not lives, “already dead and gone, prior to any explicit destruction or abandonment,” and opens ethical reasoning on this matter to the experience of the subjects whose lives are deemed “*not* worth safeguarding, protecting, and valuing” (2015, p. 197).

With the term “precarity,” as it is well known, Butler defines the condition of these vulnerable lives that become “unlivable” within the frame of a “daily experience of neoliberalism,” since they are exposed to State violence and social exclusion, or suffer forced emigration, or are exploited as an expendable and degraded workforce to different degrees all

over the world. Precarious lives are twice "damaged," insofar as they suffer damage both in the present and the destruction of any future prospect (2015, pp. 201–202).

Besides vulnerability and precarity, Butler introduces another key notion, namely, dependency, often falsely reduced to an effect caused by the former two basic conditions of human social life. What she considers her "stronger point" is the importance of understanding dependency as a radical condition for human creatures that survive and persist only in their vital relation with "sustaining environment, social forms of relationality, and economic forms that presume and structure interdependency" (2015, pp. 209–210). In this sense, she proposes revisiting Arendt's account of the private and public distinction in the classical Greek *polis*, according to which the "disavowal of dependency becomes the precondition of the autonomous thinking and acting political subject." Thus, Butler argues in favour of "new body politics" that begin with "the critique of that unacknowledged dependency" in order to "account for the relation between precarity and performativity" (2015, pp. 206–207), assuming that an acknowledged dependency can also serve as the ground for seeking to lead a good life in a bad life.

It is not the case here to delve into Butler's political perspective on the forms of plural and embodied resistance to a bad life, which aims at articulating "what it might mean to lead a good life in the sense of a livable life" (2015, pp. 217–218). The present section aimed to stress that Butler's premises are the same as those arrived at by Levinas by approaching ethics from phenomenology, that is to say, an account of ethics based on non-sovereign, weak subjects defined by vulnerability and interdependency (Ferrarese, 2016 and 2017). Secondly, the precontractual dimension marked by vulnerability opens up the possibility of an alternative take on today's world, by

urging reflections on the “conditions of sociality and political life that cannot be contractually stipulated, and whose denial and manipulability constitute an effort to destroy or manage an interdependent social condition of politics” (Butler, 2015, pp. 211–213). Through that precontractual dimension, global ethics – ethics conceived at the global level, both in space and time – regains the future dimension, that is, the dimension of which the damaged life is deprived. It is clear that there is much more than a mere commonality of premises between Butler and Levinas, since they both share an approach to politics that leads to the precontractual dimension. Furthermore, this path towards politics suggests that phenomenology can fruitfully contribute to political thought despite the outrageous political positions that some phenomenologists may assume.

As outlined above, Levinas’s account of ethics leads to a political dimension that precedes any social contract, and, not unlike in the case of Heidegger, Levinas’s path towards politics coherently pushes its phenomenological approach to its extreme possibilities, which puts any given institution “out of action” (to use the Husserlian expression, 1983, pp. 59–60), and suspends the validity of the very basic social and political conditions within which everyone is born, including national identity, constitutional laws, social roles, communitarian affiliations, beliefs and ideals, even hopes. The concern Wahl expressed with his question to Levinas during the abovementioned 1962 discussion, related to the utility of the State, should be read in this context. And it is in this sense, this writer believes, that in the 1990 Prefatory Note to his *Reflections on the Philosophy of Hitlerism*, Levinas noted that “[w]e must ask ourselves if liberalism is all we need to achieve an authentic dignity for the human subject” (1990b, p. 63). Such a rhetorical question is still valid, a fortiori, thirty years later, and it assumes a euphemistic nuance in the face of unrestrained

neoliberalism. It is possible for a phenomenologically oriented radical political enquiry to rely on the same inalienable power evoked by Butler, the power that each and every one of us has to think and pose questions neither rhetorically, nor ideologically, but reflexively (2015, p. 198). One significant question concerns the pluralism of forms of life in the face of "the administration of bodies and the calculated management of life" (Foucault, 1978, pp. 139–140), performed by that biopower against which, not unlike sovereign power, 'it is necessary to defend subjectivity.'

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Harmonization of state legislation with EU legislation - the case of the so-called anti-defamation media law in Albania

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Abstract

Albania is a European country that has been involved in the long process of EU accession since the fall of the communist regime at the beginning of the 90s', but is yet to meet a number of requirements to join the European Union. One of the policies that is being scrutinized and going through the EU adaptation framework is the media policy. This article adopts a single case study approach, specifically the most debated media law package in Albania in the last three decades, the so-called anti-defamation media law. The focus of my research analyses concerns the role of the stakeholders involved in the process for the alignment of the media legislation in Albania with the EU regulations. To that end, I have used the expert interviews method, with experts who have been engaged and set out recommendations in this long process which has not finished yet. The research gives a general overview of the interactions of the stakeholders involved in this process, such as national and international journalists and human rights NGOs; international institutions which operate in Albania and have been quite active in this debate, and independent journalists. Another crucial part of my research is investigating through policy analysis methods how the stakeholder's input has been incorporated into this complicated policymaking process or most of the time totally ignored by the decision-making institutions such as the Albanian government and parliament.

Keywords: Albania, EU, anti-defamation law, journalists, NGOs, deliberative democracy

Introduction

This contribution aims to shed light on the process of one of the most ever debated media policy initiatives in Albania, the so called the anti-defamation draft-law, an initiative that has been carrying on since 2018. On one hand we have the government who is seeking, as it pretends, to pass a set of amendments whose aim is to regulate a messy ecosystem such as the online media space operating in Albania where false, fake and derogatory information is very easy to disseminate. On the other hand we have the government's critics (civil society organizations, journalists, journalist associations – local and international ones, academics, etc.), who accuse the government for creating a window dressing initiative in order to impose and legitimize censorship (Jata, Gaxha & Meta, 2021). Also, they sharply criticize the authorities for being not receptive to their recommendations that mainly consist in creating a self-regulatory model for the online media outlets; the most common practice in the media policy framework of many member countries of the European Union, a union where the western Balkan country aims to be part of for three decades (Car et al., 2019).

Through the principles of deliberative democracy we will try to scrutinize normatively the activity of the authorities (Albanian parliament and government), the civil society organization (CSOs) and the other independent actors which are involved in this complexed process (Fishkin & Luskin, 2005). By using the methods of the document analyses and expert interviews, we will seek to investigate practically the

interaction and contribution of the involved stakeholders in this complicated policy-making process. The main research question is to what extent the policy-making process involves its participating stakeholders and their contribution in its course. Three are the sub-research questions that we will guide us to uncover some closed parts of this process. Has the consultation process feedback of CSOs been taken into consideration by the parliament and the government? Does the government take into account the reports and the suggestions of the international actors involved in this delicate process? Does this policy-making process contemplate with the good practices of EU media policies?

Our hypothesis was that the CSOs input would have been limited in this long process of policy-making, but surprisingly this was not the case. Even though the challenges of the CSOs are quite different and numerous in order to participate actively and substantially in policy processes (Bino, Qirjazi & Dafa, 2020), still the ones involved in this policy process have not been only proactive in the process, but also have shared relevant suggestions and recommendations; also quite similar to the ones received by the international stakeholders (Venice Commission, 2020). Our main finding is that the consultation processes organized by the authorities was just a ticking box procedure in order to give legitimacy to a preplanned process whose purpose was to have a fixed outcome that fits the Albanian government's agenda and not the public interest. Nevertheless, the Albanian journalists' CSOs turned this policy making action into a social campaign promoting the values of free media, freedom of a speech and fight against censorship, a campaign that had a wide support not just from the Albanian CSOs, but also from international watchdogs such as Reporters Beyond Barriers, Article 19, European Federation of Journalists, etc.; and, international institutions like OSCE, Venice

Commission, Council of Europe (CoE) and European Union. In fact, EU certified the victory of this campaign because the Union put the dismissal of this package law on the EU accession conditional list to the Albanian government.

Naturally, this is not the first time a government tries to impose its agenda, even in more consolidated democracies, governments made up policies that are not beneficiary to the citizens they govern. Albania, relatively, represents still a new democracy, but as the country aims to be part of EU club, the attention for these delicate policy-making processes is monitored by not only local actors, but by international and EU actors and stakeholders also because of the legal obligations Albania has towards EU institutions (Vurmo, Sulstarova & Dafa 2021). The Western Balkan former communist country seems to have been stuck in the long road to the EU integration processes. Despite its obvious limitations, the interpretation of our chosen case helps to lead us to some relevant conceptual and practical explanations why this impasse is going on and on.

The Albanian media landscape context

As the whole Albanian society, the media landscape in the former communist country passed through dramatic changes with the end of the totalitarian regime in 1990. This landscape was transformed from a state-owned media model, censored and controlled with an iron fist by the Stalinist-styled regime of the communist dictator Enver Hoxha, to a new chapter of the freedom of expression guaranteed by the constitution, and a plurality of views expressed in a new multicentric media ecosystem (Car et al., 2019; Voko et al., 2015)

Even though being relatively a small size country and media market, Albania, which is composed of 2.8 million inhabitants (Worldometer, 2021), possesses nowadays a rich

media ecosystem, based on the large number of media companies and institutions (Car et al., 2019). Beside the national public broadcaster, Albanian Radio Television (RTSH), there are five more private media operators with national broadcasting licenses and 54 TV stations run their activity in the country, while 48 other broadcasters are registered as local media outlets. The total amount of magazines and newspapers which are printed all over the territory is more than 200 (Filipova, Nedeva, Calistru, Novaković & Preçi 2021). In Albania, 59 radio stations run their programs, plus two national radio broadcasters, three affiliate relay stations, 49 local radio stations, and four radio stations operated by religious communities. Moreover, 20 audio-visual media service providers carry out their services online, mostly using IPTV technology (Çela, 2019). The media landscape in the western Balkan country also includes 70 cable service providers, and two satellite platforms. In Albania, the Audiovisual Media Authority (hereinafter, AMA) is the regulatory authority of the audiovisual media outlets and of their supporting services (Londo, 2013).

In the last few years, the Albanian media landscape has registered an explosion in terms of the number of online media outlets, from which many of them do not produce professional or transparent content (Balkan Investigative Reporting Network [BIRN] & Reporters Without Borders, 2021; Jata et al., 2021). When it comes to estimating the numbers of the Albanian electronic publications service providers, the situation turns out to be a bit complex. The statistics reported recently by research studies are based mainly on the information which is available by their primary source, the Authority of Electronic and Postal Communication (AKEP in Albanian), and also numbers declared by the Union of Journalists, which is the biggest journalist organization in the Western Balkan country.

According to this organization there are some 800 online portals which operate in Albania, and over 400 portals are not registered because it is impossible to find out their administrators (Çela, 2019). Another crucial reason why it is so difficult to have a proper map of the Albanian online media ecosystem, is related to the ethnic composition of the Albanian-speaking population in the Balkan Region. The Albanian-speaking population is living in four other Balkan countries, in Kosovo, Macedonia, Montenegro, and Serbia.

Even though the freedom of expression in Albania is guaranteed by law, in reality the journalists' capacities to report the news with accuracy, fairness, balance and objectivity is endangered by the economic and political power of big corporate companies and other factors that often oblige reporters to avoid sensitive topics and practice self-censorship (Vurmo et al., 2021).

The country's media sector suffers from a series of chronic issues, including high polarization and politicization, self-censorship, undue influence on editorial output of political and business elites, as well as verbal and physical attacks on journalists. (Jata et al., 2021, p.5)

According to the international watchdog organization, Reporters without Borders (Reporters Without Borders, 2020), the world press freedom index Albania is ranked in the 84th position in the list of 179 countries. The main issue that has the spotlight in the short report of the international press freedom organization is our study case, the case of the proposed anti-defamation package law.

The so-called anti-defamation draft-law steps

In this research we adopted the case study method which is in our case both descriptive and interpretative (Donders, 2019). In

2018, the Albanian government announced unexpectedly a set of amendments to Law no. 97/2013 and Law no. 9918/2008, known in the local public as the “anti-defamation package” (Jata et al., 2021). As it was stated by the government, the principal purposes of this policy initiative were to correct the activity of the online media outlets operating in Albania. The governmental advocates of this set of amendments in the parliament claimed that the online media actors have an unlimited power to distribute false and defamatory information anonymously and quickly (OSCE, 2019). Moreover, other reasons for adopting the amendments included the fight against child pornography; the national security, fight against terrorism and the public order (OSCE & Barata Mir, 2019). As an example of risks associated with the lack of regulations concerning online publications, the authorities claimed the cases of false reports that have caused panic among the citizens after the devastating earthquake in Albania. They emphasized that the existing instruments are not enough to track rapidly the authors of such false information and stop the dissemination (Cobus, 2019).

The Albanian Parliament organized 3 sessions of public consultations of the draft media laws in Tirana. The first of these meetings was organized on 25 November amid strong opposition from national and international press and media freedom community. The next round of public consultation hearings took place on 11 and 12 of December 2019 (European Federation of Journalists, 2019). According to the authorities, the original draft amendments went through a very transparent public consultation process during which all the interested parties were consulted. On the contrary, the CSOs criticized the lack of effective consultations and lack of access to the latest versions of the draft amendments (Council of Europe, 2020). Additionally, the CSOs criticized the government for having

notified and organized the consultation processes in a very short time (Cukali, 2021).

The original draft amendments have been evaluated by the international organizations (OSCE, the Council of Europe) and national experts (Jata et al., 2021). Meanwhile, 7 leading international journalist organizations (Reporters without Borders, Article 19, European Federation of Journalists, International Press Institute, Committee to Protect Journalists, South East Europe Media Organisation, European Centre for Press and Media Freedom), through a public letter, called on the Albanian parliament not to approve the set of amendments as they considered this package a clear threat to freedom of speech and free media.

We call on the Albanian parliament to drop their dogged pursuance of these draft-laws and restart the process. The parliament should also make use of the assistance mechanisms available through the Council of Europe office in Tirana and the European Union, in order to come up with laws that are in line with best practice of press freedom standards. (European Federation of Journalists, 2019)

The Albanian parliament adopted draft amendments on 18 December 2019 (Erebara, 2019). The most important changes contained in the last version of the draft amendments can be summarized as follows.

- extend the scope of application of the law to cover publications in online media and regulate the activities of the EPSPs (Articles 1-2 as amended);
- impose new media content requirements for the EPSPs (Article 33/1 as amended);
- expand the powers of the AMA and the Complaints Committee by giving them the power to oversee the implementation of the new obligations by the EPSPs (Articles 20 and 51/1 as amended);

- introduce new procedures for the examination of the complaints related to the content of online publications (Article 51/1 as amended);
- introduce a right to correction or reply in relation to publications by the EPSPs (Article 53/1 as amended);
- introduce administrative measures and fines for those who will contravene the law (Articles 132-133 as amended). (Venice Commission, 2020, p.5-6)

On 19th December 2019, the draft-law package was approved by the parliament. The Albanian government and parliament faced sharp criticism by many different local and international stakeholders. Many of the local and international journalist organizations, journalists, and opposition actors accused the Albanian government of passing bills that infringe the basic rights of free expression. A group of journalists, opposition supporters and civil society groups protested outside of the Parliament building, on the day the lawmakers approved the so-called anti-defamation package (Koleka, 2019). On 11 January 2020, the Albanian President, Ilir Meta, vetoed the draft amendments and returned the draft-law package back to Parliament. The Albanian President claimed that the draft-laws “through punishing mechanisms aim to put media outlets under political control, especially the electronic media, which constitutes a gross violation of the freedom of expression” (Erebara, 2020a). Additionally, President Meta emphasized that some of the provisions of these draft amendments were in deep contradiction with the principles of democracy, freedom of expression and proportionality, as well as with the case-law of the Constitutional Court of Albania and of the European Court of Human Rights. Following the procedures, the revote procedure on these draft amendments by Parliament was foreseen to be held on 30 January 2020. However, it was postponed pending the Venice Commission opinion which

came out on 19 June 2020. The suggestions and recommendations that were given by the Albanian CSOs matched with the ones given by the local and international CSOs. Here there is a general summary of the Venice Commission recommendations (Cukali, 2021; Erebara, 2020b; Venice Commission, 2020; Likmeta, 2021; Luku, 2020):

- giving tribunal tributes to a governmental institution (AMA) endangers the freedom of expression and free media;
- with its members selected and voted by the parliament, AMA is not a sufficiently independent and well-structured structure to have this crucial role in the Albanian media landscape;
- the fines have to be rechecked as they might be exaggerated in the Albanian context;
- including all the online voices (even bloggers, individual users, etc.) in this law might also raise the censorship level not only among journalists, but also the general public;
- self-regulation practice is the best practice that works out in many EU countries and some Balkan countries; the government and journalism CSOs can cooperate to make this practice operational;
- there are questions about the fact why legacy media are not involved in this draft-law.

After the harshly critical opinion of the Venice Commission was made public, the Prime Minister Rama declared on Twitter that he was thankful to the Commission for its opinion. However, no significant official action have been taken by the government hitherto.

Multistakeholderism and deliberative democracy's contribution to policy-making processes

Multistakeholderism is a slippery term, and as most of such concepts it is quite unclear and general, also, because it is being implemented in many different forms of governance and it is still being tested as a new form of governance (Buxton, 2019). This notion itself relates to 'stakeholding', a concept which originates from the 1960s when this new approach was mentioned in management and economics literature discussing the widening of companies' from the shareholder perspective to a stakeholder planning (Donders, van de Bulck & Raats, 2019). This kind of chic double concept has been attracting more and more attention in the policy-making processes. In addition, it has been promoted as a tool to bring the citizens closer to the decision-making processes, portraying these processes as more transparent, accountable and democratic (Buxton, 2019).

The stake holding concept is considered one of the pillars of the deliberative democracy theory (Donders et al., 2019), the paradigm that we will mostly analyze in this article. There is no clear evidence when the interest for deliberative democracy started in the 20th century. According to Stephen Tierney (Tierney, 2009) probably the earliest significant act of academic interest in the deliberative aspects of democracy is traced in John Rawls 1971 work "A Theory of Justice". Officially, the first use of the expression "deliberative democracy" is recognized to be introduced in an essay of the American author Joseph Bessete (Deliberative Democracy: The Majority Principle in Republican Government, 1980) (Bohman et al., 1997). Bessete introduces deliberation as a reflective decision-making process, that consists in the exchange of ideas and rational dialogue that could start from the importance of self-interests and passions (Bohman, 1998; Hendriks, 2006).

Moreover, this form of democracy approach is popular and is further being promoted by scholars and policy makers as a form of good governance. But what does this political theory represent? According to a simple definition, deliberative democracy is portrayed as a model of democracy where deliberation is central to the decision-making processes (Chambers, 2003). Additionally, deliberative democracy is referred to a model of governing which secures a place where all the interested society actors have the chance to participate and be part of (Mendonça, Ercan & Asenbaum 2020; Mouffe, 1999). The American political theorists Ammy Gutman and Dennis F. Thompson's interpretation includes the elements that are found in most conceptions of deliberative democracy. Guttmann and Thompson (Gutmann & Thompson, 2004) pointed out the following about deliberative democracy:

Most fundamentally, deliberative democracy affirms the need to justify decisions made by citizens and their representatives. Both are expected to justify the laws they would impose on one another. In a democracy, leaders should therefore give reasons for their decisions, and respond to the reasons that citizens give in return. But not all issues, all the time, require deliberation. Its first and most important characteristic, then, is its reason-giving requirement. (p.3)

In order to deliberate about a case or a problem, traditionally means to confront the pros and the cons of a possible solution which is connected to a societal topic (Mendonça et al., 2020). So, it is a process through which political views and decisions are formed and transformed. Many theorists of deliberative democracy stressed the variability of democracy and how critical they are of the existing representative institutions (J. Dryzek & List, 2003). This paradigm is rather considered an expansion of representative democracy. Thus, deliberation pays attention to the openness to exchange and consent, listening to

each other's views and adjusting not only notions, but mentalities as well (Tierney, 2009).

According to its theorists, deliberative democracy is not limited to the concept of numbers, especially when it comes to the decision making process (Manin, 2005). In a democracy where deliberation functions, decisions need to be taken and fair decision rules need to be institutionalised (Bohman et al., 1997). But the deliberative approach focuses more on the qualitative aspects of the conversation that precedes decisions rather than on a mathematical decision rule (Perna, 2017). In short terms, talk-centric democratic approach replaces voting-centric democratic approach. Voting-centric prototype portrays democracy as a place in which fixed and well-shaped choices and interests are selected or not, so a kind of a yes or no selective reality (Fishkin & Luskin, 2005). In contrast, deliberative democracy gives a wide variety of choices and it is strongly concentrated on the interaction of arguments and opinion making, and then, in the last stage, proceeds to voting (Chambers, 2003). Taking into consideration that the talk-centric aspect is a strong dimension of deliberative democracy, discussion is thus portrayed widely by its theorists, advocates and supporters as the main pillar of this theory (Dryzek & Niemeyer, 2008).

In this theory model, the quantitative aspect is more valued than the qualitative one in the hierarchy of its values (Donders et al., 2019). In other terms, democracy is not seen as a question of numbers, but mostly as a question of qualitative inclusion of all the society actors in a decision-making process. The researchers Dryzek and List (2003) claim that democracy has its full legitimacy when a decision is a product of collective action and deliberation, which has passed through an agreement accepted by all parties involved in this process. The theories of deliberative democracy do not put their focus on the

voting system; on the contrary, they consider deliberation as the main tool designed to have a functioning democracy and political decision-making processes (Gutmann & Thompson, 2004).

The American researcher James Fishkin has analysed and evaluated practical case studies of deliberative democracy for over 15 years in many countries. He has identified five main characteristics which can form out a process of deliberation:

Informed (and thus informative). Arguments should be supported by appropriate and reasonably accurate factual claims.

Balanced. Arguments should be met by contrary arguments.

Conscientious. The participants should be willing to talk and listen, with civility and respect.

Substantive. Arguments should be considered sincerely on their merits, not how they are made or who is making them.

Comprehensive. All points of view held by significant portions of the population should receive attention. (Fishkin & Luskin, 2005, p. 285)

In conclusion, deliberation through the democracy model can produce outcomes that ensure the common good through ethical debates and discussions where a set of inclusionary values of discussions is implemented (Tierney, 2009). Mainly, deliberative democracy refers to institutionalizing a level of openness to exchange ideas and a willingness to listen to others' arguments. Deliberative democracy is not designed on a rivalry between conflicting interests or groups, but on a constant interchange of information and explanations supporting diverse perspectives grounded on the best interest of the general public (Pernaa, 2017). Furthermore, deliberative democracy encourages civic skills and ethical values, and it leads to rational decisions which increase the legitimacy of the

ongoing processes where this paradigm is implemented (Mendonça et al., 2020).

As all the paradigms, deliberative democracy has also faced criticism and has a considerable number of conceptual and practical pitfalls according to many scholars (Donders et al., 2019). There is a general judgement that deliberative democracy has a positive effect on public's opinions. But of course can we verify this positive effect for all the cases where deliberative principles are implemented in a public process? Some scholars find deliberative democracy problematic regarding the effects it gives to the society, and consider it as an overrated form of democracy that benefits the society. It is considered that deliberation puts more focus on disagreements, stimulates social competition, and divides opinion (Hendriks, 2006). Despite all the pros, deliberative democratic theorists are criticized for being naive (Dryzek & Niemeyer, 2008; Dryzek, 2005). As John Dryzek claims, they have little to say about external factors. Other critics also point to the strength of big corporations, the effects of economic inequality and cultural authorities. According to Hagendijk and Irwin (Hagendijk & Irwin, 2006), democracy will always be analysed in a context of opposing relations and in case you might misconside this significant element then you miss an essential part of the democratic society. For Mouffe (2000), democracy is better seen as inherently antagonistic, rather than as oriented towards consensus building and deliberation. Even though Manin (2005) is a strong supporter of deliberative democracy, he admits that this paradigm possesses sharp elements of contradictions that might come out in the debate and influence in the delicate processes of policy-making.

The consultation hearings through the lens of Fishkin's principles

In this part of my research, I try to filter and analyze the insight of my interviews that were conducted in the consultation process through Fishkin's core principles of deliberative democracy,

Information

The 5 interviewed journalism CSOs members who were part of the consultation process confess that they did not have access beforehand to the general data and information of the consultation process; no basic information linked to the dates and the place of the first meetings that were organized by AMA; then continuing with the content of the draft itself. According to the CSOs members, they were intentionally not informed about this process and the existence of the draft-law (Erebara, 2021; Luku, 2020; Quku, 2020). During a random conversation, an official of the OSCE delegation in Tirana informed the journalist Besar Likmeta on the exact day when it was planned to be organized. "Actually, we were not invited in the first consultation process, we showed up there without an invitation." (Likmeta, 2021).

We were informed only a few days before it started. I was not notified personally. I had an email forwarded to me from a friend of mine. Many of our colleagues in the media community were not informed. We were not informed in time because I believe they wanted to pass the consultation process quickly and formally, just so that they could say later that "we did it, and nobody said anything. (Cukali, 2021)

Substantive balanced

As we have figured out going by the interviews and data collected, the argument stances of the CSOs members and governmental actors have been quite opposite from each other. They insist on the fact that their arguments were totally disregarded and not reflected in the minor changes that followed both consultation processes. For example, the main argument that was given as an alternative by the CSOs consisted in finding ways to apply the self-regulation practice in order to adjust the online media ecosystem. In both draft-law proposals, this solution was not included in the final package (Luku, 2020). The same approach was followed also in the case of the extra judicial power that AMA receives by the governmental proposals. The CSOs actors are totally against this approach as they would see Albania going in the directions of autocratic countries like Turkey and Russia in terms of media policies. Also, this argument was rejected and not reflected in the two final drafts, and it passed the parliament (Erebara 2021;Likmeta, 2021).

Legally speaking, AMA should not have a bipartisan position. Instead, it has to stay independent and far from politics. However, the formula of electing the board members reflects the political relations between the governing majority and the opposition. In this aspect, the law is regressive. So, I think the critics are fair; the board is political in its core and position on different topics. (Bregu, 2021)

Conscientious

All the interviewed CSOs members, who were involved in the consultation hearings, tell that they felt in a kind of embarrassing position as their arguments were the whole time ignored by the draft-law rapporteurs. Moreover, they say en

block that the arguments shown by the CSOs participants were totally misconsidered by the MPs in the consultation hearings (Erebara, 2021; Luku, 2020; Quku, 2020). "All I see is the government wanting to pass that law at any cost." (Cukali, 2021)

In most of the EU countries, in terms of online media, self-regulation is the way to go. The Prime Minister does not accept this as an option, because his interest is to influence the way how online media report, particularly in corruption cases (Likmeta, 2021).

Diversity

By analyzing the participant's background, we realize that there has been a decent variety of the stakeholders involved in the consultation meetings. As emphasized earlier, apart from the journalism CSOs actors, part of this common initiative were also institutions and NGOs profiled in law, accountability and human rights. This wide participation has enriched the discussions and perspectives. Gjergji Vurmo, the Albanian Freedom House country rapporteur, highlights the diversity and qualitative feedback of the participators in this process, and also finds them very professional compared even to CSOs from EU countries. "Many EU countries would envy the variety of feedback that media and CSOs have provided there, due to the different backgrounds of the participants." (Vurmo, 2021). But, despite the presence of this array of different actors involved in the process, the diversity dimension is not a merit of the governmental actors who were not very enthusiastic that the draft-law got so much attention (Likmeta, 2021). The CSOs involved were very active during the steps of this whole process, when this policy action was going on. The journalism CSOs who were part of the consultation process are the following: Albanian Media Council, MediaLook, Balkan

Investigative Reporting Network (BIRN Albania), Albanian Union of Journalists, Citizens Channel, Faktoje, Albanian Center for Qualitative Journalism, Association of Professional Journalists of Albania, Albanian Media Institute, Albanian League of Journalists. Part of this common initiative were also institutions and NGOs profiled in law, accountability and human rights: The Albania Helsinki Comity, Civil Rights Defenders, Res Publica, and Albanian Institute of Science.

Equal consideration

The whole CSO actors who were part of this consultation hearing had been equally treated, mostly because of the simple fact that they were all of them against the draft-law itself. But there is a general accordance between the questioned CSO members that the governmental and specifically Prime Minister Rama's will to pass this law was the elephant in the room.

...during the whole process, there was an atmosphere where the MPs did not want CSOs to be involved in this process (Likmeta, 2021).

Moreover, he claims that sometimes during the consultation meetings there were some confrontations when some of the MPs were aggressive and reminding the journalists community members that they had political power and they were voted to pass laws and not only discuss. "The government is the only privileged actor in this draft-law." (Cukali, 2021).

Conclusions

The whole process of this policy-making initiative has been sharply criticized by all the non-governmental actors involved in the process. Local CSOs, journalists, online media actors, international watchdog organizations, international institutions

such as OSCE, Venice Commission, CoE and EU have been in one big front against this governmental policy action.

After a careful analysis, we come to the conclusion that this policy initiative does not fit in with any of the multistakeholderism and deliberative democracy principles. Specifically, it does not align to any of the Fishkin deliberative democracy principles. In fact, the whole process, particularly the consultation meetings, were just a ticking box procedure. No public report was registered for the consultation meetings; the interest groups were not informed, or informed belatedly about the date and place of the meetings, which led to a very late involvement of the CSOs in the draft-law, contrary to the Albanian law provisions on the consultation processes modalities (Bino Qirjazi & Dafa 2020); the meetings were organized in a very short time between each other, giving very little time to the CSOs to participate and get prepared; harsh atmosphere in the meetings created by the governmental proponents who were reminding the participants of their political power as an uncontrollable tool to push initiatives; discrepancies between what the participants stated in meetings and the Prime Minister's statements in public about the draft-law's purpose. Moreover, none of the CSOs' recommendations was taken into consideration during the two stages that the draft-law went through. Getting to know the results of this normative evaluation we can say that the principles of deliberative democracy represent a very idealistic and utopian approach connecting it to our study case. The fact that this draft-law dismissal has been put in the list of the EU conditionalities speaks volumes regarding the quality and integrity of this government initiative as no other country in Balkan region has this specific EU conditionality. As EFJ has quoted in its statement, it is very difficult to categorize the meetings held by the authorities as "consultation meetings"

(European Federation of Journalists, 2019) because they miss lots of basic elements to be qualified as such. Finally, the extra judicial power that would be given by this draft-law to a governmental body as AMA, i.e. to punish online voices by huge fines (until 10 grants E) was an act that would legitimize censorship and mute independent journalism. Moreover, legally speaking that provision could represent censorship measures among the general public critics.

The good news is that the dismissal of this draft-law has been incorporated in the EU conditionalities list for the accession process of Albania in the EU membership stage, which is a victory for the critics of this initiative, and also for the media freedom in the western Balkan country. As it has been highly recommended, the government should try to find a common ground with the Albanian CSOs who have proposed the self-regulation model regarding the regulation of the online media ecosystem. Firstly, this represents a practice very familiar in the EU media landscape and, secondly, now it is a required condition by the EU stakeholders involved in this process. Meanwhile, the Socialist Party, which is run by Prime Minister Rama, was re-confirmed for a third mandate in the last parliamentary elections held on 24 April of this year. Therefore, the risk for the media freedom and freedom of expression still exists as the governmental approach against independent journalism has not changed.

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Notes

The 7 media policy experts who were interviewed for this study are the following:

Besar Likmeta, journalist of Balkan Investigative Network Albania (BIRN) and media expert

Koloreto Cukali, Head of the Albanian Media Council, independent journalist

Gjergj Erebara, journalist of Balkan Investigative Network Albania (BIRN)

Gjergji Vurmo, Freedom House country rapporteur for Albania, IDM program director and senior researcher on governance

Zylyftar Bregu, former AMA board member, lecturer of journalism in the University of Tirana

Bardhi Quku, independent journalist

Elvin Luku, Head of MediaLook Center, lecturer of journalism in the University of Tirana

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The Duplex World: Keizaburo Maruyama's Elaboration on Saussure's Principle of the Arbitrariness of Linguistic Signs

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Abstract

This paper has two objectives. It intends, first, to elucidate Ferdinand de Saussure's discourse on the *arbitrariness of linguistic signs* and, second, to expound Keizaburo Maruyama's unique, epistemological thesis developed based on Saussure's ideas. The argumentation goes as follows. After illustrating that the Swiss linguist's case, having been understood too diversely, requires an accurate recapitulation and Maruyama's texts have received little heed, the first section which proves Saussure's original opinion entails that not only the relationship between a linguistic sign's signifier and signified but a language's classification system itself is absolutely contingent. The second section, scrutinizing Maruyama's theory about our interpreting the world, shows its gist is humans construe the universe through the *duplex articulation structure*. The third, concluding section describes his view on music as another attribute of his thought, and closes the discussion by indicating that his texts,

¹ Mikado, the first author, penned the introductory, first and second sections. Tateyama, the second author, wrote the third section except the last paragraph which Mikado composed

albeit written decades ago, can help us address today's conundrums.

Keywords: Ferdinand de Saussure, Keizaburo Maruyama, Linguistics, Structuralism, Semiology

Introduction: Overview and Contextual Background

No one would gainsay that Ferdinand de Saussure, who “revolutionized modern linguistics” (Kugler, 1992, p. 107), is worth studying again and again. Indeed, given the tremendous influences he has exerted on diverse fields, we ought to discuss him as one of the most momentous thinkers in modern times. If one wants to get a glimpse of how profound his impression on later generations has been, one has only to skim some books on contemporary intellectual movements. David Howarth (2007), a professor at the University of Essex who is conversant with post-war theoretical schools, maintained that “the work of structuralists and poststructuralists such as Claude Levi-Strauss, Jacques Lacan, Roland Barthes, Louis Althusser, Jacques Derrida and Ernesto Laclau is unthinkable without Saussure’s seminal contribution” (p. 139), and Holzman (1994) laconically but positively observed that “Saussure transformed twentieth-century thinking” (p.40). Besides these, a multitude of academics have talked on his achievements and effects (see Culler, 1977; Strozier, 1988; Stawarska, 2020; Lagopoulos & Boklund-Lagopoulou, 2021).

Although the Swiss linguist was brought up in the intellectual tradition of the West, his impact has never been limited to the region. Among the non-Western nations where his views have been taken in with a high degree of attention and have helped people to invent novel ideas, Russia is the most prominent. It is an established fact that the major

accomplishments of Roman Jakobson and Nikolai Trubetzkoy, whom Halle (1987) justly dubbed “the founders of modern phonology” (p. 95), are heavily indebted to Saussure (see Evtuhov & Stites, 2004, p. 529), and Valentin Voloshinov (1986), though denouncing him as “high point of abstract objectivism in our time” (p. 61), unquestionably resorted to Saussure’s thought in working up his theory emphasizing *actual* communication (see esp. pp. 83-98). Meanwhile, we should not pass over the Far East. While Chinese scholars have published a horde of interesting studies invoking Saussure to cast fresh light on the texts of ancient and medieval Chinese thinkers (e.g. Chung, 2009; Zhu & Wen, 2020), Japan has produced such figures as Hideo Kobayashi, who translated *Course in General Linguistics* first in the world, and Keizaburo Maruyama, who, having written several academic volumes on the Genevan, constructed his brand of philosophy.

For all his global reputation, however, the state of scholarship concerning Saussure is not exempt from grave problems, of which two are salient and should be tackled. First, there are *so many* commentaries on his theory. Given the difficulty of reading his texts and manuscripts without an aid, it might appear a welcome circumstance. But, lamentably, not a few of the explanations which both his followers and detractors have passed are misleading. In fact, even prestigious academicians had sometimes perverted it. For example, Lähteenmäki (2004) pointed out that Voloshinov misunderstood Saussure’s notion of the linguistic sign (see esp. p. 461), Macey (1988) made a detailed analysis of how Lacan mishandled the linguist’s thesis (see esp. pp. 131-138), and Joseph (1990) concisely proved that Chomsky had ignored him. Of course, it is not the case that there have been no scholars who have a proper understanding thereof. They, though, have tended to be too loyal to their master and rarely dared to

recapitulate his words in jargon-free language. Hence, the most revolutionary insight Saussure presented, “the arbitrary nature of the sign” (Saussure, 2011, p. 67), has not become part of our common knowledge, to say nothing of the overall picture of his theory; many people of today, albeit living about a century after his passing, still cherish such absurd fallacies as that language represents ideas or emotions conceived beforehand.

Second, Saussure is so magnificent a personage that the handful of inventive people who advanced unique discussions based on the precise construal of his theory have been unduly overlooked. Albeit not the main subject of this essay, De Mauro should be referred to as a representative. He has rightly enjoyed acclaim for his critical edition of Saussure’s *Course*, whereon Graffi (2006) commented as follows: “Today the exact knowledge of Saussure’s ideas cannot be gained without the support of De Mauro’s commentary” (p. 138). Nevertheless, it is not widely known that he, drawing on Saussure’s discourses, performed a vital service in fleshing out the concept of *plurilingualism*, though Nishijima (2018) carefully discussed the subject in her recent study. The abovementioned Japanese philosopher Keizaburo Maruyama is also one of such figures who tendered arguments that were, though inspired by Saussure’s thought, *sui generis* in their nature.

This is the contextual background in which this paper is written, and, in accordance therewith, we pursue two objectives. It intends, first, to elucidate Saussure’s *principle of the arbitrariness of linguistic signs* in as digestible parlance as possible, and, second, to expound Maruyama’s unique, epistemological thesis that he developed based primarily on the idea. To achieve them, the argumentation goes as follows. The next section proves that the principle not only means that the relationship between a linguistic sign’s signifier and signified is unnatural but also entails that a language’s classification system

itself is absolutely contingent. The second section, scrutinizing Maruyama's theory about our system of making sense of the outside reality, shows it fundamentally postulates that humans construe the universe through the *somatic* and *lingual demarcation*, that is, through *the duplex articulation structure*. The third, concluding section describes his view on music as another remarkable attribute of his thought and closes the discussion by indicating that his texts, albeit written decades ago, can help us address today's problems.

1. Saussure's First Principle: The Arbitrariness of Linguistic Signs

Considering that Saussure is sometimes cited in news and commentary sites dedicated to the general public (see Butterfield, 2015; Kaplan, 2016; Shamim, 2021), we would be allowed to suppose that he is not a complete stranger to the majority of today's people, and some of those who have majored in a discipline of the humanities or social sciences may bethink themselves that he is the man who averred that language is arbitrary, or, more accurately, that "the linguistic sign is arbitrary" (Saussure, 2011, p. 67). At the same time, we cannot help but wonder how many of them can spell out the real import of the proposition, which, denominated "Principle I" (Saussure, 2011, p. 67), is the centerpiece of his thought and constitutes its logical nucleus. This is because, as we intimated in the preceding section, in spite of a plethora of texts that purport to clarify his theory, their exegesis often either contains an oversight or is as recondite as their master's words.

Believing that the groundbreaking facts which the Genevan linguist unearthed through his scrutiny of the first principle should be a common heritage for humanity, this section endeavors to set forth a concise version which

delineates its meat in such a plain wording as standard undergraduates and citizens interested in intellectual pursuits could understand without a hitch. Certainly, as with any genuinely novel and ingenious argument, the actual words with which the linguist first unfolded it are considerably convoluted and would strike some as arcane or *recherché* (cf. Saussure, 2011, pp. 65-70, 111-121). However, we will evince that, when dissected with a systematic approach, it can turn out to be a sort of Columbus's egg, viz., a discovery that is revolutionary but easy to comprehend once one catches the point.

What are the nuts and bolts of the protestation that *the linguistic sign is arbitrary*? In order to aptly grasp the crux of what Saussure meant therewith, one must recognize that it is far deeper than it superficially appears, harboring a double meaning. To paraphrase, it ought to be deemed as being composed of two elements or messages, and, as will be inspected, each of them is distinct and thus should be analyzed one by one. Abstractly speaking, the theorem connotes, on one hand, that the connection between a sign's *signifier* and *signified*, i.e., between a word's sound image and imagery that is called forth thereby is non-grounded, and, on the other, that the way one classifies the world with one's language is alike non-natural.

Begin with an inquiry into the first dimension, whose kernel one would have little difficulty in fathoming, for it can be explained through a casual examination into any linguistic sign. Here we take up the English word *air* as an instance to be investigated. Upon perceiving the audio image of the word, anyone who is familiar with English would automatically conjure a collection of mental images associated therewith. Still, is the linkage between its sound representation and what is evoked thereby natural? Needless to say, it is not, and, it is of

moment that this applies to every linguistic sign. To express it in another manner, the bond between a word and what it summons up in one's mind is in no way governed by a logical rule. Saussure himself stated it in the following fashion: "The bond between the signifier and the signified is arbitrary. *The idea of 'sister' is not linked by any inner relationship to the succession of sounds...which serves as its signifier*" (Saussure, 2011, p. 67; italics added). Boiled down, the first message is that the way an acoustic impression and an idea are joined in a linguistic sign never reposes on any inevitable order.

Some may reasonably and rightly feel that this case is too banal, and, indeed, it was on no account what Saussure strove to substantiate, though it is regrettable that not a few people have wrongly assumed it to be the cardinal argument the linguist had intended to contend. If he had halted his quest at this stage, he would have left no footprint on the history of linguistics, because scores of his predecessors had communicated similar assertions by the time his *Course* was made public. Amongst them is Plato. His *Cratylus* makes a persona named Hermogenes allege that the name of a thing is determined and maintained merely by a convention (see Plato, 1998). At any rate, to drive the principle's whole drift to the reader, it would behoove us to discourse on the other dimension.

Minor issues aside, let us get straight to the very heart of the matter. We have just confirmed that the two components of a linguistic sign—an auditory image and the imagery invoked by it—are, in an elegant precis by Dressman (2008), "connected by historical use and by social convention" (p. 23), and, in the meantime, it is axiomatic that our languages are made up of numerous signs of such nature. At this juncture, we should deduce two consequences. The first is that each of our languages is constitutive of a totally disparate and idiosyncratic

assemblage of arbitrary signs, and the second is that, by dint of such an assemblage, any language categorizes the world, its existences, and phenomena as per its own methodology.

Essentially, this is the second message which Saussure encoded in the principle. Once a person has mastered a language to some degree, or once a language has struck its root in a person as the mother tongue, a given system of the language will define how the person speaks, thinks and feels thenceforth; yet, our languages, each of which is a peculiar totality of linguistic signs, divide up the world in their own individual manners; therefore, no matter in which language, or in which system of linguistic signs one thinks and speaks, the way the array of signs enables one to make an experience distinctly meaningful can be counted as arbitrary. To put it differently, it exposes the sobering reality that how one articulates, that is, differentiates reality into beings in such a way that one can say something of them must be adjudged to be purely unnatural. In a word, the classification system of a language is absolutely contingent.

In sum, what Saussure accomplished with the postulation was to lay bare the arbitrariness inherent in our languages as well as in linguistic signs. We presume that some may put it down as rather self-evident or even as a boring truism; that is the reason why we called it a sort of Columbus's egg. Nevertheless, despite its simplicity, it is true that the implications which Saussure compressed into the proposition have not become a piece of our common knowledge. The majority of people still naïvely presupposes that their language is a tool to describe reality that exists prior to cognition and that a word is a label for a thing which has been already distinguished ahead of verbalization. These assumptions are plainly erroneous. Although we should never be so arrogant as to claim that ours is the definitive explanation, we would be

permitted to suppose that it can contribute to diffusing the idea to a wider audience. In the next section, we will see how a Japanese thinker had evolved Saussure's insights including these into a unique theory of our interpreting the world.

2. Keizaburo Maruyama's Duplex Articulation Theory

The theorem which we have reviewed has given an intellectual stimulus to numberless thinkers in various parts of the world, of whom Merleau-Ponty and Jacques Derrida are especially noticeable in terms of celebrity. It is crystal-clear that it offered a considerable inspiration to the latter in inventing the renowned concept of *proto-writing* (see Derrida, 1976). When compared to those personalities whose prestige has landed up at all quarters of the earth, Keizaburo Maruyama would seem a nameless figure. Few foreign scholars have alluded to the Japanese philosopher, and, in reality, it is growing rarer and rarer even for his fellow countrymen to comment on his texts. One can adduce several grounds for the gross obscurity in which he is submerged at present. While Maruyama himself is partly to blame for it because he wrote little in foreign languages, which is contrastive to his mentor Toshihiko Izutsu, the biggest reason must be his premature death, which came to pass when he was still sixty years of age.

Publicity, however, is not the infallible criterion with which to evaluate the quality and virtue of a philosopher's thought, though one ought not to rashly spurn it as an irrelevant or trivial factor. That can be partly but sufficiently proven by the fact that even eminent figures like Kierkegaard and Schelling, both of whom currently occupy a prominent position in the pantheon of philosophy, had sometimes been overlooked for a long while after their passing. As with the Dane and the German, Keizaburo Maruyama is definitely one

of those who have long been consigned to oblivion but whose work should be rediscovered. In fact, his oeuvre, numbering over a dozen books and treatises, is a fountain wherein a cornucopia of wit and wisdom is left untapped, though, naturally, a paper can debate only a few aspects thereof. Thus, as we preannounced, this section concentrates on illuminating his singular discourse upon the mechanism whereby human beings make sense of the world. If we succeed in satisfactorily elucidating his thesis that humans are, as opposed to other beings, exclusively accoutered with the *duplex articulation structure*, the readers will obtain a new perspective upon which to view both humanity and other inhabitants of this world.

At the outset, the historical context in which Maruyama had honed his thinking shall be sketched compactly. Famously, in the 1960s and 1970s, almost all scholars who were not so bigoted as to unfairly dismiss an unconventional idea had been squarely confronted with the various challenges posed by what Gustav Bergmann (1964) termed the “linguistic turn” (p. 3), which means “a turn to attention given to language as something that does not simply carry meaning, but makes meanings” (Lawler, 2013, p. 3). Needless to say, Saussure was, along with Wittgenstein and Peirce, treated as an icon by the proponents of the “movement whose general aim is to reverse the priority of thought over language” (Townshend, 2009, p. 195), though, as was stated, few fully comprehended his theory. In any case, what should be emphasized here is that language was the primary problem for the intelligentsia of that era and the notion that language plays a transcendental role in human cognition attained currency.

By the middle of the 1970s, the repercussions had spread to Japan, and, as the popularity of the idolized savants soared, thinkers in the locality would put forth a series of intriguing arguments in the ensuing decade or so. One of the pivotal

ramifications should be that the belief that linguistic ability is what decisively distinguishes the human species from other existences and humans do not directly access the world as it is but construct it through the primordial medium got prevalent, with a multitude of Japanese intellectuals of the time often defining humanity as *homo loquens* or as *homo symbolicum* (see Sugata, 1971 p. 106; Tanaka, 1984, p. 827; Yoshihara, 1984, p. 98). It is of note that Maruyama had sharpened and polished his thought within these circumstances.

That condition was conducive to refining the intellect of the Japanese philosopher who, having commenced his career as a teacher of the French language, would ascend to academic stardom with *Saussure's Thought* in 1981. If one reads the seminal volume and many of his succeeding publications, one would immediately notice that he, during a spell of anonymity, had mastered not only Saussure's ideas but also manifold theories of both eastern and western thinkers, and, in addition, had become well versed in the latest findings in scientific fields. In particular, his acquaintance with the *sciences of life* such as zoology, ethology, and evolutionary biology is astounding (see Maruyama, 1983, pp. 243-249). In all likelihood, it was this nonpareil erudition that capacitated him to detect that there were several points into which the foregoing research had not appropriately delved and to compose trailblazing texts.

His *duplex articulation theory*, having its chief theoretical foundations in the scientific theories and Saussure's thought, was a device to deal with one of the unexplored matters. In outline, the problem which he intended to probe relates to differences and parallels between humanity and other organisms. He described the task as "casting light on (dis)continuity betwixt the animal and the mankind" and, in more specific terms, as "an examination into the question of whether there is articulation prior to language or it is a

featureless, non-structured continuum” (Maruyama, 1987, p. 161). Although the quoted phrases may sound somewhat convoluted, the brass tacks are not complicated: in a nutshell, his intent was to clarify distinctive qualities of the way the human, who is undeniably an *animal* but one with *language*, *articulates*, that is, *demarcates* the world.

Preliminary to digging into the details of the theory in question, we ought to touch on its sources briefly. Once designated as his “longtime pet theory” (Maruyama, 1993, p. 116), he had actually expatiated on it again and again from the beginning of the 1980s until just before his untimely decease (see Maruyama, 1983; 1984; 1987; 1992). As one can effortlessly confirm in the cited works, it had suffered little change since its initial appearance; therefore, we assure that anyone who is adept at Japanese can get conversant therewith through any of the mentioned works, though this paper mainly quotes from his 1987 work titled *Life and Excess* because it seems that he had regarded as the last of his three magna opera (see Maruyama, 1987, p. 276).

Let us return to our muttons. The alpha and omega of the theory is condensed in the contention that “only the human animal lives in the *duplex articulation structure*” (Maruyama, 1987, p. 168). But this short quotation is just a tautology and says nothing at all. Figuratively, we must anatomize what modules make up the structure and how they are coordinated. Although we have implied a couple of times heretofore, the word *articulation*, first of all, must be understood in a broader sense than its ordinary one. One can reckon it as exchangeable for distinction, division, or *demarcation*, in that it denotes the action of differentiating something into discrete units. Next, as the adjective *duplex* strongly suggests, it consists of two (sub)systems, one of which is termed *somatic demarcation* and the other *lingual demarcation*. The two function

interdependently; still, we should be mindful that they are marked out as “heterogeneous” (Maruyama, 1987, p. 168), and, actually, each of them works according to different principles. Hence, it is incumbent on us to unpack them one by one.

The first system, *somatic demarcation*, would impress many as intelligible. It is depicted in various terms, such as “the categorization of the physical world that is peculiar to each species” and as “the sensory-motor articulation” that is “based on the instinctive scheme” (Maruyama, 1987, p. 169). Some may discern that it bears a resemblance to Jakob von Uexküll’s once renowned idea of *Umwelt*, and Maruyama (1993) admitted his intellectual debt to the scientist’s notion, declaring that “*somatic demarcation* almost corresponds to *Umwelt*” (Maruyama, 1987, p. 169). Allowing for the remark, we can safely reason that what Uexküll argued with the concept would fairly correspond to what Maruyama maintained with *somatic demarcation*. With a concrete instance, an American scholar brought forth a brilliant encapsulation of Uexküll’s discourse:

Uexküll...saw each life form as occupying its own, unique perceptual universe that is closed off to others. The bee...lives in an ultraviolet *Umwelt*, and the rudimentary environment of the common tick...correlates to nothing more than its sensitivities for the odor of butyric acid...and the temperature of 37 degrees Celsius.... (Foltz, 2011, p. 107).

Simply put, the theoretical biologist demonstrated that each one of the animals is bound to experience the world as an *Umwelt*, i.e. a construction that is always and already mediated through the totality of effectors and receptors unique to its species (see Uexküll, 1957).

We are sure that many readers may have intuited what Maruyama denominated *somatic demarcation* is like. Yet, we ought to add a few further comments on it. That is because the Japanese thinker illustrated *somatic demarcation* by invoking a

term of another body of knowledge, pronouncing it to be what produces “species-typical *gestalts*” and its function to be “turning the physical world into *gestalts* by means of natural apparatuses” (pp. 169-170). Of course, the body of knowledge is Gestalt psychology, and Maruyama (1987) made it clear that the word *gestalt* was borrowed thence (pp. 166-167), defining it as “an entirety, or a structure that cannot be divided into its elements” (p. 166). That definition, although a little untidy, is not far from that of a specialist, who stated, “A gestalt is a kind of whole...one in which the functional significance of each part is co-determined by all the other parts” (Rojcewicz, 1983, p. 267).

Welding these two types of exposition Maruyama had supplied into one and then weeding out technical jargons from it, we can spell out with confidence what the substance of *somatic demarcation* is. To cut the chase, *somatic demarcation* is an inborn system ingrained in all beings which enables every one of them to demarcate the external world into meaningful units but categorically prescribes, depending on what species it belongs to, how each of them does it.

Perhaps, some may look on the discussion hitherto conducted as commonplace or dull, fancying that it is too axiomatic that, to borrow the words of another distinguished biologist, “each animal lives in its own sensory and perceptual world” (Griel, 1984, p. 443). Still, does it apply to human beings too? True, it does to an extent, as an example that Maruyama (1987) furnished lucidly shows: “a newborn baby, without being taught anything, *somatically demarcates* the mother’s breasts and sucks them” (p. 170). Those who have a keen eye might come up with a different instance. Nonetheless, with only a transient reflection, many will realize that *somatic demarcation* does not work in us as it does in other life forms. Considering that even an essential deed for subsistence like

discriminating edible from inedible objects is not done according to the direction of our intrinsic apparatuses, one ought to logically calculate that humans have another, or an additional mechanism.

That is *lingual demarcation*, as Maruyama (1987) observed: “in my opinion, only human beings...have had another kind of *gestalts* as *excessive belongings*. This is...*lingual demarcation*” (p. 172). As is implicated by its denomination, this one is fundamentally grounded upon Saussure's Principle I, namely, the principle of the arbitrariness of linguistic signs; that being so, let us quickly remember its twofold keynote inspected in the previous section. We have checked that it contains two messages: the first is that the nexus between the signifier and the signified of a linguistic sign is contractual, and the second is that the way a language categorizes the world is also grounded on absolute contingency. What we should pay more heed to is, of course, the second because it is roughly the same as *lingual demarcation*. In short, our *language* sets many boundaries of our world, and this is *lingual demarcation* as the other module of the *duplex articulation structure*.

We had better get right straight to the very pivot. Contra other creatures for which realities are segmented on their body-based system, a large number of what human beings imagine as objective units are produced by “language in a wide sense as symbolizing proficiency and its activity”, and “whereas language, by engendering culture, has capacitated us to extend our body...., our body has, in turn, been regulated as a result of being incorporated into it” (Maruyama, 1987, p. 172). In plainer words, he theorized that, whilst it is a positive fact that humanity as a species of life possesses an assemblage of built-in, bodily instruments for organizing things and phenomena and that it operates to a degree, their world is split up by multitudinous lines drawn by language, and this is what the

statement that only mankind is equipped with the *duplex articulation structure* means.

We believe that the topics to which we promised to attend in this section have now been covered. We do not boast that the above passages perfectly illustrate the warp and woof of Maruyama's *duplex articulation theory*; all the same, we can, at least, flatter ourselves that they are able to widen its accessibility to Anglophones. Yet, in winding up this section, we feel bound to mention another important issue, i.e., that of what lessons of wisdom we can glean from the theory. Though a comprehensive investigation has to be relegated to another paper, below we offer a few remarks on the matter.

In fact, Maruyama (1987) himself extensively mooted what implications his argument would have (see pp. 174-192). In our estimation, the most instructive of them would be the seemingly outre verdict that the *duplex articulation structure* "allows humans to render the non-existent present" (Maruyama, 1987, p. 174). This is neither a paradoxical jest nor a sophistic epigram that one may spot in a text written by a mediocre philosopher. Although here we cannot duly corroborate this with other direct quotations, it should be interpreted as pithily prompting us to perceive that how innumerable objects we naïvely construct as solid realities, notwithstanding that they are effects of the agency of our language and our somatic, inbred senses would never identify them as such. Some may suspect that we bring forward the same insistence as has been set up by social constructionists and fervent exponents of the linguistic turn; however, we should be awake to an acute difference between them and Maruyama. He did not go to an extreme, sensibly acknowledging that the corporeal hardware which each of us has would be basically identical. Possibly, what Maruyama urged us to appreciate might be more straightforward, namely, the duplex fact one's

worldview is theoretically incompatible with another's and/but that we, fleshly beings, anyway coexist.

3. Maruyama on Music

His thoughts extended far beyond linguistics and of modern philosophy. He is also known as a great karaoke-lover. His interests in singing are embodied in his opus titled *Why do people sing?* In this work, entitled as it was, he did not exclusively talk about the meaning of singing and music to people. We can easily catch a glimpse of his philosophical inclinations throughout the volume, of which the most prominent is one toward *gestalts*.

Weighing between absolute and relative pitches in music, Maruyama (2014) pointed out that relative pitch is the more fundamental of the two, maintaining, "while the ability of recognizing the absolute pitch can be an effective tool for those professionally involved with music, this ability is distinguished from one's musicality" (pp. 32-34). This means that the proficiency in comprehending the *relationship* of individual sounds enables us to enjoy music; to rephrase, what counts for much of one's musicality is one's capability to recognize the pattern which a combination of individual sounds creates. The *relationship* here must be noted. It ties in with a sort of relativism, which his texts often relate to *gestalt*. Hereby he came to conclude that the essence of music rests in the "relationship", continuing, "When we try to visualize in mind the face of someone intimate, we find it practically impossible to visualize with accuracy the outline of his/her eyes, nose and other details of the face. We are only recognizing *the pattern* each part of the face builds up" (Maruyama, 2014, p. 83). With this statement he seems to have amplified his thought that the

Gestalt, as he called it, should apply to most aspects of our power of recognition.

To some, Maruyama's conclusion might sound a little hasty; however, Shin'ichi Fukuoka (2009), a Japanese molecular biologist, can support Maruyama's perspective by raising another example concerning the appreciation of arts. His view is that well-painted pictures, though segments of one are valuable enough when looked at closely, should assume far greater impression from a distance commanding the entire view of the picture (see Fukuoka, 2009, pp. 153-154). At this point, artistic designs, whether sung, played or painted, are sublimated to the perfected entirety beyond the mere aggregation of individual parts. In addition, a biological experimentation by him revealed that a single animal stem cell secluded from others did not differentiate into having any function, hence revealing the fact that an individual cell comes to assume its own part of function only through relationships with others (see Fukuoka, 2009, pp. 97-98). If this experimentation means some essence of human *gestalt*, Maruyama's insights into our musical capability must be recognized as having reached one essential nature of human existence.

Having established his own view of *gestalt* in music, Maruyama's philosophical thoughts developed into the second of his key notion, namely, the *duplex articulation structure*. As can be inferred from the previous section, *somatic demarcation* is a preconscious structure which human race had acquired in the process of evolution. When we look at this structure in terms of music, we seem to have evolved to appreciate certain combinations of individual sounds as harmonious and cosmic, making others just noises or chaotic (see Maruyama & Hasumi, 1986, p. 22).

This is a primary cognition through human sensorimotor devices, and is purely coincidental and momentary. Actually, it may be to the experiences of many of us that the same melody evokes varying memories and emotions, depending on time, place, occasion and so forth.

When a certain melody comes to create increasingly greater meaning to someone, or more practically to some group of people, it is no wonder that they felt the irresistible craving to *rule and line* it in one way or another. Needless to say, this craving is not limited exclusively to music. Whether more significant or less than music, it is this craving that had helped people develop the power to segment the obscurity of nature, and signify, thereby articulate it.

This is where *lingual demarcation* comes in, and where people are placed under the destination of living with the *duplex articulation structure*.

Maruyama does not condone the turmoil resulting from this duplex articulation structure. For Maruyama, *lingual demarcation* represents our controlled, systematized and, therefore, static daily order, while *somatic demarcation* functions in the other way round, lively and dynamically. It is no wonder when we remember that the origin of articulating things lingually rested in finding meanings in the things people's lively senses found worth signifying. In other words, people began to use signs and languages alike to petrify or even inactivate the meaning of things for convenience's sake.

These two incompatible functions, somatic and lingual, that reside altogether within each individual can sometimes produce degrees of conflicts between the systematized surface of our daily life and the *underlying energy of life*, which he compared to "magma" under earth (see Maruyama, 2014, p. 175).

Maruyama believed our sclerotic daily order could sometimes work to oppress our subconscious dynamism of life, making people feel suppressed and suffocated. This tendency, he believed, is especially strong in Japan of his time, where hardworking is a virtue and workaholism prevails. It might sound a little hasty when he connected this view with the birth of karaoke in Kobe of Japan in 1972. Here karaoke and music alike are believed to reconcile these two incompatible human mechanisms.

And yet we might be able to find a certain degree of truth in his thesis on karaoke, singing and music functioning to this reconciliatory purpose when we consider the widespread popularity of karaoke in the world, the long tradition of music handed down seamlessly from generation to generation, and the fact, as Maruyama (2014) indicated, that music has also been used for therapeutic purposes in clinical medicine.

It is a voice of the late linguist urging us not to be confined to the world systematized by lingual demarcation alone, and to listen to and sometimes act according to the outcry of our *life* which is liable to be oblivious.

The reciprocating action between the sclerotic secular world and the dynamic and energetic world within an individual is the thesis strongly advocated by Maruyama (2014) as, in his vivid phrase, the “*circular movement of life*” (see p. 186).

Let us conclude our elongated argumentation by desultorily deliberating about a remaining topic that we vowed to treat at the inception. It is, in a phrase, Maruyama’s foresight. To render this in more concrete language, his texts, albeit written decades ago, can assist today’s philosophers in, if not settling, at least freshly approaching some of the ostensibly unsolvable problems which bitterly bedevil contemporary

society as well as their cerebral stamina, and we opine that Maruyama's thought would be especially effective in addressing the problem of *diversity*. It goes without saying this is not because we can locate a panacea in his discourses. In lieu, the principal rationale is that we can gain a secure terminus a quo from which to start working through the conundrum step by step and to which to return when an attempt miscarries. More specifically speaking, what we should detect in him is a stern injunction to face up to the truth that, in trying to communicate with another, one has to commence from the recognition that the diversity of people's ways to construe the world is so vast as to defy one's any attempt at mutual understanding. Although we must peruse his texts far more closely in order to forge this cursory speculation into a sophisticated and coherent discussion, we can say that, by reading Maruyama, we can procure a clue about how we, living in an epoch wherein diverse people with diverse values, perspectives, and ideologies ceaselessly fight against each other, can cohabit without denying the primal plurality connate with our world.

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Expectations, challenges and achievements of primary school teachers during their first year of work, in Kosovo

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Abstract

The first year of work in the teaching profession is characterized by many dynamics, which can be best understood by the voices of the teachers themselves who have passed the first year of work. This qualitative research conducted through semi-structured interviews with 10 primary school teachers, from different places of Kosovo, reflects the expectations, challenges and achievements that they have experienced throughout their first year of work. The findings show that the teachers have had expectations to be supported, to be given help and cooperation from their colleagues, school board and from the parents and students. They have expected from their students to be polite, committed to lessons and disciplined. There is a difference between the expectations and the reality that these teachers have faced. Teachers have experienced many challenges during the period of the first year of work, difficulties in building relationships of cooperation and understanding with the school leadership, parents of students, classroom and student management but also achievements in relation to these.

Keywords: Teacher, first year, expectations, challenges, achievements

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Introduction

The teaching profession is quite complex. It requires reading, studying, planning and continuous effort. Teachers should have professional skills and knowledge, values, trust and professional behavior. In addition, they should express commitment for professional teaching.

All teachers face the complexity and difficulties of their job, but the category of primary teachers, especially the ones that experience their first year of work, is more special. For a beginner teacher, teaching is also training at work during the first year. Regardless of their education qualification, a teacher cannot be fully prepared for teaching (Wyatt & White, 2007). Even if a beginner teacher has qualified education before his/her service, beginner teachers require detailed instructions for the first year because of challenges like the differences they face in practice, first year of work enthusiasm, adapting to the job (Yalcinkaya, 2002). Despite how good their education qualification is, there are things that are learned only by Doing the job. The experiences achieved before the job create a case for teaching practice but the real teaching challenges start with a beginner teacher entering a class (Feiman-Nemser, 2001). So, it can be said that beginner teachers learn how to teach during their first year of work when they enter their classes. Every beginner teacher can have different experiences, but generally they experience common problems and worries related to their work (Michel, 2013), like the feeling of being without work experience, a mismatch between theory and practice, social pressure towards new teachers, the desire to do many things and the fear of discipline (Yalcinkaya, 2002). The challenges which these beginner teachers have to face are different, such as class management, lesson planning, administrative requirements and the perception of the lack of support to deal with them, relationships with colleagues, and the confrontation

with the students' parents (Dickson, Riddlebarger, Stringer, Tennant, Kennetz, 2014).

The experiences of teachers during their first year of work are different based on the context where they work when they start their job. Teachers in Kosovo finish their studies in the Faculty of Education and immediately enter a job in their profession, and they practically do not get any support or training program throughout their first years of work, as it is planned to be the mentoring program.

These teachers have to face the entering dynamics of work on their own and they are so to say left to fend for themselves regarding how much support and help they may get at their working place. It is important to listen to the voices of this category and to know more about their experiences.

This research studies the expectations and the experiences that teachers have during their first year of work, respectively, the expectations that they had regarding the job of a teacher before entering it, how different their expectations are from the practical reality, challenges that they have faced and the achievements that they have experienced throughout their first year of work. By understanding teachers' expectations better we can find ways to prevent the concept of shock regarding reality during the first year of teaching, and also find forms for supporting the beginner teachers during their first year of work. This presents the purpose of this research. More specifically this research aims to answer the following questions:

1. *What expectations did teachers have regarding their job before they started working in their profession?*
 - 1.1 *Do the expectations differ from the practical teaching reality?*
2. *Which are the challenges that primary school teachers experience during their first year of work?*

3. *Which are the achievements that primary school teachers experience throughout their first year of work?*

Literature review

Bartholomew (2007) emphasizes that a new teacher needs three to five years to master the art of teaching and the work in the classroom. When new teachers enter the class, they experience differences between their expectations of their role and the actual reality which they need to face throughout their first year of work (Inman & Marlow, 2004). Many beginner teachers are taught that after they finish their education, all they have to do is to put into practice what they have learned. Most of them go to the school where they will work with a lot of enthusiasm, full of energy and they have great expectations while they start fulfilling their longtime dream of becoming teachers. Nevertheless, from their first day of work, unlike most other jobs, beginner teachers are required to finish all the activities that their colleagues with work experience have to finish. Despite the fact that beginners lack many other aspects that an experienced teacher possesses, they must meet the same requirements once they enter the field of teaching. Sometimes, this injustice goes beyond and beginner teachers usually take the most difficult tasks of teaching (Yalçinkaya, 2002) and they are expected to finish them with as much expertise as the teachers with experience. This fact creates another difficulty in the job of a beginner teacher.

Teachers join the teaching profession with high beliefs formed during the pre-service phase in teacher training institutions, but once they join the profession, they have to face various challenges in the early stage of their career (Cain, 2012; Dayan, Parveen & Khan, 2018). As soon as they face reality, beginner teachers become responsible for managing the classes,

developing effective teaching plans, addressing the standards, taking roles and cooperating with colleagues (Redman, 2006). Class management and discipline, work with extraordinary students, determining the proper expectations regarding students, facing the stress, parents, fulfilling the documents, treating student conflicts, using different methods of teaching, treating students with disabilities and the feeling of being unprepared as teachers are other worrying aspects of first year teachers. This is also emphasized by Martin & Christopher (2020) who say that after teachers start their job, with so many roles to fulfill, they are faced with many challenges.

Murshidi, Konting, Elias & Fooi (2006) point out that when beginner teachers start their jobs, they often face a reality shock while experiencing the complexity of teaching. Teaching profession is way more complex than what young teachers think (Cookson, 2005). Teaching reality sometimes is quite different from what beginner teachers expect. They do not understand how complicated the job of a teacher can be. Many researchers have labeled the first year of teaching as a “drown or swim” scenario (Amoroso, 2005; Lundeen, 2004). What is expected of beginner teachers is to understand how to survive the challenges in class and the daily interactions with the administrators, colleagues and parents. When new teachers enter the class, a harsh reality comes into place, because they have unrealistic expectations regarding the profession of teaching before they have entered the class (Lundeen, 2004).

Also, in the study of Nahal (2010), beginner teachers express an incompatibility between their teaching expectations and actual reality during the first year. Prior to entering the class, they believed that their students would understand the lessons given in class and parents would naturally support the beginner teachers through the situations of student misbehavior. Also, they believed that students would be

naturally motivated to learn. They showed that preparatory programs do not give teachers the skills needed for class management.

Education programs in faculties and other education institutions, that offer students trainings before their first job, play an important role in preparing them for school context. The role of the faculty with preparatory programs for teachers is a successful training and prepares new teachers to fulfill the requirements of class tasks in the most effective way (Darling-Hammond & Bransford, 2005). In a previous research regarding primary school teachers, they showed that they had experienced dissatisfaction in continuing their profession as teachers because there was a disagreement, a contrast between their teaching programs and the real world of teaching (Barrett, Kutcy & Schulz, 2006; Whalen, Majocha and Nuland, 2019).

According to Kagan (1992), the notion that the theoretical frame in education programs creates the foundation of formal theory that the teachers will use during their education, needs to be reevaluated. The removal from theoretical approach and acquirement of knowledge regarding the job of a teacher in class is a necessary attribute in implementing theory into practice (Darling-Hammond, 2003). In support to this are also the results of the study made by (Nahal, 2010) where he emphasizes that the curriculum content in the preparatory programs need to give the teachers practical activities regarding teaching in class. However, even though the inadaptability of teacher preparation is emphasized by many researchers as the main factor for leaving the profession of a teacher from many beginner teachers, studies suggest that it is the quality of teaching during the first year that is important in keeping the profession of young teachers than the quality of teacher preparation or previous academic performance (Peterson & Williams, 1998).

Practice during the first years have an important effect on beginners. This can have a result in the way they act inside or outside the classroom. When a beginner teacher feels the lack of control towards what is happening around them and has a feeling of insufficiency, this directly impacts his/her attitude towards the profession and career. As the first years of teaching are incredibly important, teachers need help to support them, feel comfortable that they are going in the right direction, and achieve the goals and resources that they aim in continuing their work in a pleasant way (McCann & Johannessen, 2004). The lack of an appropriate school environment, non-supportive approach of the school board, the lack of pedagogical skills and the destructive behavior of students create obstacles for beginner teachers in their efforts to accomplish their duties in the best way (Ahmed, Faizi, & Akbar, 2020). Heller (2004) discusses the fact that new teachers are new not only in teaching but also in understanding school, its politics and its culture. Therefore, for successful classroom teaching, novice teachers need to have a supportive peer community to display feelings of satisfaction.

Building positive relationships with colleagues will help create a coalition which will secure emotional support and will impact the teachers in keeping their profession during their first year, enjoying their work and good teaching (Anhorn, 2008). Teaching can be an isolating job, especially for teachers of primary schools, where they spend most of their time in class and less in interacting with their colleagues. As the research of Koca (2016) emphasizes beginner teachers are not emotionally and practically ready to face the difficulties of teaching on their own, so they need support. Other novice teachers, although perhaps not the best people to give teaching advice, can also play an important role in the form of peer support by listening, validating and sharing experience.

Furthermore, Clark and Byrnes (2012) found that early teachers who spent time around lesson planning with a mentor and observed other teachers rated mentoring experiences as more rewarding than those who had not received this support. The feeling of being part of a community and the positive collegiality experience have been seen as important parts of a teacher's continuous professional education.

Another type of help for beginner teachers should come from the school board. The support of the school director for first year teachers is an essential factor in their general perception of support in an educational level (Quinn & Andrews, 2004). New teachers reported that they wanted the school directors to be present, positive and committed actively in the teaching life of the school (Johnson, 2006), and wanted feedback regarding their teaching and regular interactions with their directors.

In general teachers need a supportive environment, where they feel safe and free to act, therefore the help for beginner teachers is necessary. Teachers who are not given help, knowledge, training and support throughout their first year can experience the feeling of betrayal and confusion (Ingersoll, 2001). It is a fact that they are unprepared in the beginning and it is understandable for them to need help. Entering a class with a lack of experience can cause negative feelings for beginner teachers. This can lead to the feeling of isolation, which might later on result in undesirable situations like leaving the profession (Pelin, 2019).

But if teachers are in a supportive school environment, they will better understand the tools of effective practices of teaching. Their personal ideas regarding teaching and learning can be better discussed in such an environment. A supportive environment will enable teachers to acquire skills that cannot be taught in preparatory programs, that can be successful and

helpful for the classes where beginner teachers work or will work in the future.

Research methodology

The qualitative methodology has been used for this research. Gathering of the data has been achieved by using semi-structured interviews. The population chosen for getting a sample for this research was teachers that have finished their first year of work. The sample was chosen with intentional methodology. Ten teachers were part of the study, all of them were females, who worked at different places in Kosovo (3 from Prishtina, 1 from Podujeva, 2 from Istog, 2 from Klina, 1 from Decan and 1 from Fushe Kosove). Four of the interviewed teachers worked in rural areas while 6 of them in urban areas. All of the teachers had finished bachelor studies, 8 from the Faculty of Education in Prishtina and 2 others from the Faculty of Education in Gjakova. The interviews were conducted during the period between October and December 2020, each interview lasting approximately 45 minutes; they were first recorded and then transcribed. Thematic analysis was used in order to analyze the data.

Results

The interviews with primary school teachers, who had finished their first year of work in teaching, were conducted with the purpose to show a general description of the expectations that they had before starting their profession, how much the expectations differed from reality, the challenges that they had and the achievements that they experienced throughout their first year of work. In accordance with the research questions,

the results were divided into three parts: expectations, challenges and achievements.

Expectations

This part presents a summary of the expectations that the teachers had before entering the profession of teaching and a discovery on how the expectations differed from the practical reality. From the interviews made with the teachers, these are the topics that were discussed:

Topic 1: The expectations of support from colleagues

Teachers in the first year of work have an expectation that they will have the support of their work colleagues, a moral support including understanding, help and cooperation, by being close and cooperative, by sharing their experiences and giving advice regarding teaching aspects, by supporting them in any difficulties they may encounter, and introducing them to the environment and school culture, so that they can make them feel welcomed at school.

- *I needed moral support, sharing experiences with me, getting advice on how I should approach students. G. A.*
- *Support regarding any difficulty I would encounter during my work. F. B.*
- *Advice on getting to know the new school, and its advantages and disadvantages. F. A.*

Generally, all teachers emphasize the fact that there is no big difference between what they had expected from their colleagues and the practical reality, as their colleagues were supportive since the very beginning, they welcomed the new teachers and advised them about many aspects of teaching, especially regarding administrative issues at school.

Topic 2: The expectations of support from the school board

Teachers expect to have the support of the school board. More specifically, they expected to be given instructions regarding school, internal rules, moral support and information on teaching and extracurricular activities, to be offered close communication, professional and practical support in cases where they would be faced with difficult situations.

- *I needed professional and practical support during the first days of work. F. A.*
- *I expected that whenever I had a problem e.g. if there was a student in class with whom I could not coordinate, the school director's office would manage that student or at least help me find a solution on what to do. F. S.*

There is a difference between the expectations that the teachers had towards the school board and the practical reality they had encountered. Almost all the teachers declared that they had expectations that the school board would take into consideration the fact that it's their first year of work, but they had been treated the same way as the teachers with many years of experience. Also, the professional level required from them was the same as the one from teachers with experience. This is how teacher G. A. expressed herself:

- *I expected that they would take into consideration the fact that I am in the beginning of my career and I need instructions but when I got hired, I was considered the same as the colleagues who had been working for many years.*

Often the teachers faced a cold and indifferent attitude from the directors. They have formal relationships with the directors, where they discuss submitting an educational plan and not any substantive discussion. Furthermore, the teachers' requests for help in specific situations like dealing with parents or

problematic students, were often avoided by being promised that they would find a solution but they did not.

- *Even though I have gone to the school director's office of the to discuss this, I have been told that these are the conditions at school, and I was not given the support I had requested. F. S.*

Topic 3: The expectations regarding student behavior differ from practical reality

There is a difference between the teachers' expectation regarding student behavior during their first year of work with the reality they have faced. Student behavior management was not seen as a problem for the teachers but it was one of the things they were challenged in the beginning of their career. They expected that the students would act the way the teachers expected them, they would strictly follow the instructions given, all the students with no exception would do the homework, would respect each other, would be disciplined, would possess high politeness, would be focused during class and would obey teachers' requests.

- *I expected the students to be polite, focused in class and hard-working. F. B.*
- *I have not imagined that it would be so difficult to manage them, maybe because there was a high number of students in class. I expected that they would act the way I would tell them to and they would follow my instructions, and they would do their homework and respect each other. G. A.*

Topic 4: The expectations regarding support and cooperation with the parents differ from practical reality.

Teachers had expectations that they would find understanding and cooperation with the parents, because they believed that parents would understand that teachers make decisions based on what is best for the students and they work for their own

good, so they expect the approval from the parents. All the teachers emphasize that they have expected that the parents would be continuously interested in the success of their children, would be real and cooperative, participate in school activities or at home with the students, and show higher interest. The teachers always emphasize that they found these expectations in the majority of the parents but there were specific cases that did not fulfill the teachers' expectations, and this was a characteristic for each interviewed teacher.

- *I expected to have good and cooperative relationships for the benefit of their children. F. B.*
- *My expectations were to develop strong cooperative relationships with the parents, but not all parents respond the same way. G. H.*

There is a difference between the general expectations the teachers had at the beginning of their careers. Teaching has been perceived as a more abstract process and an ideal one where teachers have thought that they would achieve their ideas, organize their classes, and have an immediate impact in the students' life and performance.

- *I expected that I would have no bad students in my class, but I have understood that this does not entirely depend on me as a teacher. G. H.*
- *I expected that I would achieve my ideas on how to organize the class, and how much I would have an impact in my students' lives, but in reality, this was way harder than I thought. G. A.*

Challenges

The teachers were asked regarding the challenges they had experienced during the first year of work. Based on their answers the following topics were discussed:

Topic 5: Challenges concerning the school board

During the first year of work, teachers were faced with many challenges, for which they were not prepared. One of them was creating a relationship with the school board. The teachers explain that their relationships are very formal and they do not have any close relations, in the sense of creating discussions, talking about issues that worry them; their relationship is more official, usually it concerns lesson planning that needs to be sent every two months. There is no deep connection with the school director's office: two teachers emphasize a cold attitude and sometimes even an arrogant approach towards the teachers.

Also, the fact that teachers throughout their first year of work expected to be treated differently from the teachers with work experience, and that account would be taken of the fact that it's the beginning of their career and they do not have any practical experience, makes it hard and challenging for beginner teachers to build a strong and cooperative bond with the school board.

- *The school board needs to create a cooperative relationship, something that the school board where I work does not do.* V. SH.
- *Usually, the relationship has been very formal – official.* G. H.
- *Yes, because of his aggressive and arrogant approach in some cases.* F. A.

Topic 6: Challenges related to students

One of the biggest challenges faced by teachers during the first year of work has been student management, something that they did not think would be so difficult. Persuading the students to respect class rules, fulfilling the school requirements like homework or taking care of the class environment, and the creation of prosocial, stable and long relationships with students has been a challenge. Moreover, creating strong

relationships and genuine communication between them and the students was also a challenge, where teachers continuously try to research and find methods or techniques to achieve some improvement.

A phenomenon in itself, which has remained as an unsurpassed challenge for the teachers, was the fact that they had students with disabilities inside their classes. This situation is considered as very difficult for the teachers who have not had any prior knowledge regarding work with disabled children and who had not received any specific prior training during their studies.

- *The challenges were researching and finding methods or techniques to achieve improvements. F. A.*
- *My biggest challenge was that I had students with disabilities in my class without any assistants and I had to work with them and the other students at the same time. F. B.*
- *Challenges related to student behavior included convincing them to respect class rules, and fulfill their responsibilities like homework or taking care of class environment. G. A.*

Topic 7: Challenges in relation to students' parents

Although teachers declared that generally they had managed to create relationships of understanding with the students' parents, they emphasized that they needed to do a lot more work to overcome many challenges. One challenge was to establish relationship with the parents of the students who had shown no commitment in class, since the parents did not always responded to the invitations to meet the teachers for cooperation. Even more challenging were the experiences with those parents who did not agree with the teachers' opinions. One of the teachers mentioned that they did not have matching opinions with the parents because the parents considered their children as extraordinary students, with high intelligence,

where in reality those students' performance was average in comparison with their peers. This prevented teachers from creating a close relationship with some students' parents.

- *Our opinions regarding students' success and performance at school did not match and that was a challenge; this happened because some parents thought their children were extraordinary and super intelligent; however, their performance in class was average in comparison with their peers. G. A.*

During the first year of work teachers were faced with judgements created by the parents. For example, teacher F. S. mentioned that the fact that she was young and requested parents' cooperation in order to improve the students' performance, the parents expressed lack of trust and doubted her skills only because she was young.

- *When I asked a parent to help their child at home, to practice together so that they would get the result they wanted, the parent said: - maybe you do not know how to explain because you are young and you don't understand children, why don't you ask your colleagues. This was very disappointing for me.*

Other challenges had to do with the lack of interest from some parents to take part in parent meetings and discussions on issues of interest for both parts.

- *The lack of interest in parent meetings to discuss issues which would interest both parties. F. A.*

Generally, teachers think that everything is a challenge during the first year of work, from the moment they enter the class and then with everything they need to deal with. There are many elements which teachers have not thought about or expected to deal with. This is how teacher G. A. expressed herself.

- *During the studies I imagined the job of a teacher would be easier, I did not think that I would have to deal with a lot of administrative work, meetings inside school, other obligations regarding school,*

meetings and requests from the parents. I thought I would have to deal more with students and work inside the class, but it turned out to be a lot more work than I had expected.

They had never expected that some of the teachers would have to work with children with disabilities or, as the case of teacher V. Sh., with combined classes.

- *I work with combined classes, and I had never thought about it. As a student I completed my pedagogical practice in a class but when I got hired as a teacher my work was way more different than what I did in my practice. Everything was more different, as at first I have a one-hour lesson with two classes, then I have lesson with one group for a few minutes and then manage the other group within one class.*

There were also challenges related to creating a relationship with the school board or even with work colleagues, time-management, class management, creating equality and students' work habits, the lack of didactic equipment to create teaching activities. What makes it harder to face these challenges is the fact that apart from moral support from the work colleagues, teachers do not have any type of support from anyone else through the first year of work, and they are not even trained at university how to overcome such challenges. This is something that the teachers have expressed:

- *Work with the parents and the students has been the hardest one, we have not had any prior preparation at the university. F. S.*
- *Class management is easier when you have less students in your class and when you do not have any students with disabilities and you need to be prepared even for these cases, but we did not have something like that at university. F. B.*
- *The challenge was evaluating the students. We did not have any information at work or any preparation at the university. G. H.*

Achievements

This part presents a description of the achievements that the teacher believe they have accomplished during the first year of work. Based on their answers the following topics were discussed:

Topic 8: Achievements in regards to colleagues and the school board

Teachers declare that during the first year of work they have experienced a few achievements in regards to the relationships with their colleagues and the school board. Within a year they have managed to build healthy relationships with their work colleagues, they have learned how to work in a group, how to go through challenges of creating cooperative relationships and they have developed the responsibility for the common success of the school and they have achieved this by cooperating. This type of cooperation was nonjudgmental and supportive, which gave them the chance to discuss the difficulties that they had with students' behavior or performance in class, and regarding administrative aspects like lesson planning or school rules. These gave the teachers a feeling of support and belonging at school. Also, in regards to the relationship with the school board, it is emphasized that they have created a good relationship and mutual respect, not any deeper relationships.

- *The help especially in the administrative aspect of work with the class journal, sometimes even clarifying the procedure of a class lesson. G. H.*
- *We have often discussed different difficulties with different students and we have created a good understanding without feeling prejudiced. SH. O.*

Topic 9: Achievements in class and student management

The teachers state that during the first year of work they have reached many accomplishments regarding class management and relationships with the students. Establishing order in class, creating a discipline, students obeying the rules, positive attitude in class, and instilling good habits and eliminating bad habits have been some of the things they have accomplished. One of the teachers who worked with first graders explains how hard it was for her in the beginning because of student behavior in class since they were used to preschool that allowed them to be freer, without rules or responsibilities. As time passed, she managed to restore order and discipline in class. Generally, all teachers state that it took them a while to put order and set rules in class. They consider good communication with students also an achievement, and they have tried to find ways to engage all students and ensure their participation and commitment in lessons. Although at the beginning it was hard for them to manage time for class activities, they have achieved better use of time in organizing activities.

- *Setting rules, students obeying the rules, and time management for organizing activities. G. A.*
- *Students' positive attitudes. Learning good habits and eliminating some bad ones which we have noticed from the beginning of our work with them. G. H.*

Topic 10: Achievements in regards to relationships with the students' parents

Teachers declare that they have managed to build cooperative relationships with the students' parents. They have developed their communication skills gradually, through meetings and discussions with parents where they were better informed about the students' characteristics, which helped them find the

right approach towards the students. They also state that they managed to earn parents' trust and respect, which in the beginning was not easy. They describe that they needed to do a lot of work in the beginning in order to find the right communication approach with the parents since at first, they felt unsecure regarding how they would welcome them. Two of the teachers confess how they felt worried regarding how the parents would accept them and how their young physical appearance would impact their doubts in the skills that the teachers have in teaching.

- *I did not know how they would accept me in helping their children with their future, and I believed that my young physical appearance would make them doubt my teaching skills. V. Sh.*
- *I have gradually developed my communication skills; I have created a language of understanding and I was open to the possibility of cooperating with the parents. G. A.*

Discussion

The previously-shown findings of the research make us take into consideration things that teachers go through in the beginning of their careers. As McCann & Johannessen (2004) emphasize, the first years of teaching are incredibly important. Teachers need help and support in order to feel like they are in the right path and achieve their resources so that they can continue working in a satisfying manner. The results of this research also confirm that teachers need support, help and guidance on many aspects of teaching from all sides of the school and also it is an expectation of them in the first year of work to have this. Therefore, it is important to give them the right support so that they can have their job easier at the beginning and not experience shock from the practical reality from the beginning, because, as the research results show, there

are differences between the way they have perceived or had expectations about teaching in the beginning and during the first year, when they face things they never imagined they would face, such as managing classroom, time and problematic students' behaviors, building relationships with the school leadership, relations with parents, accomplishment of administrative tasks, work with students with special needs, work with combined classes and lack of didactic equipment.

According to the research results of Brannan and Bleisten (2012), beginner teachers need support and what they mean by support is information about youth psychology, resources and logistical knowledge provided by colleagues. Building positive relationships with colleagues will help in creating a coalition that will secure emotional support and will impact new teachers in staying in their profession, finding satisfaction in it and creating good relationships (Anhorn, 2008). Based on the results of the study, teachers had the moral support and help in administrative aspects, like how to fill in the class diary or how to plan the lessons. Their colleagues showed willingness in supporting new teachers. This willingness should be used in order for the new teachers to have bigger support during their first year of work in teaching. The mentoring process can be a solution. As a result, new teachers will learn from the experiences of experienced teachers, and they can adjust those with the problematic situations which they will face. This can be done through class observations from the colleagues, meetings with experienced teachers where they discuss topics which preoccupy the new teachers and they have the chance to listen to the experiences of their colleagues with work experience. As Richards & Farrell (2005) emphasize, when beginner teachers analyze a case, they have the possibility to benefit from the practices of experienced teachers. Resnick (1991) mentions that the interactions between beginner teachers

and their colleagues are the key to the development of learning activities in teaching and learning. Professional discussions between colleagues are mentioned also by Feiman-Nemser (2001) who says that this interaction between beginner and experienced teachers helps them share experiences and instruct beginner teachers to learn from their mistakes. This should not be done only by the experienced colleagues; the school board plays a great importance also. The support of the school principal is a main factor in their general perception regarding support at school (Quinn & Andrews, 2004).

The school board has a decisive role because they need to organize meetings to get to know each other and create a healthy and friendly relationship between colleagues. This is an aspect that should be taken into consideration, and a phenomenon that requires improvement in our case, because as the results of this research show teachers see this relationship with the school board as a challenge and they have not offered help besides moral support. The relationship with them has been formal and there was no initiation to help from their side, and in some cases, they have kept an indifferent and cold approach.

Thus, mentoring processes inside school need to be initiated by the school board. Besides this, they can expand the cooperation network even with other schools, for instance, the partnership between schools and beginner teachers to create a professional community for teaching which would ease the process and share the experiences (Fantilli & McDougall, 2009). As Barkhuizen (2011) mentions, beginner teachers need not only the stories of experienced teachers, but also to analyze each other's cases, because they can experience similar challenges. Organizing such meetings between beginner teachers from other schools can be beneficial in this case.

Another thing that should be taken into consideration is the quality and the content of the study programs during the phase before working. The faculties which have been specialized for preparing the teaching staff for primary school should include in their courses content that is relevant and helps teachers to have the proper preparation at the stage when they begin to serve as teachers. As the results of the research show, a considerable part of the teachers think that they are not sufficiently prepared for aspects such as administrative work, about teacher's diary, lesson planning, meetings with parents, relations with leadership and colleagues, evaluation process, or work with children with special needs or even with combined classes. They may be generally informed about these issues only in theory. To make teachers' job easier, these need to be taken into consideration and as Ingersoll (2001a) explains, teachers that are not given help, knowledge, training and support during the first year of their work experience a feeling of betrayal and confusion and as a result they pull back from their profession.

Conclusion

This research has examined the expectations and the differences between primary school teacher expectations and the practical reality that they had to face. Also, the challenges and expectations that they have experienced during the first year of their work.

The research has provided the conclusion that teachers in their first year of work expect support, understanding, help and cooperation from their colleagues and school board. From their students they expect to be polite, to listen and follow the teacher's instructions, be committed to their lessons and disciplined. As for the students' parents, they have expected

understanding and cooperation. There is a difference between the expectations and the practical reality that the teachers have experienced. They had to face many challenges throughout their first year of work journey, such as difficulties in building understanding and cooperative relationships with the school board, the students' parents, class and student management and situations which they never thought would be part of their job. However, teachers have experienced achievements in regards to their relationship with work colleagues, school board, class and student management and the relationship with the students' parents during their first year.

By having in mind, the results of the research regarding expectations, challenges and achievements that primary school teachers have experienced during their first year of work, there are many elements which should be taken into consideration, such as the possibility to use the willingness of the teachers with experience to mentor the teachers of first year of work, redefining the role of the school board in regards to helping and supporting teaching during their first year of work. In addition, consideration should be given to the program content and the preparation from the faculties which are specialized to train primary school teachers. All of these elements have to do with offering possibilities to teachers in the beginning of their career, and give them the chance to create strong relationships, commitment, success and pleasure in the teaching profession.

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The Space of Enforced Disappearance

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Abstract

Enforced disappearance is a pertinent issue, particularly in the context of Pakistan and many other developing countries. However, the phenomenon of 'enforced disappearance' and the presence of a corresponding 'penal architecture' characterized by its 'invisibility' and 'unknowability' has not been given sufficient scholarly attention. Most of the literature available on enforced disappearance describes it as a tool of terror used by the state (or its agents). What is not focused on is the relation that exists between the phenomenon of enforced disappearance and the sovereign in the modern state. I unveil this relationship and explore its implications on our understanding of the concept of sovereignty by formulating arguments derived mainly on Arendt and Agamben's concepts of 'appearance' and 'bare life' respectively. I argue and establish that enforced disappearance is an 'exceptional' phenomenon that results in the placement of an individual outside the protection of law into the 'space of exception' that is a complete and imposed negation of the space of appearance. Furthermore, the relationship between the sovereign and appearance is explored.

Keywords: Enforced disappearance, space of appearance, exception, bare life, sovereignty, action

Introduction

'The need to lend a voice to suffering is the condition of all truth'
– Theodor W. Adorno

At some distance from Pakistani city Quetta a cemetery has been established by Edhi Foundation, a non-profit welfare organization. This is the cemetery of the unidentified people and buried underneath are 150 tortured dead bodies that were found dumped in remote areas (Baloch, 2019). The corpses before being dumped into some unmarked pit or an anonymous mass grave are sprayed with chemicals or limestone powder so that they decompose beyond recognition by the time they are found. However, this cemetery of the unknown is not the first to have been established and the discovery of mutilated, tortured, decomposed, and unnamed bodies is not an infrequent phenomenon in Pakistan. A mass grave, of four mutilated and decomposed bodies, was found on 17th July 2018 in the Panjgur district of Balochistan. The discovery was made by a truck driver on his way from the border village of Parom to Panjgur town. When the news reached Panjgur city relatives of *missing persons* were the first to reach the place where the mass grave was found hoping that the corpses might be of their lost relatives (Balochistan Times, 2018).

This is the fate of the victims of enforced disappearances. In most of the cases, this is how they reappear from the dark dungeons of secret detention facilities and rejoin their families if they ever are identified. According to available records, between 2010 and 2015 a total of 4557 dead bodies of involuntarily disappeared individuals were found (Badalič, 2019, p. 161). In other cases, the disappeared never come back and their whereabouts remain unknown. Idris Khattak, a human rights activist, has not been seen and heard from since

November 13, 2019. It has been six months but his whereabouts remain unknown (Human Rights Watch, 2020). The family has filed a *habeas corpus* petition in the Peshawar high court but how the *corpus* can be produced before the magistrate when it is precisely the body, which the law needs for its application, that has been placed outside the protection of the law and has been thrown into the land of the disappeared?

According to the International Convention for the Protection of All Persons from Enforced Disappearance:

Enforced disappearance is considered to be the arrest, detention, abduction or any other form of deprivation of liberty by agents of the State or by persons or groups of persons acting with the authorization, support or acquiescence of the State, followed by a refusal to acknowledge the deprivation of liberty or by concealment of the fate or whereabouts of the disappeared person, which place such a person outside the protection of the law. (Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights [OHCHR], 2006)

As the definition itself suggests, enforced disappearance is different from other forms of abduction in that it involves involuntary detention by state agencies. The disappeared person is then moved to a secret detention center and the clandestine attitude surrounding these detention facilities makes it difficult to trace the disappeared person thus hindering the due process of law. The Commission of Inquiry on Enforced Disappearances reported that 2141 cases of enforced disappearance are yet to be resolved (COIED, 2020). However, the figure given by NGOs and other local human rights groups is far more. As Banu Bargu (2014) states victims of enforced disappearance face an *agglutinative* human-rights violation. Involuntary disappearance violates the right to security, right not to be subjugated to torture or other degrading punishment, right to humane conditions of

detention, right to legal personality, the right to fair trial, and sometimes the right to life. In short, the person who is disappeared is stripped of all the political and legal rights and is as such reduced to a mere object of search, the person having been dispossessed of every protection is thus reduced to *bare life*. A life that according to Agamben lacks all the protection of law since it exists outside the law and is exposed to the unrelenting violence. But what precedes the violation of these rights? What is it that is denied to the disappeared before being dispossessed of any of the rights mentioned above?

‘Although torture continued, I was happier as I had someone to talk to. But he too was shifted to another cell after a few days and I was once again left alone’ said Haji Naseer, former mayor of the Mand town and Finance Secretary of Balochistan National Movement (BNM) who was forcefully disappeared on July 24, 2004, in an interview after being released (Balochistan Times, 2018). He was kept in isolation in Quetta cantonment where he was subjected to repeated interrogation and third-degree torture for several weeks. He felt happy when more detainees were brought to the same cell because now he was in the company of people who were *equal* to him. The state in which Haji Naseer found himself i.e. the realization of the absence of others and the desire to be among equal others shows how the human multiplicity, the cohabitation of the world by equals, gives meaning to individual life.

Therefore before being stripped of all political and legal rights, the person who disappeared by force is deprived in the first place of the world that he holds in common with others. He is deprived of the space where he could appear to others as others appear to him (the Arendtian *space of appearance*) and his existence is reduced to a state of being singular since he is no longer in human company. Enforced disappearance is a state of

complete dispossession where not only the rights are taken away but also a closure of the world of appearance occurs where one can disclose one's identity in the manner of action and speech.

Statement of Purpose

The political existence of human beings has been defined in different ways since the time of Aristotle. Understanding of an individual as a political being has taken various shapes over the course of history and so has the understanding of the means to oppress him and to negate his political existence taken different shapes. Enforced Disappearance is one such phenomenon that exists as a repudiation of an individual's political existence, as a direct negation of being-among-others (appearance) to which Arendt has given paramount importance. In this paper, I attempt to interpret Enforced Disappearance as an *exceptional* phenomenon that is characterized by the suspension of all legislation in which an individual is caught as *bare life*. This paper will discuss the following questions at length:

1. What does it mean to politically exist in spaces of visibility and invisibility?
2. What is the relationship between political action and Enforced Disappearance?
3. What happens to the one who is disappeared by force?
4. What is the relationship between sovereignty and 'Appearance'?

Review of the Literature

Enforced disappearance to this date remains an understudied topic in political theory. Not enough attempts have been made to theorize the phenomenon of enforced disappearance and,

hence, to understand the political and philosophical questions it raises. Literature available on enforced disappearances is usually limited in scope to define it as a mere tool of terror used by the government to repress and dominate resistance¹.

Bargu (2014), however, in her essay "Sovereignty as Erasure: Rethinking Enforced Disappearance" explains and theorizes the phenomenon of enforced disappearance in a very compelling way by reading Hobbes through Foucault mainly. Bargu's work is, nevertheless, insufficient to understand the phenomenon of enforced disappearance in its totality. Although Bargu talks about the enforced disappearance as a manifestation of the erasing effect of sovereignty, her argument is primarily focused on defining the invisibility and the associated erasing effect of the practice of enforced disappearance. Her thesis, however, does not help us understand the connection between political activity, at the very fundamental level of being born human, and sovereignty. To understand in more depth about the implications of enforced disappearance on our understanding of sovereignty it is important to focus on what happens to the one disappeared by force.

Arendt gave paramount importance to one of the three human activities that constitute *vita activa*; Action. Whereas the other two activities i.e. work and labor are visible activities but they do not depend on their *appearingness* and can take place in isolation too, action cannot because it becomes possible only when it appears to others (Arendt, 1998, p. 22). Since action cannot take place in the absence of others, therefore, the human condition of *action* according to Arendt is plurality, which simply means that one lives in a world inhabited by other humans and not by a singular individual (Arendt, 1998, p. 7).

The world is inhabited by a multiplicity of human beings, each of whom is equally distinct from the other and

each holds a specific identity that cannot be shared by anyone else. It is only through action and speech that humans disclose to each other their unique distinctness (Arendt, 1998, p. 176). For when humans act they appear to each other not as mere objects but as *human beings*; equal and distinct. Appearance, therefore, is both the result and the condition of action; it is only in acting that one can appear to others like him and it is the very appearingness of human beings that makes action possible.

When individuals appear to each other in the manner of action and speech they give rise to a space of visibility, called by Arendt 'the space of appearance'. In this space, all individuals appear to each other as equal and disclose to each other their unique personal identities (Arendt, 1998, p. 179). This space of appearance is a political space because when human beings act and speak together they give rise to a political realm. This space corresponds to the Greek polis that constituted the public realm where individuals could initiate their *bios politikos*. No doubt, Arendt's conception of politics as action is directly influenced by the Greek political structure and the political writings of Aristotle. To act, for Arendt, is so important that he who does not act cannot be called human anymore because to act is to appear among others and since appearance is the only possible way to be recognized as equal and distinct, therefore, any abstention from taking the *initiative* to insert oneself to the scrutinizing and equalizing eye of others, to the public realm, is equivalent to live a non-human life (Arendt, 1998, pp. 176,199). The action to which Arendt refers is not merely intelligible action but meaningful action because in appearing together as such humans give rise to power relations that either attract or repel attention (Marquez, 2012). The power that springs from acting and speaking together of *equal* individuals spreads symmetrically across the space of

appearance and each actor is equally powerful. Abstention from appearance means to live a non-political life characterized by impotency because it is no longer lived among humans and, therefore, is non-human life (Arendt, 1998, pp. 200-203). The question here is what if this condition of non-politicalness and impotency originating from disappearance is not assumed by the individual based on his own will but imposed, or rather enforced by someone else? Arendt's description of what it is to be among others (*inter homines esse*), to appear to them, to act and, therefore, to exist (politically speaking), compels me to raise the question that what it is to be in a state of *imposed* or *forced* negation of this state of being among others?

It is here that the phenomenon of enforced disappearance becomes relevant. Having known the consequences of not appearing to others and leading a politically inert life (in other words, deliberate non-participation in the public realm) it is possible to extend Arendt's thesis by including another space of invisibility besides the private space and the space of disappearance. This third space of invisibility is the subject of our analysis here. Since the invisibility we are concerned here with is imposed, it can be argued (based on Arendt's conception of action as appearance) that this disappearance is an imposed negation of everything that constitutes the space of appearance; and as the latter is the space where humans exist as humans, in the former a form of life is produced that can be called anything but human. The fact that this invisibility is enforced by the State or its agents impels us to bring into discussion the work of one of the most prominent theorists of modern sovereignty of our time: Giorgio Agamben.

It is important to discuss Giorgio Agamben because expanding upon Arendt's thesis alone would be insufficient to understand and theorize the phenomenon of enforced

disappearance. What is it to be forcefully withdrawn from the space of appearance? Who possesses the power over appearance in the political hierarchy? What are the political implications of such exclusion? These are the questions for which Arendt does not give us an answer. Therefore, in order to unveil the connection between the 'sovereign' and appearance, it is important to discuss Agamben, in this context. Agamben's *homo sacer* represents a life that has been condemned and excluded from the political. A life that has been denied to live among others. *Homo sacer* is a figure who has been *abandoned* and excluded from the city, the polis and so represents a life that is deprived of politicalness i.e. a *dis-politicized* life. However, Agamben unlike Arendt does not take into consideration the relationship between appearance and political action while discussing politicalness or the lack thereof.

As mentioned already, it is my contention to theorize enforced disappearance as an *exceptional phenomenon*. The state of exception according to Agamben is given rise to by the suspension of the juridical order following the sovereign's decree. It's a zone of indistinction between inside and outside; between norm and chaos and that which is excluded into this exception does not become irrelevant to the rule but rather maintains itself in relation to the rule that applies to the exception in no longer applying (Agamben, 1998, pp. 17-18). State of exception could be characterized by either a temporary suspension of norm following an emergency (like war) or permanent suspension of the juridical order through the visible localization of the state of exception as in the form of Nazi concentration camps that constituted the absolute state of exception (Agamben, 1998, p. 20). Excluded into the state of exception is a life that has been banned and to which the law applies in no longer applying. To symbolize this inclusive

exclusion of the life Agamben uses a figure from Roman antiquity deemed as *homo sacer* by Roman law. The *homo sacer* is the embodiment of a life that can be killed with impunity but cannot be sacrificed (Agamben, 1998, p. 82). The life of the *homo sacer* is natural life that is exposed to death; bare life. The production of bare life or sacred life, therefore, constitutes the originary function of sovereign power. And it is in the production of bare life that the sovereign power and biopower intersect each other in the modern state (Agamben, 1998, pp. 6-7). A deeper analysis of what shape the life of forcefully disappeared takes in the space of enforced disappearance and what characterizes this space will help us find the point where the theses of both Arendt and Agamben can be made to converge.

Section – 1: Space of Appearance and Meaningful Action

‘The space of appearance’, according to Hannah Arendt, ‘comes into being wherever individuals are together in the manner of speech and action’ (Arendt, *The Human Condition*, 1998, p. 199). It’s a space where human beings can appear to each other, not as inanimate objects or other living things but as *acting* and *speaking* human beings who are unique and distinct. Appearance, therefore, presupposes the existence of other men, the recipients of appearances, otherwise to appear would make no sense. Action, from which the space of appearance originates, is one of the three fundamental human activities constituting the *vita activa*. Unlike fabrication and laboring, the human activity of *action* (and speech) to manifest itself presupposes the existence of a space of appearance and other men².

Action, therefore, corresponds to the human condition of *plurality* (the existence of other individuals in the world) that is

characterized by *equality* and *distinctness*. And it is in action and speech that equality and distinctness of individuals are revealed (Arendt, *The Human Condition*, 1998, p. 176). According to Arendt the nature of the world is phenomenal where 'nothing and nobody exists whose being does not presuppose a spectator' and human is not merely a subject all the time but also exists as objectively as a 'stone or a bridge' (Arendt, *The Life of the Mind*, 1978, p. 25). However, human beings appear to each other not merely as physical objects to be experienced and used giving birth to what Buber called an *I-It* relationship. Arendt avers that the revelation of unique distinctness of humans through action and speech occurs only when they appear to each other, not as objects, but as other distinct acting subjects who too experience and know the world (Arendt, *The Human Condition*, 1998, p. 176). In other words, human beings appear as unique and distinct to each other when they are engaged in a non-objectifying way through the communicative exchange, as subjects who form and belong to a world in common. Therefore, the action that constitutes and takes place in the space of appearance is not just like every other social activity but is, in fact, *meaningful action* (Marquez, 2012).

Meaningful action means to take an initiative to enter into the realm of visibility where the disclosure of the unique identity of individuals can take place through speech as constitutive action. For 'in acting and speaking', says Arendt, 'men reveal who they are, reveal actively their unique personal identities and thus make their appearance in the human world' (Arendt, *The Human Condition*, 1998, p. 179). Since to act means *to initiate something* or *to set something in motion*, it shows that meaningful activity is meant to achieve (Greek *prattein*) a specific purpose in concert with other individuals who reveal to each other their unique identities and appear as equals because

the power that arises out of the sheer togetherness of human beings in the space of appearance is equally distributed among the participants (this point will become more clear in the third section of this paper). The meaningfulness of action with which Arendt is concerned becomes even more clear when she says that to take this initiative; to step into the world where the *who* (like the *daimon* accompanying every man according to Greeks) will disclose itself to the gaze of spectators involves a certain connotation of *courage* i.e. courage and *willingness* to appear and to begin a story of one's own in the public realm. Arendt writes that 'courage and even boldness are already present in leaving one's private hiding place and showing who one is, in disclosing and exposing one's self' (Arendt, *The Human Condition*, 1998, p. 186). This close association between appearance and courage manifests itself in the figure of heroes who were called *andres epiphaneis*³ in the Greek linguistic custom, which means 'men who completely manifest themselves'.

This meaningful action carried out in concert with others is political for it occurs in the political realm, the potential space of appearance. Since the action is conditioned by the plurality ('the condition of all political life'), it is directly related to the public part of the world; the part of the world that is shared by men; the objective world of tangible things that exists between human beings as well as the intangible world of human affairs that forms the world in-between. However, the action is not merely a constituent of the public/political realm but is also constitutive of this realm because the 'political realm rises directly out of acting together', through the, 'sharing of words and deeds' (Arendt, *The Human Condition*, 1998, p. 198).

To appear in the manner of speech and action, therefore, is what makes possible the political existence of men. How shall we theorize then the phenomenon of enforced disappearance,

the victims of which inhabit a terrain that is the exact opposite of all political activity and visibility that it engenders?

All the victims of enforced disappearances in Pakistan were engaged in a certain politically meaningful activity. Most of those who have gone missing (or those who went missing but reappeared as dead bodies or those who were fortunate enough to reappear from the dark dungeons) are either members of nationalist movements, politically active students, journalists, and human and political rights activists. Mehboob Wadela, a member of the Balochistan National Movement (BNM), was abducted on April 2, 2010, from the outskirts of Karachi, where two police cars and two double cabin Toyota Hilux pickup trucks were waiting for the minibus in which he was traveling from Karachi to Gawadar. His body was found dumped in the Omara district of Gwadar almost a year later (Human Rights Watch, 2011). Sangat Sana Baloch, the leader of the Balochistan Student Organization-Azad (BSO-A), was abducted by security agencies on 7 December 2009 while traveling from Mastung to Sibi. His bullet-ridden body was found on 13 February 2012 (Baloch Sarmachar , 2017). Journalists and activists, too, have been subjected to enforced disappearances. Zeenat Shahzadi, a 24-year-old journalist, was abducted on her way to work by security agencies on 19 August 2015 in Lahore. Similarly, Idris Khattak (mentioned in the introduction), a human rights defender and a political rights activist was abducted by armed men on 13 November 2019 near Swabi and has not been seen and heard of since the day he disappeared (Human Rights Watch, 2020). Besides these, there are thousands of cases of enforced disappearances. The point is that all those who went missing were engaged in meaningful activity, in one way or another. Individuals who have been subjected to enforced disappearance were politically active people like dissidents, writers (especially those who write

against the malicious acts of violence committed by state security agencies), journalists, human rights defenders, etc. It appears as if their very political engagement brought into question their political existence. Those that have gone missing as such find themselves in a space of political inaction since to be politically active one has to be among others who are equal to him. But when one has been made to disappear from among his peers and is thrown into the darkness of the detention facilities, where the only relationships that exist are those of inequality, which is the exact opposite of the luminosity of the space of appearance, his life as a political being comes to an end (See section 3).

Section – 2: The Private Space & the Space of Disappearance

It is important to make it clear here that not all forms of invisibility correspond to the state of invisibility and permanent inaction that characterizes, what I will call in this paper, the *space of enforced disappearance*.

One cannot at all times appear to others in the manner of speech and action because appearance, although crucial to be considered to exist at all, is always followed by a period of invisibility. This space of invisibility provides a respite from the public and political matters and is known to us as the *private space*. This space serves as a hiding place, from the public gaze, to which individuals move as soon as the moment of action has passed. But since the space of appearance comes into being when individuals get together and disclose to each other their unique identities through action and speech (the two activities *praxis* and *lexis* that according to Aristotle constitute *bios politikos*) does it come to an end when acting individuals disperse and move back into their private shelter? Arendt

writes that the space of appearance ‘... disappears not only with the dispersal of men – as in the case of great catastrophes when the body politic of a people is destroyed – but with the disappearance or arrest of the activities themselves’ (Arendt, *The Human Condition*, 1998, p. 199). This is the reason that movements and organizations end only when the purpose for which they were brought into existence is achieved or when its pursuance is left altogether. The space of appearance outlives the moment of action that brought it into being and remains intact even in the absence of any participant. But what is it that keeps it intact even when the doer of the deeds and the speaker of the words are not participating in it? (See section 2).

Furthermore, this private space is also the realm of contemplation. Inner freedom is what gives this space its uniqueness, avers Marcuse⁴, as it is here where one can be himself, where it is possible to have a temporary respite from the actualities of public life (Marcuse, 2002, p. 12). It’s the realm where negative thinking can manifest itself as a negation of reality as it appears. It is, therefore, space where the most inconspicuous of individuals by profession, the philosophers, begin their ‘theoretical life’ (*Bios theoretikos*) by deliberately withdrawing from the community of human beings (Arendt, *The Life of the Mind*, 1978, p. 90).

A close reading of the chapter on *Action* of Arendt’s “The Human Condition” suggests that there exists another space of invisibility characterized by deliberate non-participation in the world of human affairs. There’s individual volition involved here since the one who inhabits this *space of disappearance* has willed not to take the initiative to appear among others and has, as such, refused to disclose his identity⁵. To deny to manifest one’s self in the shining brightness of the public realm is to deprive oneself of reality since in Doing so one refuses to take

that initiative 'from which no human being can refrain and still be human' (Arendt, *The Human Condition*, 1998, p. 176).

Nonetheless, both the spaces of invisibility hold one thing in common; the always present potential to become visible; to appear in the luminous realm of the political out of the darkness of private space, and the space of disappearance just like the birth of day from the womb of night. As in Greek mythology, the darkness of *Nyx* ('Night') gives birth to *Hemera* ('Day'). Unlike the space of enforced disappearance, the period of political inactivity that characterizes these spaces of invisibility can be ended at any moment by taking the initiative to appear. The space of enforced disappearance is more like *Erebus*, the primeval darkness born out of Chaos directly, into which are thrown, impertinent individuals. Since *Erebus* exists outside the inhabited universe like *Hades* (the 'Underworld' where the dead ones go/the 'god of dead'), the light of *Helios* (the Sun) never reaches it. The space of enforced disappearance, like *Erebus* is similar to but is not identical with the realm of the dead⁶.

Section – 3: Power in Appearance and 'Forced' Disappearance

When people act in concert in the manner of speech and action and thus appear to each other in symmetrical relations of visibility they generate relations of power, or in other words, they actualize the power potential through their actions that attract or repel attention (Marquez, 2012). This power that springs when individuals act together preserves not just the space of appearance but also the public realm; the potential space of appearance (Arendt, *The Human Condition*, 1998, p. 202). Equality is the fundamental characteristic of the space of appearance since there is no hierarchical organization of

relations in this space as each participant reveals and appears to the other as equal and distinct. Due to this symmetrical structure of the space of appearance the power that springs up is not distributed unequally but is horizontally distributed among all the participants in such a way that each member is capable of mobilizing the collective action of the whole, since 'power is nothing but the ability to mobilize coordinated group action or action in concert' (Marquez, 2012).

Since there are no blocked relations in the space of appearance, an action by one calls forth action in the other, and so on. This unrestrained multiplication of action, therefore, gives rise to power that too is boundless and is symmetrically distributed among all the actors (Arendt, *The Human Condition*, 1998, p. 201). However, this power that comes with appearing is not indestructible and it can, indeed, be countered by the use of *force* in the form of violence.

Now, keeping in consideration the entire discussion done above let's shift the focus to the phenomenon of enforced disappearance. The very term 'enforced disappearance' implies that this state of invisibility in which a person finds himself is not the one he has deliberately chosen but is the one imposed on him. Following Arendt's arguments on appearance and action, we can say that the one who disappeared by force loses all political identity. The disappearance that is assumed by the one detained as such is made possible only because of the existence of the unknown and the unknowable, the invisible and the invisibilizing space that he inhabits; the space of enforced disappearance. As utter negation of the space of appearance, this space is characterized by relations of inequality and where the only power that manifests itself is the sovereign power maintaining its relation to the captive body through the exercise of violence. The inhabitants of this space are denied any participation in the world of human affairs and

exist in a condition of enforced '*singularity*' and, therefore, not only are they reduced to a state of permanent political inaction but their very connection with the intersubjective world is also broken (and dies with it the very possibility of resistance).

The individuals trapped in the space of enforced disappearance are no longer perceivable to the public eye for the very space that they inhabit is impervious to the public gaze. Since the disappeared is no longer part of the space where one can be seen and heard by others who are equal to and distinct from oneself as the door to the public realm has been closed on him, the shadowy existence that the disappeared is made to live, therefore, can no longer be regarded as human existence. For to lead a human life is to be among others (*inter homines esse*) in the manner of speech and action. Human life, according to Arendt, is active life, or in other words, the life that is lived in the shining brightness of the public realm. Therefore, the life that can be regarded as human, according to Arendt, is the political life, or to what Aristotle referred to as *bios politikos*. Based on that, we can say that the one disappeared by force is dispossessed of the ability *to initiate* a political life. The state of existence into which one has been forced to be through the exercise of sovereign violence is that of impotency and non-politicalness. Can it be said then that the life of the disappeared in this zone of dispossession is nothing but mere natural life or *zoe*? For those who appear and are, thereby, political can only be *dispoliticized* (borrowing Banu Bargu's term) and disempowered by the use of force. And we know from Arendt that the power that comes with appearance can only be countered through force that isolates individuals, thus contradicts plurality, and reduces an individual to mere physical strength.

Section – 4: Space of Enforced Disappearance and Bare Life

The space of enforced disappearance consists of the modern *invisible penal architecture* (another term used by Banu Bargu (2014)) that exists *outside* the law and it is because of its very exteriority that this space can also be referred to as an *exceptional* space. The state of exception is a no man's land between order and chaos, between inside and outside; it's the zone of indistinguishability that does not arise through the enactment of a special kind of law but rather comes into being through the suspension of the juridical order itself (Agamben, *State of Exception*, 2005, pp. 1,4). The secret detention facilities of the present correspond to the space included in the state of exception where the rule is suspended and the norm is annulled. One thing to be made clear here is that it is not the state of exception, as Agamben avers (Agamben, *Homo Sacer: Sovereign Power and Bare Life*, 1998, p. 18), that suspends the rule but, rather, it is the rule that by suspending itself gives rise to exception, which implies that there does exist a link between rule and exception that will become clear as the argument further develops.

In the high-security secretive detention facilities, also known as black sites, the state of exception becomes spatialized. These sites of captivities exist outside both the international law and national law and, following Agamben, it can be argued that their very exclusion from the juridical order; from the rule that has suspended itself gives them the exceptional structure of 'being outside, and yet belonging' (Agamben, *State of Exception*, 2005, p. 35). In other words, the law applies to the exception in its non-application and thus in its very exclusion includes it into itself. Agamben calls it the 'relation of exception', which is an 'extreme form of relation by which

something is included solely through its exclusion' (Agamben, *Homo Sacer: Sovereign Power and Bare Life*, 1998, p. 18). If the space of enforced disappearance, devoid of any law, is a space of exception then that which is excluded into it is caught in the sovereign ban. *Ban* refers to the application of the law through its suspension and caught in the sovereign ban is nothing but life itself (Prozorov, 2014, p. 101). We concluded in the previous section that the *disappeared* by virtue of not being among *others* has been ripped off all political qualities and as a *dis-politicized* individual – dispossessed of all the characteristics of *bios* – is reduced to life in its natural form *zoe*, essentially non-political, characterized only by its vegetative function and physical *strength* needed for the production of means of subsistence. But the dead body of young Sangat Sana Baloch, one of the victims of enforced disappearance, with marks of torture and wounds of 27 bullets that were unloaded into his chest when founded on 13 February 2012 told the story of a helpless *body* on which was unleashed brutal violence by state security agencies. The condition in which he was kept and the violence to which he was exposed shows that his was not simply a *dis-politicized* life in its natural form. To know our answer we must first understand who is the bearer of the sovereign ban according to Agamben?

Caught in the sovereign ban is the life that 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' (Agamben, 1998, p. 28). Agamben avers that the life that is caught in the sovereign ban and captured in sovereignty is not regular natural life but rather a life that is exposed to death; bare life (Agamben, 1998, p. 88). Bare life is the originary political element and it comes into being through the politicization of *zoe* i.e. the inclusion of *zoe* into *bios* as a

result of its exclusion from the political order (Mills, 2018, p. 42). It can be, therefore, said that bare life is natural life that by virtue of being excluded from the political sphere is included into it (as its negative foundation) and is at all times exposed to violence. It's a life bereft of all legal protection excluded into the zone of indistinguishability where law and life, norm and chaos, inside and outside become indistinguishable. The production of bare life, a biopoliticized body, is the *original activity* of sovereign power. Bare life is the very point of intersection, Agamben avers, between the two modalities of power; sovereign power and biopower. Agamben's conception of biopolitics diverges from that of Foucault at this point. Unlike Foucault, it is argued by Agamben that biopolitics is as old as sovereignty and the production of bare life constitutes the hidden nucleus of the sovereign power. Whereas, with the advent of modernity this hidden original activity of the sovereign power – the politicization of life – has only been brought to the spotlight. In his own words:

Placing biological life at the center of its calculations, the modern State therefore does nothing other than bring to light the secret tie uniting power and bare life, thereby reaffirming the bond (derived from a tenacious correspondence between the modern and the archaic which one encounters in the most diverse spheres) between modern power and the most immemorial of the *arcana imperii*. (Agamben, 1998, p. 6)

The forcefully disappeared individual besides being deprived of the political and social identity that comes with appearance is also dispossessed of all political and legal rights⁷ as a result of his exclusion into the space of enforced disappearance – an exceptional space where all law is suspended. Stripped of all political, legal, and human rights the state in which the disappeared finds himself corresponds to the bare life caught in the sovereign ban. The disappeared are reduced to natural life

that is exposed to the force of law that applies to him in no longer applying (thus, in force without significance). They have been abandoned by the law in the hyper darkness of the secret detention facilities, bereft of all the positive prescriptions and directions of the law, and are exposed to unremitting violence whose ultimate expression is the sovereign's right to death. The space of enforced disappearance is a space, therefore, where the sovereign power and biopolitical power intersect each other. It's the space where the biopolitical body is produced and exposed to sovereign violence. In this space exist those who have been rendered politically irrelevant by the *biosovereign* regime.

Conclusion

The space of enforced disappearance is an exceptional space existing outside the juridical order where those who have been singled out by the state are disappeared. All those who disappear are involved in politically meaningful activity to which has been given paramount importance by Arendt. Since to act is to appear among others and is the only way that a human can be recognized as *human* by others, therefore, being deprived of the company of others and to be forced into the state of singularity means to dispossess an individual of all characteristics that constitute a human life. Denied to initiate the *bios politikos* the disappeared is stripped of all political qualities and is rendered impotent. The state of impotency that is imposed on him is the result of the destruction of the power, which comes with appearance, by the use of violence. The existence of the disappeared, who has been completely dispoliticized and disempowered, corresponds in the space of enforced disappearance to the natural state of existence that is *zoe*, characterized by the its physical strength only. However,

we established that the life caught in the space of enforced disappearance cannot simply be natural life because the disappeared is in a state of continuous exposure to violence.

Since the disappeared is excluded into the space of exception he exists in a relation of ban to the sovereign and therefore is not simply set outside the legal order but is included into it through his very exclusion. The law applies to the disappeared in its non-application. The space that he inhabits is devoid of all law and as a result, the disappeared is not just dispossessed of all the protection and politicalness that is guaranteed by appearance but is also denied the protection of all legal, political, and human rights. Stripped of all protection provided by the law the disappeared is exposed to unremitting sovereign violence that almost always results in the death of the disappeared. The life of the disappeared is therefore not simple natural life but a life exposed to death; bare life. Since, the bare life that is produced through disappearance by force of those who appear or are engaged in political action that is considered by the state as a threat to itself, therefore, it can be said that in the modern state the sovereign right, besides being exercised as the power to decide who remains politically relevant and who not, is also exercised as the power to decide who appears and who does not and to what degree one can appear.

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¹ See, Aguilar and Kovras, 'Explaining disappearances as a Tool of Political Terror' (2018) 1-16.

² It might seem to be a contradiction that the space of appearance arises from the human activity of action (when individuals act in concert) and also is presupposed by action to manifest itself. The world of human affairs i.e. the public realm, becomes possible only through political action and this realm does not exist for one generation because it '*transcends the life-span of mortal men*'. Therefore, each human being is born into a world that precedes and will outlive its existence. See Hannah Arendt, *The Human Condition* (1998, 55).

³ See Hannah Arendt, *The Life of the Mind*, 70.

⁴ However, in the modern advanced technological societies, according to Marcuse, this space has 'whittled down' and the processes of introjection are being supplanted by mimeses. The closure of this space where negative thinking could occur is resulting into the loss of critical power of reason that has become increasingly uncritical and has submitted to the 'facts of life'. See Marcuse, *One-Dimensional Man*, 12-14.

⁵ What is it then that makes a philosopher's deliberate act of withdrawal from the community of human beings into the private space different from the withdrawal of a person into the space of disappearance? Whereas, the philosopher abstains from participation in the public realm because he, according to Arendt, is engaged in the activity of thinking that can take place only in the presence of the '*leidenschaftslose stille*', 'the dispassionate quite' (see *The Life of the Mind* 1978, pp. 68, 90) and is not possible in the *askholia* (unquiet) of the *vita activa* (see *The Human Condition* 1998, pp. 15). The philosopher's non-participation is not marked by complete inaction, unlike those who inhabit space of disappearance marked by complete political inaction, since in this realm negative thinking becomes possible which is a search for truth so when:

'... the philosopher takes leave of the world given to our senses and does a turnabout to the life of the mind, he takes his clue from the former, looking for something to be revealed to him that would explain its underlying truth. This truth—a-letheia, that which is disclosed (Heidegger)—can be conceived only as another 'appearance,' another phenomenon originally hidden but of a supposedly higher order, thus signifying the lasting predominance of appearance' (*The Life of the Mind*, 1978, p. 29).

Another important point I want to make here is that in this concept of the space of disappearance Arendt's argument on the closure of the world of action and that of Marcuse on the emergence one-dimensional society converge. The rise of the social realm is marked by the inclusion of the private into the public/political universe and in the modern 'society' the rule of one man that was characteristic of the private realm of household has been transformed into the dominance of one-interest and one-opinion of the society. Society posits levelling demands on its members expecting from them to not 'act' but to 'behave' in a specific manner. It imposes normalizing rules on its members to guarantee that they conform to the one-interest of the society. In promoting this conformism the society excludes the possibility of action, the main function of which is to appear as unique and distinct contrary to the sameness that the one-interest of society imposes on its members. In mass society equality exists only in conformity since 'to act' has been replaced with 'to behave'. Spontaneous action is considered non-behaviour and those who commit it non-compliant, impertinent, and dissident and therefore action becomes a mere outlier, a fluctuation, an aberration that has to be levelled out, re-normalized or excluded completely. Those who dwell in the space of disappearance are for this reason inactive, docile, compliant individuals who do not act but behave; who do not negate but affirm the status quo. Marcuse, similarly, argued that the modern mass society is characterized by its one-dimensionality, the reconciliation of all conflicts and oppositions both in the universe of political and that of discourse through new forms of social control.

⁶ See Nanno Marinatos, 'Light and Darkness and Archaic Greek Cosmography' in *Light and Darkness in Ancient Greek Myth and Religion*, by Menelaos Christopoulos, Efimia D. Karakantza and Olga Levaniouk, Plymouth: Lexington Books, 2010), 198-199.

⁷ For example in Pakistan those who are detained incommunicado for indefinite period in anonymous detention facilities are stripped of the protection against the deprivation of life and liberty that is provided to them under the Article 9 of the Constitution of Pakistan. The disappeared is also deprived of the right to be produced before the magistrate within 24 hours of detention secured under Article 10(2) of the Constitution. For more see Badalić, 'The War Against Civilians: Victims of the War on Terror in Afghanistan and Pakistan', 159-161 and Human Rights Watch, 'We Can Torture, Kill, or Keep You for Years', (2011).

Instruction for authors

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Thesis is an international research journal with double-blind peer review, which is published by AAB College in Prishtina. The journal presents an international forum for Balkan region, for empirical, qualitative, critical and interpretative studies, on different issues, and mainly in social and human sciences.

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Introduction

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Appendix

Style guidelines

The editorial board uses APA Style, 6th edition (www.apastyle.org). Please, do not use footnote, or avoid endnote as much as possible.

APA Style

In text citation/reference of a scientific source, is as follows:

Last name of the author, year of publishing and page – if needed, e.g: (Bourdieu, 1997, p. 7).

Author in a sentence

Another study for this issue (Smith, 2016) emphasizes that...

Author at the beginning of the sentence:

Smith (2016) emphasizes that...

Wolton (2009, p. 53) says that internet offers an ocean of information, but every day we choose to be on diet by choosing only the information that is beneficial to us, not time-consuming.

Wolton (2009) says that internet offers an ocean of information, but every day we ask “how to interconnect communication

ghettos who communicate only vertically and not horizontally through other communication tools" (p. 53).

In 1974 Zukowski invented the term Literacy information to describe...

Two authors in a book

Smith and Jonnes (2016) emphasize that...

Citation within a part of the sentence:

Another study for this issue (Smith, 2016) puts the main emphasis on the previous behavior in the environment where the child lives, because "the environment presents the nest where the child gathers information which later, he/she will imitate or apply in everyday behavior" (p. 6).

Different conflicts, terrorist attacks, insecurities etc., made citizens or even political actors, ask: "Why do they hate us" (Arndt, 2006, p. xviii). This is very important, because "today's hate brings tomorrow's urge of insecurity and instability not only within the country, but also for the global security" (p. 34).

Some authors for the same issue:

As the public diplomacy researchers point out (Nye, 2004; Gilboa, 2008; Anholt, 2004; Melissen, 2007)), having a positive image...

If two authors have the same last name, the first letter of the name is also written:

Authors Smith J. and Smith F. (2016) highlight some key features ...

Three to five authors in one book:

If a work has three (3), four (4) or five (5) authors, cite all authors the first time and from then on include only the last name of the first author followed by the words *et al.* ('*et al.*' is Latin for 'and others')

Eg. (Nye, Melissen, Szondi, Leonard, 2015).

Eg. (Nye *et al.*, 2015)

Over 6 authors in one work:

If a work has six (6) or more authors, cite only the last name of the first author followed by *et al.* each time you refer to this work. In the bibliography all are written.

For example:

As noted in the recent study of corruption and political nepotism in Kosovo (Plepi *et al.*, 2015), in this case neither exist...

More work by one author in a year:

As Plepi (2015a) points out, economic growth and welfare also increase family harmony, but such a phenomenon has been impossible to measure so far in Kosovo, or studies of this phenomenon are "regretful" (Plepi, 2015b).

Entities and institutions as authors

The full name of the institution should be indicated in the first citation, while the following citations may be used if the name is particularly long.

The international network of humanitarian aid associations has increased considerably in recent years in Kosovo (the Active Learning Network for Accountability and Performance in Humanitarian Action [ALNAP], 2010).

Subsequent citations:

(ALNAP, 2010)

Bibliography

General rules

When a source has up to seven (7) authors, include all names in the reference list by dividing authors by commas.

In case of books without an author, place the title of the book in the first position instead of the author. Write the full name of institutions or associations (see example at the bottom).

Date of book publication:

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Translated books:

In case of foreign translated books, indicate the name of the translator.

Examples:

Wolton, D. (2009). *Informer n'est pas communiquer*. Paris: CNRS Editions.

Tuch, H. N. (1990). *Communicating with the world: U.S. public diplomacy overseas*. Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University.

Chapter or article within an edited book or summary:

Melissen, J. (2011). Concluding reflections on soft power and public diplomacy in East Asia. Nö: S.J. Lee & J. Melissen (ed). *Public diplomacy and soft power in East Asia* (247-262). Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Journal:

Gilboa, E. (2008). Searching for a Theory of Public Diplomacy. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*. 616(1), 55-77.

Journal from website: Last name of author, first letter of the name. (year of publication). Article title. *Title of the online journal*. The link or doi, eg.: Gilboa, E. (2008). Searching for a Theory of Public Diplomacy. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*. 616(1), 55-77.

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