



Con l'alto patronato del Presidente della Repubblica

3-5 Ottobre 2014 – Trieste
Scuola Superiore di lingue per interpreti e Traduttori

(Via Filzi, 14)

**Forum Mondiale dei Giovani Diritto di dialogo
World Youth Forum “Right to Dialogue”
7th Edition**

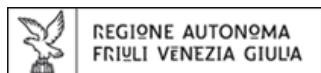
Europe / Not Europe

Debates, Cultural and Artistic Events, Friendship

Con il patrocinio di:



Con il contributo di:



Comune di Duino



Program

Friday, October 3 / 9.00

Auditorium of the Higher School of Modern Languages for Interpreters and Translators

Welcome addresses by the authorities and opening of the works

1st plenary session

Europe what? Europe how? European and not European young people facing

10.00

Domenico Paganelli (Italy – General secretary of the Youth Forum of Corato, Bari)

La lezione di Ventotene / The Ventotene lesson

10.20

Ekaterina Kuznetsova (Russian Federation - Degree in Journalism, University of Leeds, UK / board member of European Youth Press)

Does being part of Europe mean being European? / Essere parte dell'Europa significa essere Europei?

10.40

Eneida Todhe (Albania - MBA in Public Governance and Management at MODUL University, Vienna / secretary of Initiative Group Alpbach Albania) and **Oltjona Totoni** (Albania - English professor at the Faculty of Economics, University of Tirana)

European dream or non-European nightmare? / Sogno europeo o incubo non-europeo?

Debate

11.20

Mimoza Telaku (Kosovo - PhD candidate in Conflict Management and Resolution, Ben Gurion University of the Negev, Israel)

The struggle between nationalism and European integration / La lotta tra nazionalismo ed integrazione europea

11.40

Vladimir Bogoeski (FYROM / Germany - Degree in European and International Law, University of Bremen)

EU Eastern enlargement from the worker's perspective – Freedom of movement or forced migration? / L'allargamento dell'UE verso est dalla prospettiva dei lavoratori – Libertà di movimento o migrazione forzata?

12.00

Diana Cucos (Moldova - Researcher at the Department of International Relations, University of Moldova)

Perspectives on intra-EU mobility of third-country nationals / Prospettive sulla mobilità intra-europea di cittadini dei paesi terzi

Debate

Friday, October 3 / 17.00

"Città / Globale"

Global /City

Sandro Pecchiari, *"Io / Tu: Poesie" (Me / You: Poems)*

Launch of the book containing the poems that were awarded on the 10th edition of the "Castello di Duino" International Poetry and Theatre Competition

Luca Mori, *"Città / Globale" (Global / City)*

Launch of the Proceedings of the World Youth Forum "Right to Dialogue", 6th edition

"La nostra cittadinanza (ovvero Cittadinanza e disabilità)" / "Our citizenship (or Citizenship and disability)": Proiezione di un work in progress per il documentario "Cosa sognano i ciechi" /

Screening of the work in progress for the documentary "What do blind people dream", by
Massimiliano Cocozza

Saturday, October 4 / 9.15-11.00

Parallel panels

1. Experiences, Dreams, Criticalities

Auditorium

(Team leaders: **Piero Guglielmino** and **Giulio Tarlao**)

Dana Đzafic (Bosnia and Herzegovina - Degree in Law, University of Sarajevo)

Mission (im)possible: BiH on its way towards the EU / Missione (im)possibile: la Bosnia Erzegovina in cammino verso l'UE

Daniela Vacaretu (Romania / Denmark - Degree in Law, University of Copenhagen / project officer at Kompasset NGO, Copenhagen)

The Danish dream / Il sogno danese

Ivana Čagalj (Croatia / Switzerland - Degree in English and Croatian Language)

Croatia – in and out of Europe / Croazia dentro e fuori l'Europa

Hall A1

(Team Leaders: **Hari Bertoja** and **Marcin Piekalkiewicz**)

Maria Vizdoaga (Moldova - Degree in Law at the Academy of Economic Studies of Moldova / Master in European Studies at the Leiden University, the Netherlands / Program assistant at East Europe Foundation, Moldova)

European Union values and principles versus surviving needs: the case of Moldova / I valori e i principi dell'Unione Europea contrapposti ai bisogni primari: il caso della Moldova

Mariia Iemelianenko (Ukraine - Master in Public Administration - The National Academy of Public Administration, the President of Ukraine, Kiev / Media Assistant in World Health Organization Country Office - WHO CO, Ukraine)

Prospects for democracy, stability and europeanization in Ukraine / Prospettive per la democrazia, la stabilità e l'europeizzazione in Ucraina

Maryna Rabinovych (Ukraine – Degree candidate of Law, University of Odessa)

Multilevel governance in the EU: lessons for decentralization of Ukraine / Governance multilivello nell'UE: lezioni per la decentralizzazione dell'Ucraina

2. Dialogue strategies: expectations and commitment in youth

Hall H4

(Team leaders: **Antonella Rizzo** and **Michele Centorrino**)

Marko Dimač (Slovenia - Student of Linguistic and Intercultural Mediation, University of Primorska)

EU at a crossroad: united in diversity against far-right movements, xenophobia and prejudice / L'UE a un crocevia: uniti nella diversità contro i movimenti di estrema destra, la xenofobia e il pregiudizio

Serdar Seitaptiiev (Ukraine - Degree candidate at the Faculty of Medicine, University of Lviv / co-founder of Crimea Sos NGO)

Formation of a common identity: Ukrainian culture - Crimean Tatars culture - EU. / La formazione di una comune identità: la cultura ucraina, la cultura dei Tatari di Crimea, l'UE

Hall M5

(Team leaders: **Toni Veneri and Gabriella Valera**)

Riccardo Vecellio Segate (Italy - Bachelor's Degree in Piano performance, State Conservatory of Verona / Master student in Law, State University of Verona / student in European Affairs, I.S.P.I. Milan)

Relazioni geopolitiche e socio-economiche tra le due sponde del Mediterraneo: l'esperienza formativa dell'African Summer School / Incubatore d'impresa per l'Africa / Geopolitical and socio-economic relations between the two sides of the Mediterranean: the educational experience of the "African summer school / Business incubator 4 Africa"

Alina Virstiuk (Ukraine - Student)

Mediaculture as a driver force for democracy: the line between journalism and propaganda / La cultura dei media come forza motrice della democrazia: il confine fra giornalismo e propaganda

Alexander Walzl (Italy - Student of Law, University of Warwick)

European Citizenship = European democracy: an ideological distortion? / Cittadinanza europea = democrazia europea: una distorsione ideologica?

Saturday, October 4 / 11.30

2nd plenary session

Dreams, Criticalities, Strategies: parallel panels' outcomes and debate

Saturday, October 4 / 15.30

Parallel panels

3. Institutions and projects: youth presence's roles and results

Auditorium

(Team leaders: **Michele Centorrino and Piero Guglielmino**)

Lucia Lukotkova (Slovakia - Student of Political Sciences, University of Vienna)

How important commitment to youth is... / Quanto è importante l'impegno dei giovani

Marcos Nhapulo (Mozambique – PhD candidate, University of Gent)

The role of youth in institutional cooperation / Il ruolo dei giovani nella cooperazione istituzionale

Georgi Filipov (Bulgaria - Degree in European Studies / president of Europe on the move NGO)

Non-formal education methods and possibilities for youth project development under Erasmus+ KA 1 and 2! / Metodi di educazione informale e possibilità di sviluppo di progetti rivolti ai giovani nell'ambito dell'Erasmus + KA 1 e 2!

Hall A1

(Team leaders: **Antonella Rizzo** and **Gabriella Valera**)

Viktor Miloshevski (FYROM - Postgraduate student on Cultural Studies, Euro-Balkan University of Skopje / Youth Peace Ambassador and Project Manager at the Association of Citizens Center for Youth Activity)

European future: young Europeans through the prism of culture, dialogue and active participation / Il futuro dell'Europa: i giovani europei attraverso il prisma della cultura, del dialogo e della partecipazione attiva

Federico Pisanu (Italy - Alumnus of AEGEE, AIESEC, BEST - International Soft-skills trainer)

The social impact of student Non-Governmental Organizations in Europe: uniting active youth and creating a true European integration / L'impatto sociale delle organizzazioni non governative in Europa: unire i giovani attivi e creare una vera integrazione europea

Marija Martinović (Montenegro - Degree in International Relations, University of Montenegro / degree in Italian Language and Literature, University of Montenegro / OTAN area coordinator for the political party Pozitivna Crna Gora)

From the waves of transition to Europe / Dai flutti della transizione all'Europa

Hall H4

(Team leaders: **Hari Bertoja** and **Giulio Tarlao**)

Aayushi Panchal (India – Degree candidate of Engineering)

"Global Youth": Eu and Indian young people in comparison / "Gioventù globale": giovani europei e indiani a confronto

Olha Koshchiyenko (Ukraine / Hungary - Degree in Applied Linguistics, University of Lviv / Degree in International Relations, Central European University of Budapest)

Perception of Europe by young adults in Eastern and Western Ukraine: a comparative study / La percezione dell'Europa nei giovani adulti dell'Ucraina dell'Est e dell'Ovest

Duy Duc Hoai Nguyen (Vietnam - Degree candidate in Marketing, Vietnam International University)

Individualism vs. collectivism: cultures compared / Individualismo vs. collettivismo: culture a confronto

4. Well-being: cultural and economic strategies

Hall M5

(Team leaders: **Toni Veneri**)

Nadia Ahmad (Pakistan / Australia - Student of Economics, University of Quaid-e-Azam, Islamabad)

From Europe to Pakistan / Dall'Europa al Pakistan

Marcin Piekalkiewicz (Poland / Italy - PhD candidate at the Department of Economics, University of Siena)

Well-being of Europe and non-Europe. Happiness data in a comparative perspective / Il ben-essere dell'Europa e della non Europa: i dati della "felicità" in una prospettiva comparata

Rudina Canaj (Albania - Degree in Clinical psychology / founder of Dev-Aid, organization for human rights)

Multicultural bridges / Ponti multiculturali

Saturday, October 4 / 17.30

3rd plenary session

Youth commitment and well-being: introduction of the parallel panels' outcomes and debate

Sunday, October 5 / 9.30

Parallel panels

5. Intangible cultural heritage: bordercrossing memories
(Literatures, biographies, stories, languages)

Auditorium

(Team leaders: **Michele Centorrino, Antonella Rizzo and Piero Guglielmino**)

Analia Adorni (Argentina / Italy - Postgraduate certificate in Media and technologies for pictorial productions, National University Institute of Art, Buenos Aires)

Donne artiste europee e non europee / European / non European woman artists

Jasmin Hasić (Bosnia and Herzegovina - PhD candidate in Political Theory and Political Science at LUISS Guido Carli of Rome, Italy)

The quality of democracy in Bosnia and Herzegovina: an analytic assessment of the relationship between political participation, responsiveness and nation building / La qualità della democrazia in Bosnia Erzegovina: una valutazione analitica della relazione tra partecipazione politica, risposta e costruzione nazionale

Plamena Popova (Bulgaria - Assistant professor of Cultural law, University of Library Studies)
Monuments vs. ideas: remarks on the "art" of protests in Bulgaria / Monumenti vs. idee: considerazioni sull'"arte" della protesta in Bulgaria

Hall A1

(Team leaders: **Giulio Tarlao** and **Hari Bertoja**)

Reginald Asangba Taluah (Ghana - Master of Philosophy and English Literature, University of Ghana)

The haunting images of the West in Ghanaian creative arts: tradition vs innovation / Le persistenti immagini dell'Occidente nelle arti creative del Ghana: tradizione vs innovazione

Sevim Tahir (Bulgaria – Degree candidate at the Academy of Sciences of Bulgaria, Institute for social Studies)

The clash of integration, non-integration narratives from minority –majority perspective: the case of Bulgarian Muslims / Il contrasto fra narrazioni integrative e non integrative dalla prospettiva della maggioranza e della minoranza: il caso dei musulmani bulgari

Yana Drumeva (Bulgaria / Italy – Degree at the Academy of fine arts, Bologna)

Nuovi cittadini europei. La nostra realtà fra vita sociale, arte ed esperienze / New European citizens. Our reality among social life, art and expectations

Hall H4

(Team leaders: **Marcin Piekalkiewicz** and **Toni Veneri**)

Michalina Alina Nadolna (Poland - Student of Law, Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań)

Change and continuity: cultural betterment in the Republic of Poland and Ukraine (2004-2014) / Cambiamento e continuità: l'avanzamento culturale in Polonia e Ucraina (2004-2014)

Cornelia Neagoe (Romania, Student of Art theory)

Image, imaginary and imagination - Toward a European identity / Immagine, immaginario e immaginazione: verso un'identità europea

Iuliia Kozhukhovska (Ukraine - Degree candidate at the Department for Hellenic studies, Taras Shevchenko University, Kiev)

The realization of the concept Journey in the integration processes: the pattern of Ukrainian and Greek ethno-linguistic consciousness / La realizzazione del concetto di Viaggio nel processo di integrazione: la configurazione della consapevolezza etnolinguistica ucraina e greca

Sunday, October 5 / 11.30

4th plenary session

Intersections: between Local Identities and Integration (Europe and beyond)

Petya Yankova (Bulgaria - Degree in Linguistics, University of York / EVS volunteer at Platform Spartak, The Hague)

What is shared history? / Che cos'è la storia condivisa?

Introduction of the parallel panels' outcomes and debate

Sunday, October 5 / 18.00

Teatro Miela

The Gift of Cultures

Poetry reading, storytelling... free performances by the Forum's participants

Featuring the Italian-Russian-Ukrainian folkloristic group

Rodnik

Are expected to attend the Forum delegates from:

- **Nigeria Living Values**
- **Forum Nazionale Giovani / *Youth National Forum*** (Italy)
- **Town of Corato** (Italy)

Papers IN ALPHABETIC ORDER

Čagalj Ivana

Croatia – in and out of Europe

My paper will offer a two-fold perspective on the current position of Croatia in the EU. The first one relates to my personal experience and 25 years of life spent in a non-EU Croatia followed by a year of life in a non-EU Switzerland. The second perspective draws on the notions of Giorgio Agamben exposed in his book *Homo Sacer*, part 1, where he analyzes Aristotelian dichotomy of *zoe* and *bios*, the natural and the political. The paper attempts to apply Agamben's dichotomy on Croatia's position somewhere in between the natural (geographically and culturally Croatia is a part of the Balkans, the East) and the political (Croatia's recent accession to the EU is not fully implemented in Croatia's reality but it does present a proof of Croatia's belonging to the West).

In the first part of the paper I will present some of my struggles upon my moving out from the then "fresh" member of the EU (Croatia joined the EU just two months before I moved to Switzerland). I moved to a non-EU Switzerland, where in my everyday life I had to prove that I am a "Western" being ready to live in a multicultural society and having all the rights that belong to other residents of EU member states. For example, as a teacher of the Croatian language I felt my duty was to prepare my primary school pupils for their multicultural life in Ticino, the canton where Italian, Portuguese and Serbian population forms the majority. For a person coming from a small, monocultural place this posed a difficult task. I had to reconsider what it meant to be multicultural and European. Parents of my pupils, some of whom have been living in Switzerland for more than 20 years, did not seem to reflect upon these issues but they learnt that life with other nationalities is quite possible under the condition of tolerance and cooperation, especially at work. For me, this presented European spirit. In my later months spent in Switzerland, I saw that people coming from the so-called Balkans sometimes had the tendency to surpass the Swiss customs and laws. For instance, some of them engaged in smuggling of groceries, others would not hesitate to pull some strings if needed or to use their unemployment benefits more than needed, etc. Maybe I was just focused on analyzing the Balkanians while not noticing that other minorities behave similarly, but already in the beginning I felt both European and non-European determinant in Ticino.

Croatia in a geographical sense was always a part of Europe. Regarding mentality, Croats possess a mixture of Mediterranean, easy going attitude; of Balkanian, monocultural and to some extent aggressive attitude, or at least overly temperamental attitude; and in the

7th World Youth Forum Trieste

Dimač Marko

student of intercultural linguistic mediation

EU at a crossroad: United in diversity against far-right movements, xenophobia and prejudice

Index

1 Introduction.....	3
2 Background of the current economic crisis.....	4 3
Responsibility for the crisis: The myth of laziness.....	5 4
Prejudice confronted with statistics.....	7
5 A dark chapter of the European project.....	10
5.1 The rise of the Golden Dawn.....	10
5.2 From periphery to the centre: The spread of support for the far-right.....	12
6 Everybody's Europe: Possible solutions and the role of the youth.....	13 7
Bibliography.....	14

1 Introduction

Since the start of the economic crisis in 2008 in the United States that resulted in the public debt crisis in the European Union various attempts to indentify the causes emerged. David Harvey, a distinguished social theorist, lists five different most frequent interpretations of the causes that supposedly triggered the crisis. He points out that one interpretation that demonises the "national character" of South European people is present among the other five explanations.¹ According to this interpretation the causes for the crisis are laziness, bad organization and a "national character" that damages the economy. Many mainstream media and politicians have adopted such extremely controversial approach in the analysis of the economic crisis. 5 years of economic crisis widened the gap of inequality between the centre and the periphery of the EU states and caused prejudice and xenophobia to increase. The most recent warning are the elections to the European parliament results which saw the increase of public support for far-right nationalist and fascist parties such as Front National, UKIP, Golden Dawn, Jobbik etc. As the crisis deepens people tend to be more vulnerable to the propaganda of such movements and parties that blame migrants and minorities. Hostility against minoritarian ethnic groups within the single states is growing as well as the hostility of the EU periphery against Germany as the main promulgator of austerity measures.

In my paper I will deconstruct such negative myths connected to the demonisation of the European South in times of economic crisis and address the problem of growing far-right parties and movements in Europe. By using statistical data retrieved from the OECD, the Eurostat and various articles I will dismantle the arguments of the media and the politicians that fostered prejudice and negative stereotype towards people of countries of the south of the EU. I will try to provide feasible solutions to stop the spread of xenophobia also by taking into consideration the potential and the impact of the youth. This interdisciplinary paper will thus cover many fields from intercultural studies to sociology and politics.

1 Harvey, David. Crisis of Capitalism. The Royal Society for the encouragement of Arts. 26th April, 2010.

http://www.thersa.org/_data/assets/pdf_file/0011/558929/RSA-Lecture-David-Harvey-transcript.pdf

2 Background of the current economic crisis

The reasons for the crisis can be traced back to the years of the of the Clinton administration when they repealed the Glass-Steagall Act² in 1999 which was passed in 1933 by the Roosevelt administration to regulate the banking sector during the Great depression. During the Clinton and the Bush era the citizens of the U.S. were encouraged to purchase a home with the help of loans which were not protected by sufficient financial resources. The previously mentioned repeal of the Act allowed the banks to engage in such risky activities.

The current economic crisis, the biggest in recent history after the Great depression of the 1929, started in 2008 after the housing bubble bursted because the collapse of subprime mortgages. Some of the banks became insolvent and on the 15th of September 2008 one of the biggest American banks, Lehman Brothers declared bankruptcy.³ Since the American dollar is the world reserve currency and the US economy is the largest economy by GDP in the current global economic system the crisis quickly spread and reached the European Union where it resulted in the so called debt crisis and budget deficit of the EU countries.

The most affected countries are the so called PIIGS (Portugal, Ireland, Italy, Greece and Spain) which were forced by the Troika (The European Central Bank, The International Monetary Fund and the European commission) to implement catastrophic austerity measures in exchange for new loans that will generate further debt while the economy shrinks because of the austerity measures. Clearly, the banks and the international financial institutions knew that the repayments will be extorted aggressively from the citizens by redirecting tax money destined for social security and public services to the banks. This is why the Troika is insisting on austerity measures.

3 Responsibility for the crisis: The myth of laziness

Immediately after the start of the economic crisis in the EU various media and pseudo-experts tried to explain the reasons for the crisis by blaming the "national character" of the South European people. The most appalling case appeared in the Daily Telegraph where the journalist Joe Hildebrand asserted openly that the Greeks were able to bring the EU to its knees with "the

only powerful weapon they have - their indestructible and indefatigable laziness.”⁴ The article that derided the whole history of Greece and asserted that the Greeks are lazy people was contested even by the Greek Ambassador in Australia that wrote to the Chief Editor of The Daily Telegraph criticising the simplistic article that distorted reality and had evident elements of hate speech. The article was removed shortly after from the Daily Telegraph’s webpage.

The reasons for the crisis are far more complex and are rooted in the unsustainable global financial system, trying to explain the causes for it like this journalist did is a sign of ignorance. All the journalists, politicians and economists that tried to explain the crisis in such simplistic terms have used false stereotypes connected to Mediterranean people that according to Joe Hildebrand *“laze around all day eating and drinking and chatting to each other about everything under the sun.”* The German Chancellor Angela Merkel declared in 2011 that *“We can't have a common currency where some get lots of vacation time and others very little.”*⁵ Additionally she implied that the South Europeans do not work enough and that they retire too early. In occasion of the visit of the Greek Prime Minister George Papandreu in Germany in 2010 the newspaper Der Bild praised the “hard working ethic” of the German people. The editorial staff suggested that as the Germans so should the Greeks *“get up reasonably early and work all day”*.⁶

History shows us that unfounded stereotypes mixed to erroneous policy in times of economic crisis lead to catastrophic consequences. I am specifically referring to the problematic 20’s and 30’s of the 20th century and the subsequent rise of the Nazi party in Germany that blamed the Jews for the economic collapse of Germany after the 1st world war. This historic example is a warning for the era we live in. The social context is very similar to the one in the years of the Great depression since the far-right movements based on prejudice and xenophobia are growing as it happened at that time.⁷

Stereotypes can frequently deceive us and transform in prejudice and hate. Human beings frequently see evidence even where it does not exist to confirm their pre-existent prejudices and mindsets. All the myths on the laziness of the South European people are unfounded, dangerous and can be easily exploded by comparing statistical data.

2 Stein, S. Glass. Steagall Act: The Senators And Economists Who Got It Right. The Huffington post. 11th June, 2009.

http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2009/05/11/glass-steagall-act-the-se_n_201557.html

3 Elliot L. Global financial crisis key stages. The guardian. 7th August 2011

<http://www.guardian.co.uk/business/2011/aug/07/global-financial-crisis-key-stages>

4 Australian media under attack for calling Greeks lazy, Neokosmos. 6th September 2012.

<http://neokosmos.com/news/en/australian-media-under-attack-for-calling-greeks-lazy>

5 Pop, Valentina. Merkel under fire for 'lazy Greeks' comment, EUobserver. 19th May 2011:

<http://euobserver.com/political/32363>

6 Germans tell Greeks to rise earlier and work harder to avoid financial crisis. The telegraph. 5th March 2010 :

<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/greece/7378905/Germans-tell-Greeks-to-rise-earlier-and-work-harder-to-avoid-financial-crisis.html>

7 Walker,P., Taylor, M., Far right on the rise in Europe, reports says. The guardian. 6th November 2011

<http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2011/nov/06/far-right-rise-europe-report>

4 Prejudice confronted with statistics

As already mentioned previously all the myths and prejudices perpetuated by the media and the politicians are totally unfounded. The most prominent myths are the following:

1. The South European people are lazy – they work less.
2. The South European people do not work long enough – they retire too early
3. The South European people take to many vacations.

The first myth is the most unfounded of all. The statistics of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) that consists of 33 member states demonstrate clearly that the Italians, the Spaniards, the Portuguese and above the Greeks work more hours per year than the Germans, the Dutch, the Swedes etc.⁸

The statistics were obtained by summing together the total hours worked over the year and then dividing them by the average number of people in employment. For 2008 (the year of the crisis' start) the following data is available:

- The Greeks worked on average 1950 hours
- The Italians: 1803 hours
- The Portuguese: 1771 hours
- The Spaniards: 1659 hours

Compared to the countries of Central and Northern Europe:

- The citizen of the United worked for an average of 1659 hours
- The Swedes: 1617 hours
- The Germans: 1422 hours
- The Dutch: 1392 hours

⁸ Organisation for economic cooperation and development. <http://stats.oecd.org/>

Chart 1: Average working hours over the year

Average annual hours actually worked per worker ⁱ

Customise ▾				Export ▾				Draw chart ▾				My Queries ▾			
→ Employment status				Total employment ▾											
→ Frequency				Annual											
				2007				2008							
→ Time				▲ ▼				▲ ▼							
→ Country															
GRC ⁱ				2 037				1 950							
ITA ⁱ				1 816				1 803							
PRT ⁱ				1 752				1 771							
ESP ⁱ				1 658				1 663							
GBR ⁱ				1 677				1 659							
SWE ⁱ				1 618				1 617							
FRA ⁱ				1 485				1 492							
NOR ⁱ				1 426				1 430							
DEU ⁱ				1 422				1 422							
NLD ⁱ				1 388				1 392							

Data extracted on 24 Sep 2013 23:49 UTC (GMT) from [OECD.Stat](#)

If we compare the actual statistics we come to the conclusion that the so called “lazy Greeks” work 528 hours per year more than the Germans that are said to have a working ethic that everybody should follow. Affirming that the people of the south of the EU caused the crisis with their laziness is therefore a distortion of reality.

The second myth can be easily debunked by comparing the statistics from Eurostat covering the average age of exit from the labour force from 2007. From the data available we can see that the average age of exit from the labour force is 62.1 years. By observing the statistics we notice that the Portuguese work on average until 62.6 years while the Spaniards retire on average at 62.1 years. With 61.3 years, the Germans, rank just 0.2 year above the average. From the statistics it results that the Greeks are just 0.2 year under the average while the Italians deviate from the average for 0.8 year.

On the one hand in 2008 we see that the Greeks reach the average of the EU while the Italians are just 0.6 bellow it. On the other hand data shows that in Norway, the Netherlands and Germany the exit age from the labour force has dropped by 0.4, 0.7 and 0.3 respectively. As evident from data in 2007 people Portugal and Spain were retiring later than the people in Germany. In 2008 the Greeks reached the European average of the EU while the Italians were just 0.6 bellow it. We also notice that in 2008 the Spaniards the retired 0.5 year later than in 2007. It is clear that the second myth is also false. (Observe the table bellow for more details.)

Table 2: Average exit age from the labour force – annual data

Average exit age from the labour force - annual data

Last update: 26-06-2013

Table Customization [show](#)

TIME

+

GEO

	2008	2007
Norway	64.0	64.4
Netherlands	63.2	63.9
Sweden	63.8	63.9
Portugal	: (f)	62.6
United Kingdom	63.1	62.6
Spain	62.6	62.1
Germany (until 1990 former territory of the FRG)	61.7	62.0
European Union (27 countries)	61.4 (e)	61.2 (e)
Greece	61.4	61.0
Denmark	61.3	60.6
Italy	60.8	60.4
France	59.3	59.4

Even the third myth has no concrete foundations. According to German law the workers have the right to at least 20 days of holidays a year, but they vary from one federated state (Bundesrepublik) to another and can consist up to 30 days. Greek workers are also the right to 20 days of holidays to which 5 days are added after 10 years of work. The Portuguese are entitled to 22 days while the Spaniards can go on holidays for 21 days. 9

5 A dark chapter of the European project

Long periods of economic crisis create dangerous conditions that ease the spread xenophobic views and ideologies. The questions of the people addressed to the ruling political class which is following the dictate of the Troika are left unanswered and this is where far-right parties step in. They perceive the loss of national pride and immigration as the core of the problem and propose violence and chauvinism as the solution. Since the start of the crisis in 2009 there has been a substantial increase of popular support for far-right parties. As mentioned previously the far-right strengthened as the consequence of the deepening economic crisis and the austerity measures that brought even more unemployment and inequality.

5.1 The rise of Golden dawn

The most shocking and still overly ignored by the international mainstream media is the case of Greece and the fascist Golden dawn. During the last election in 2009 before the real crisis the party received barely 0.29% of the votes. In 2012, after 3 years of destructive austerity measures

and further collapse of Greece's economy and welfare state, the party came fifth with 6.97% of votes thus gaining 18 seats in the parliament. This means that from 20,000 votes gained in 2009 they skyrocketed to over 400,000 votes¹⁰; a 2000% increase! The rise of the public support for the party further

9 Pop, Valentina. Merkel under fire for 'lazy Greeks' comment, EUobserver. 19th May 2011.
<http://euobserver.com/political/32363>

10 Dalakoglou, D. Neo-Nazism and Neoliberalism: A few Comments on violence in Athens at the time of Crisis Working USA: The journal of labour and Society, 2013.
[http://www.academia.edu/3073037/Neo-](http://www.academia.edu/3073037/Neo-Nazism_and_Neoliberalism_A_few_Comments_on_Violence_in_Athens_at_the_time_of_Crisis)

[Nazism_and_Neoliberalism_A_few_Comments_on_Violence_in_Athens_at_the_time_of_Crisis](http://www.academia.edu/3073037/Neo-Nazism_and_Neoliberalism_A_few_Comments_on_Violence_in_Athens_at_the_time_of_Crisis)
increased and in the recent elections for the European parliament in May the party ended up in third position with 8,94%. From being a totally unrecognised party Golden Dawn grew to become the third political force in the country.

The party's ideology and modus operandi is extremely violent and xenophobic. The militant party members work in groups and assault immigrants, homosexuals or anybody that opposes them. Many of the victims are heavily injured and killed. For example a recent attack happened in Athens on the 2nd of August at 2. A.M. and the victim was Safraz Malik, a 34-old Pakistani immigrant, that was going home after work. He was approached by an individual on a public bus that asked him where he was from and if he was ever attacked by the Golden Dawn. After he got off the bus at the stop the man followed him and called four other individuals that came to the scene of the crime. They dragged him in a street and physically assaulted him leaving him with several bruises on the body and a broken jaw.¹¹ 5 days later on August 7th at 5 A.M. another racially motivated attack happened. This time the victim was Ashkan Nedjefi, a 28-old Iranian immigrant. Three individuals on a motorbike stopped him and two of them approached him asking where he was from. After he answered he was stabbed twelve times with a butterfly knife mostly in the stomach but also close to the heart.¹²

Beside the growing support for the party by the general public what is really concerning is the ties that are developing between the police and the neo-

Nazi party.¹³ In his commentary titled Neo-Nazism and neoliberalism: A few comments on violence in Athens at times of crisis Dimitris Dalakoglou, a lecturer of social anthropology at the University of Sussex, points out that during the general strike in Athens on the 28th June 2011 neo-Nazis were videotaped while they got protected by the riot police when chased by anti-Nazi demonstrators. A video showing important members of the far-Right chatting with officers and passing behind the police cordon toward the protected zone of the parliament went public and confirmed the suspected ties. ¹⁴ After the 2012 elections it also emerged that half of the police officers in the headquarters in Athens voted for Golden dawn. ¹⁵ All this happened and is still happening within the European Union that is supposed to function on the principles of human rights and respect of diversity.

5.2 From periphery to the centre: The spread of support for the far-right

The latest warning are the results of elections for the European parliament held in May. The outcome showed us that the rise of the far-right/xenophobic right is not confined to this country

highly affected by economic crisis.¹⁶ Far-right/xenophobic right parties won the elections in France, Denmark and the United Kingdom gaining 24.86%, 26.6% and 27.5% respectively. In addition to France's Front National, UKIP and the Danish people's party other far-right parties managed to enter the EU parliament and increase the number of seats. Among these is the Neo-Nazi Jobbik with 14.6% which has also gained 20.54% of the votes at the Hungarian parliamentary elections in April 2014. In Finland the Finns party received 12.87% of the votes and in the Netherlands the Party for Freedom retained their seats in the EU parliament with 13.3%. The phenomenon of increased intolerance and xenophobia is creating hostility both within the single EU countries and at the level of the European Union as a whole. It is far more complex than it seems at first. On the one side there is a huge increase of xenophobia mainly directed against immigrants that get violently assaulted on the streets, on the other there is a fierce opposition to multiculturalism and the European institutions that are supposed to represent it. Another kind of hostility is emerging between the periphery of the EU that has been massively devastated by the economic crisis and austerity measures and Germany as the main advocate of austerity policy. The anti-German sentiment is growing especially in Greece where the people feel degraded because they are labeled as lazy and are forced to adopt policies by Germany and the Troika.¹⁷ Meanwhile in the other countries of the EU the citizens feel exploited given the fact that their taxes are used to bail-out banks that made irresponsible loans. Demonising a particular ethnicity and imposing policies resulted in the economic and social devastation in Southern EU and the spread of intolerance.

11 Mac Con Uladh, D. Man awaits surgery 10 days after suffering broken jaw in racist attack. Enet English. 19th August, 2014. <http://www.enetenglish.gr/?i=news.en.home&id=2043>

12 Same source

13 Chatzistefanou A. Golden Dawn has infiltrated Greek police, claims officer. The Guardian. 26th October 2012.

<http://www.theguardian.com/world/2012/oct/26/golden-dawn-infiltrated-greek-police-claims>

14 Dalakoglou, D. Neo-Nazism and Neoliberalism: A few Comments on violence in Athens at the time of Crisis Working USA: The journal of labour and Society, 2013. [http://www.academia.edu/3073037/Neo-](http://www.academia.edu/3073037/Neo-Nazism_and_Neoliberalism_A_few_Comments_on_Violence_in_Athens_at_the_time_of_Crisis)

[Nazism_and_Neoliberalism_A_few_Comments_on_Violence_in_Athens_at_the_time_of_Crisis](http://www.academia.edu/3073037/Neo-Nazism_and_Neoliberalism_A_few_Comments_on_Violence_in_Athens_at_the_time_of_Crisis)

15 Half of Greek cops go ultra-nationalist at elections. Russia Today. 15 May, 2012. <http://rt.com/news/greek-police-vote-nazis-350/>

16 Elgot, J. European Elections: 9 Scariest Far-Right Parties Now In The European Parliament. The Huffington post. 26th May, 2014 http://www.huffingtonpost.co.uk/2014/05/26/far-right-europe-election_n_5391873.html

6 Everybody's Europe: Possible solutions and the role of the youth

The economic crisis is still present and it looks like even German economy is getting affected since it shrank by 0.2% in the second quarter. The worsening of relations with Russia may as well further undermine the economy.¹⁸ The austerity policy proved to be not only infective but also damaging to the countries that implemented the measures imposed by the Troika.¹⁹ Since

the increase of xenophobia and the growth of support for far-right parties are directly correlated to the economic crisis and the increasing social inequality it is essential to change the economic policies and practices that caused it. This implies writing-off illegitimate debts, taxing big corporations adequately, avoiding undemocratic unilateral imposing of economic policies, reversing the austerity policy into a policy of public investment and the regulation of markets especially financial ones. Since this is an issue solvable only progressively and in the long-term other actions must be undertaken to stop the rise of xenophobia. It is necessary to take the rise of the far-right and xenophobia seriously by legally prosecuting the media and the politicians that spread any kind of prejudice.

Education should never be subject to cuts since only informed and educated citizens can take a strong stand against xenophobic parties and primitive racist violence. It is essential to increase the budget that is assigned to education and programmes such as Erasmus and Comenius that foster mutual understanding and transnational friendship. Exchange programmes in elementary school and high school should be promoted more since an early multicultural experience would contribute decisively to the shaping of a tolerant and understanding individual. A student exchange programme that includes EU countries, African countries and Asian countries needs to be established and promoted to foster mutual understanding and eradicate the prejudice towards immigrants that are coming from other continents.

Young people that experience the cultural diversity of student exchanges will be able to easily detect, reject and fight xenophobic discourses and ideologies that demonise any minority. Various youth forums, conferences and workshops on multicultural dialogue need to be supported and financed since they also contribute to the shaping of more tolerant and understanding individuals. Youth unemployment is also one of the factors that may lead desperate young individuals into voting parties that blame the absence of jobs on immigration. It is therefore necessary to reduce skyrocketing youth unemployment that has almost reached 60% in Greece, 54% in Spain, 48.7% in Croatia, 43% in Italy and 34.8% in Portugal.²⁰ Ultimately, the young people have to be more empowered politically and socially to have an impact on decision-making and the shaping of a better European Union where the rights of the people are more important than the profit of banks and corporations.

17 Neat, R. Growing anti-German feeling on streets of Greece. The Guardian. 27th February, 2012. <http://www.theguardian.com/business/2012/feb/27/growing-anti-german-feeling-streets-greece>

18 Martin M., Barikin N. German economy shrinks, hitting European recovery hopes. Reuters. 14th August 2014. <http://uk.reuters.com/article/2014/08/14/uk-eurozone-economy-germany-idUKKBN0GE0DR20140814>

19 Plumer, B. IMF: Austerity is much worse for the economy than we thought. The Washington post. 10th October 2012. <http://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/wonkblog/wp/2012/10/12/imf-austerity-is-much-worse-for-the-economy-than-we-thought/>

20 Youth unemployment rate in EU countries, May 2014. Statista. <http://www.statista.com/statistics/266228/youth-unemployment-rate-in-eu-countries/>

Sources and bibliography

Australian media under attack for calling Greeks lazy, Neokosmos. 6th September 2012.
<http://neokosmos.com/news/en/australian-media-under-attack-for-calling-greeks-lazy>

Chatzistefanou A., Golden Dawn has infiltrated Greek police, claims officer. The Guardian. 26th October 2012. <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2012/oct/26/golden-dawn-infiltrated-greek-police-claims>

Dalakoglou, D. Neo-Nazism and Neoliberalism: A few Comments on violence in Athens at the time of Crisis Working USA: The journal of labour and Society, 2013.
http://www.academia.edu/3073037/Neo-Nazism_and_Neoliberalism_A_few_Comments_on_Violence_in_Athens_at_the_time_of_Crisis

Elgot, J. European Elections: 9 Scariest Far-Right Parties Now In The European Parliament. The Huffington post. 26th May, 2014 http://www.huffingtonpost.co.uk/2014/05/26/far-right-europe-election_n_5391873.html

Elliot L. Global financial crisis key stages. The guardian. 7th August 2011
<http://www.guardian.co.uk/business/2011/aug/07/global-financial-crisis-key-stages>

Germans tell Greeks to rise earlier and work harder to avoid financial crisis. The telegraph. 5th March 2010. <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/greece/7378905/Germans-tell-Greeks-to-rise-earlier-and-work-harder-to-avoid-financial-crisis.html>

Half of Greek cops go ultra-nationalist at elections. Russia Today. 15 May, 2012.
<http://rt.com/news/greek-police-vote-nazis-350/>

Harvey, David. Crisis of Capitalism. The Royal Society for the encouragement of Arts. 26th April, 2010. http://www.thersa.org/_data/assets/pdf_file/0011/558929/RSA-Lecture-David-Harvey-transcript.pdf

Mac Con Uladh, D. Man awaits surgery 10 days after suffering broken jaw in racist attack. Enet English. 19th August, 2014. <http://www.enetenglish.gr/?i=news.en.home&id=2043>

Martin M., Barikin N. German economy shrinks, hitting European recovery hopes. Reuters. 14th August 2014. <http://uk.reuters.com/article/2014/08/14/uk-eurozone-economy-germany-idUKKBN0GE0DR20140814>

Neat, R. Growing anti-German feeling on streets of Greece. The Guardian. 27th February, 2012.
<http://www.theguardian.com/business/2012/feb/27/growing-anti-german-feeling-streets-greece>

Organisation for economic cooperation and development. <http://stats.oecd.org/>

Plumer, B. IMF: Austerity is much worse for the economy than we thought. The Washington post. 10th October 2012. <http://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/wonkblog/wp/2012/10/12/imf-austerity-is-much-worse-for-the-economy-than-we-thought/>

Pop, Valentina. Merkel under fire for 'lazy Greeks' comment, EUobserver. 19th May 2011:
<http://euobserver.com/political/32363>

Stein, S. Glass. Steagall Act: The Senators And Economists Who Got It Right. The Huffington post. 11th June, 2009. http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2009/05/11/glass-steagall-act-the-se_n_201557.html

Walker, P., Taylor, M., Far right on the rise in Europe, reports says. The guardian. 6th November 2011. <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2011/nov/06/far-right-rise-europe-report>

Youth unemployment rate in EU countries, May 2014. Statista.
<http://www.statista.com/statistics/266228/youth-unemployment-rate-in-eu-countries>

Drumeva Yana

Bulgaria/Italia

Europa / Non Europa

***I nuovi cittadini d'Europa. La nostra realtà tra vita sociale,
arte e aspettative***

L'Europa come la conosciamo oggi ormai non è l'Europa dei nostri antenati, e nemmeno dei nostri genitori. Oggi noi – i giovani, affrontiamo una realtà diversa, realtà in cui l'appartenenza sociale e culturale è sempre più difficile da definire...

I confini del nostro mondo sono diversi – viaggiamo e ci spostiamo di continuo, nasciamo in un posto per crescere in un altro, studiamo in un terzo per lavorare poi altrove. Siamo connessi e diventa sempre più facile attraversare le frontiere. L'Unione Europea sembra una terra senza confini dove chiunque può essere ovunque.. ma è davvero così?

L'Unione Europea ha i suoi confini, ha le sue estremità, le sue regole d'accesso e forse unendoci dentro ci separiamo nel globale... Uguali a prima vista, scopriamo di non esserlo alla fine.. I nostri diritti e obblighi sono diversi una volta attraversato il primo confine – del proprio Paese.

Come cittadina bulgara che vive all'estero, vivo due vite parallele – una in Italia e una in Bulgaria. In ognuno di questi Paesi ho un ruolo e una identità diversa..probabilmente collegata al modo in cui mi vedono. Da una parte in Italia sono la ragazza straniera – particolare con la mia cultura e tradizioni diverse, in Bulgaria invece non sono più la stessa ragazza di una volta, cambiata dalla vita e dalle esperienze all'estero: sono quasi straniera nel Paese in cui sono nata. Ormai sono un personaggio particolare – straniera ovunque ma anche cittadina di due Paesi..

Noi, i giovani di oggi viviamo l'Europa così, le nostre radici si adattano facilmente e con questo le nostre responsabilità verso la comunità aumentano. Siamo responsabili ,non solo per noi e il nostro Paese; i problemi che ci interessano sono globali anche perché' noi stessi apparteniamo a tutta l'Europa.

La figura dell'europeo contemporaneo è mutilata. Oggi lui ha la pelle di colore diversa, nato in America, Africa o Asia.. E' un viaggiatore che si è fermato qui. L'europeo vive l'Europa come sua, anche se a volte essa non lo accetta. Emarginato in diversi modi, il nuovo cittadino rispecchia il vero volto della vita sociale d'Europa.

Io come artista percepisco fortemente questi movimenti sociali che si riflettono nella vita artistica. In fondo l'arte è lo specchio più sincero che abbiamo..

L'Europa vive momenti complicati e nei tempi duri l'arte diventa lo strumento più adatto e gli artisti – i comunicatori più diretti. Oggi i progetti d'arte sono anche progetti sociali che trattano problemi globali.

Uno dei grandi problemi d'Europa è l'integrazione degli emigranti. La figura dello straniero è ancora vista male anche se dobbiamo ammettere che proprio lui è il nuovo europeo. Le città europee sono popolate di stranieri (come me) e tutti noi vivendo là, facciamo parte d'Europa. Noi apparteniamo a molti Stati e raccogliamo in sé molte culture.

L'arte diventa una via d'uscita ,dando voce ai problemi che devono essere risolti. Pochi mesi fa ho esposto un lavoro che consiste in 7 cassette di carta pesta, decorate con delle parole in 7 lingue

diverse. Il lavoro chiamato “Nidi” è una metafora dei nuovi cittadini d'Europa che migrano come gli uccellini costruendosi “nidi” temporanei. Avevo dei dubbi su come sarebbe stato visto il lavoro, ma dopo il primo giorno ho ricevuto una chiamata. Era una ragazza ucraina che mi ha detto: “Ho visto il tuo lavoro e ho trovato la mia casetta! Mi sono sentita quasi a casa..” In questo momento ho capito quando siamo uguali emotivamente, tutti indipendentemente da dove proveniamo, e che l'arte ha la forza di unirli.

Noi – gli artisti siamo pure migratori e con il nostro migrare e cercare sempre nuovi orizzonti, diventiamo un buon esempio della nuova generazione europei. Anche noi sbattiamo spesso contro i muri dell'intolleranza e il razzismo ma questo ci fa solo cercare nuovi modi per combatterli.

L'ultima esperienza che mi ha colpito è la partecipazione nella residenza d'artista “The Old School Residence” a Gorna Lipnitsa, Bulgaria. La residenza d'artista dà la possibilità agli artisti da tutto il mondo di vivere in un posto insieme per un periodo definito e lavorare su un tema. Così le residenze diventano un buon esempio della comunità di oggi: vivendo in un luogo e lavorando su progetti propri per questo luogo, l'artista diventa parte di esso.

Là, 8 artisti da tutto il mondo ci siamo incontrati per lavorare sul tema “Rituali stellari”. Le nostre diversità erano gli strumenti per lavorare bene insieme, ponendoci delle domande diverse e cercando di trovare più punti di vista possibili. Ragazzi da Messico, Austria, Stati Uniti, Polonia, Svizzera e Bulgaria eravamo pari di fronte a un lavoro artistico collegato con il posto specifico in cui ci trovavamo. La residenza ci ha permesso di viverlo e trasmettere la nostra visione di esso.

Così Avalon e Posie dagli Stati Uniti hanno presentato una serie di interviste degli abitanti del paese, Manolo dal Messico ha usato le erbe tipiche del posto per dipingere, Bianca dall' Austria ha decorato oggetti vecchi trovati in giro e Paloma dal Messico ha lavorato con me su un progetto di mappe immaginarie sulle quali abbiamo scritto delle frasi particolari. Abbiamo distribuito queste mappe nel paese, dove ci trovavamo, appesi sugli alberi o sulle porte delle case accompagnandole con degli auspici: i figli che tornano a casa, un posto sicuro, le strade piene di vita e ecc.. I nostri lavori erano comunque tutti una specie di augurio per questo luogo. Eravamo diventati parte di esso vivendo là, anche se solo per dieci giorni.

Alla fine del mio lavoro ho realizzato una installazione di lampade – una metafora delle scale per il cielo. Ho riflettuto sull'accaduto e ho chiesto ad ogni artista di scrivere un suo desiderio: Ho attaccato alle lampade i desideri sulla carta e quando le abbiamo accese ho sperato che tutti quei desideri si avverassero. Tutti hanno scritto cose che auguravano non solo a se stessi ma anche al tutto il paese: Pace, amore, bellezza, benessere, notti stellate, un futuro migliore, disciplina, armonia..tolleranza..

E così noi – tutti diversi e provenienti da diversi Paesi eravamo diventati abitanti di Gorna Lipnitsa e parte integrante di essa.

La magia che è accaduta là non è una utopia, è piuttosto una vera possibilità di essere diversi e usare la bellezza della varietà per unirsi. Contro tutta l'intolleranza che si incontra ogni giorno in quel momento, in quel posto, le opere d'arte non combattevano per dominare ma si completavano una l'altra come parti di un mosaico.. così come dovremmo completarci anche noi – i nuovi cittadini d'Europa, tra odio e indifferenza dobbiamo cercare il modo di essere indispensabili uno per altro..

**Non-formaleducationmethodsandpossibilities
foryouthprojectdevelopmentunderErasmus+**

KA1and2!

1. Non-formal education methods

What is non-formal education?

[Association, democracy and civil society](#), [Education](#), [Group work](#), [Ideas](#), [Index](#), [Informal and non-formal education](#), [Informal Jewish education](#), [Learning](#), [organizational learning](#), [Social action](#), [social change and social reform](#), [Social pedagogy](#), [Teaching and pedagogy](#), [Youth work](#).

Non-formal education became part of the international discourse on education policy in the late 1960s and early 1970s. It can be seen as related to the concepts of recurrent and lifelong learning. Tight (1996: 68) suggests that whereas the latter concepts have to do with the extension of education and learning throughout life, non-formal education is about 'acknowledging the importance of education, learning and training which takes place outside recognized educational institutions'. Fordham (1993) suggests that in the 1970s, four characteristics came be associated with non-formal education:

Relevance to the needs of disadvantaged groups. Concern with specific categories of person.
A focus on clearly defined purposes. Flexibility in organization and methods.

In many northern countries the notion of non-formal education is not common in internal policy debates – preferred alternatives being [community education and community learning](#), [informal education](#) and [social pedagogy](#).

The idea of non-formal education

As Fordham (1993) relates, in 1967 at an international conference in Williamsburg USA, ideas were set out for what was to become a widely read analysis of the growing 'world educational crisis' (Coombs 1968). There was concern about unsuitable curricula; a realization that educational growth and economic growth were not necessarily in step, and that jobs did not emerge directly as a result of educational inputs. Many countries were finding it difficult (politically or economically) to pay for the expansion of formal education.

The conclusion was that formal educational systems had adapted too slowly to the socio-economic changes around them and that they were held back not only by their own conservatism, but also by the inertia of societies themselves. If we also accept that educational policy making tends to follow rather than lead other social trends, then it followed that change would have to come not merely from within formal schooling, but from the wider society and from other sectors within it. It was from this point of departure that planners and economists in the World Bank began to make a distinction between informal, non-formal and formal education. (Fordham 1993: 2)

At around the same time there were moves in UNESCO toward [lifelong education](#) and notions of '[the learning society](#)' which culminated in *Learning to Be* ('The Faure Report', UNESCO 1972).

Lifelong learning was to be the 'master concept' that should shape educational systems (UNESCO 1972:182). What emerged was an influential tripartite categorization of learning systems. It's best known statement comes from the work of Combs with Prosser and Ahmed (1973):

Formal education: the hierarchically structured, chronologically graded 'education system', running from primary school through the university and including, in addition to general academic studies, a variety of specialised programmes and institutions for full-time technical and professional training.

Informal education: the truly lifelong process whereby every individual acquires attitudes, values, skills and knowledge from daily experience and the educative influences and resources in his or her environment – from family and neighbours, from work and play, from the market place, the library and the mass media.

Non-formal education: any organised educational activity outside the established formal system – whether operating separately or as an important feature of some broader activity – that is intended to serve identifiable learning clienteles and learning objectives.

The distinction made is largely administrative. Formal education is linked with schools and training institutions; non-formal with community groups and other organizations; and informal covers what is left, e.g. interactions with friends, family and work colleagues. (See, for example, Coombs and Ahmed 1974). The problem with this is that people often organize educational events as part of their everyday experience and so the lines blur rapidly. As Fordham (1993) comments, these definitions do not imply hard and fast categories. In particular, there may well be some overlap (and confusion) between the informal and the non-formal.

Just how helpful a focus on administrative setting or institutional sponsorship is a matter of some debate. Once we recognize that a considerable amount of education happens beyond the school wall it may be that a simple division between formal and informal education will suffice. It has certainly been the argument of Jeffs and Smith (1990) that the notion of non-formal education has limited use when thinking about process.

So why the term's currency?

Just because something does not make sense in terms of process, does not mean an idea doesn't retain its currency. It has been a convenient way of talking about funding rather than the actual process. As Graham-Brown (1991: 64) says, dividing formal education from out of school education or so-called non-formal education is artificial in many ways. But in some countries, this division reflects the gulf between government provision through the school system, on the one hand, and the needs and interests of marginal populations who are most alienated from the system on the other.

The range of initiatives and programmes that have adopted the title 'non-formal' are many and various. They include literacy and basic education for adults and young people, political and trade union education, 'catching-up' programmes for school drop outs, pre-school education for young children, political and trade union education and various kinds of educational work linked with development initiatives including agricultural extension and training programmes and health education. They also shade over into various examples of both state and private vocational training programmes. The McGivney and Murray (1992) collection *Adult Education in Development* gives a good feel of the sorts of initiatives this might include. They look particularly at health education, literacy, rural development and the role of women in development. However, it can be confusing to use terms like adult education in the context of Southern education – given

the age distribution of populations and the large numbers of young people involved in non-formal programmes.

What is also apparent from the literature is that it was politically useful to use a term like non-formal education. As Shukla (1985) has argued by the mid 1960s it was becoming clear that an education system based around schooling could not be sustained because of the sheer cost to already fragile economies. A search for 'new' techniques was therefore on. Second, within the north it was becoming clear that the school was only one amongst many potential educative elements. Concepts such as '[the learning society](#)' were gaining some currency. Third, there was the impact of movements such as that of deschooling (after [Illich](#)).

These were essentially 'western' concerns. At the same time a number of socialist countries initiated large programmes for changing the consciousness, skills and organizations of their populations. They typically used many of the forms that we now label as non-formal education: Specially trained educators (maybe for 4 or 5 weeks) (not teachers) sent out to local villages etc to set up and run programmes and recruit further helpers and group members.

The use of mass media such as radio and television, things like newsheets and comics. Provision on a mass scale – a whole region or country is targeted.

Contrasts between 'formal' and 'non-formal' programmes

Simkins (1976) analysed non-formal education programme in terms of purposes, timing, content delivery systems and control, and contrasted these with formal educational programmes. The resulting ideal-types provide a useful framework – and bring out the extent to which non-formal education initiatives, while emphasizing flexibility, localness and responsiveness remain located within a [curricula](#) form of education (in contrast with those forms driven by conversation).

Ideal-type models of normal and non-formal education

formal	non-formal
---------------	-------------------

purposes	
-----------------	--

Long-term & general	Credential- based
---------------------	-------------------

Short-term & specific	Non- credential-based
-----------------------	-----------------------

timing	long cycle / preparatory / full-time short cycle / recurrent / part-time
---------------	--

Content	
----------------	--

standardized / input centred	academic
------------------------------	----------

entry requirements determine	clientele
------------------------------	-----------

individualized / output centred	practical
---------------------------------	-----------

clientele determine entry requirements	
--	--

delivery system	
------------------------	--

institution-based, isolated from	
----------------------------------	--

environment.rigidly structured, teacher-centred and resource intensive	
--	--

environment-based, community	
------------------------------	--

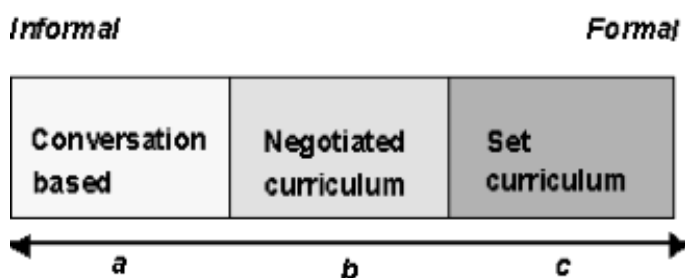
related.flexible, learner-centred and resource saving

control external / hierarchical self-governing / democratic

(Adapted by Fordham 1993 from Simkins 1977: 12-15)

'Top down and bottom up'

One of the enduring themes in the literature of non-formal education, according to Fordham (1993), has been that the education provided should be in the interests of the learners and that the organization and curriculum planning should preferably be undertaken by the learners themselves: that it should be 'bottom up'. It is also often argued that this should empower learners to understand and if necessary change the social structure around them. Fordham (1993) continues: 'Examples where there is a genuine sense of ownership are not easy to find; and almost all have an element of community outreach as part of the general organization'.



On the other hand examples of top-down non-formal programmes are all too common. Almost all employer-led and State provided training falls into this category. This can be seen as paralleling the distinctions that Jeffs and Smith (1990, 1999) make between formal and informal education via curriculum. In this way formal education would broadly approximate to top-down curriculum formation (c); non-formal to bottom-up or negotiated curriculum formation (b); and informal education would arguably be a non-curriculum or conversational form (a).

Pointers to the success of non-formal programmes

As Graham-Brown (1991: 74-77) has argued in respect of literacy programmes there are a number of dimensions that have proved to be crucial to effectiveness:

- Training and motivation of literacy workers;
- The quality and relevance of materials;
- The reinforcements of literacy.

It is clear from the studies of literacy campaigns that both the commitment and skills of literacy promoters are very important. Enthusiasm is not enough. It is not that straightforward to

facilitate learner participation in dialogue and discussion. Certain skills are needed to put across ideas and so on. Many of the literacy workers are young (mostly between 18 and 25 in the successful Botswana campaign). This meant that they need not be automatically accepted or appreciated. In some campaigns there has been a considerable effort to try to recruit older workers and those who are known and held in good regard in a locality. In many campaigns workers are paid, and the job accords them some status (although not necessarily accreditation or certification). Where volunteers are recruited, for example in the Kenyan initiative, and who live in the local communities, the main incentive is often the hope that this might lead to a full time job.

There has also been an emphasis on developing appropriate materials. Most of the various national literacy campaigns have had some central unit which developed materials etc for the workers etc. to use. To this must be added things like the production of regular radio programmes to support initiatives. However, this is both expensive and sophisticated and it is not proved that easy, for example, to update and change materials quite as has been needed.

Then as Graham-Brown (1991: 76) suggests, once people achieve basic literacy, whatever its precise form, the process creates further demands for post-literacy education, whether to 'catch up' on missed formal education, or to develop organizational or practical skills. At this point things can become quite expensive and complex. The demands are now more sophisticated.

To these specific questions must be added some further problems. To begin with, given that initiatives involve voluntary participation – how are people to be attracted on sufficient scale. This is much less of a problem in systems where there is large scale schooling some legal basis for attendance. The successful campaign in Botswana, for example, touched about 20 per cent of the population – it still left quite a few people illiterate.

In addition, unless the school system is discredited for some political reason, a lower valuation tends to be put on non-formal education, especially for young people. They do not hold the same status (they are local and not special) and often do not lead to accreditation. (Graham Brown 1991: 77)

In conclusion

The notion of non-formal education has been a significant feature of policy debates around education in southern countries for three decades. It has drawn attention to the importance and potential of education, learning and training that takes place outside recognized educational institutions. There are questions about usefulness of the notion when looking at the process of education. It has also gone in and out of fashion. Fordham (1993) comments that if we try to correlate the flourishing of non-formal education and political change then the 1970s can certainly be described as the decade of non-formal education (Rubenson 1982). Similarly the 1980s saw the neglect of non-formal education and Fordham suggests that this was in tune with the politics of the decade, accompanied by greater inequalities both within and between countries. Given the extent to which notions of [lifelong learning](#) and associated ideas have gained ground in recent years it will be interesting to see how the language of policy debates will change over the next few years.

2. Possibilities for youth project development under Erasmus+ KA 1 and 2

2.1 Master Student Loan Guarantee

Higher education students at master's level who want to complete a full study programme in another Programme Country can apply for a loan to contribute to their costs.

The Student Loan Guarantee facility will be established in cooperation with the European Investment Bank Group. The facility will provide a partial guarantee against loan defaults for banks or student loan agencies in Programme Countries who will participate. The EU partial guarantee will thus mitigate risk for financial institutions lending to a group they currently do not consider. In return for access to the partial guarantee, banks will be required to offer loans on affordable conditions to mobile students, including better than market interest rates and up to two years to allow graduates to get into a job before beginning repayment.

The establishment of a student loan guarantee facility will enable young people to gain access to loans to support their studies abroad over the lifetime of the Erasmus+ Programme. The EU budget allocation will leverage a multiple amount in financing from the banking sector for loans to mobile masters students.

The management of the Facility at the EU level will be entrusted to the European Investment Fund, part of the European Investment Bank.

Following a call for expressions of interest at EU-level, financial intermediaries will be selected to operate the Erasmus+-backed student loans in Programme Countries, based upon open and transparent criteria. These financial intermediaries will be the sole interface for the individual student for the assessment of loan applications, conferral of loans and collection of repayments. It is expected that the Facility will be in place to guarantee the first loans to be given for the beginning of the academic year 2014/15 (i.e. September 2014).

2.2 - MOBILITY PROJECT FOR YOUNG PEOPLE AND YOUTH WORKERS

Young people and organisations that are active in youth work can apply for youth mobility funding under Key Action 1.

What mobility activities are possible?

Each project can last between **3 and 24 months** and organisations can apply for funding to support any of the following mobility activities within a project:

Mobility of Young People

- youth exchanges for people aged 13 -30 lasting 5 to 21 days, excluding travel time
- European Voluntary Service (EVS) for people aged 17-30 lasting 2 to 12 months

Mobility of Youth Workers

- training and networking for youth workers of any age

Youth Worker mobility activities can last from 2 days to 2 months, excluding travel time.

Who can apply?

Any organisation or group actively involved in youth work can apply. Please read the Erasmus+ [Programme Guide](#) for full eligibility criteria. Organisations may only apply for funding for one project per round.

Application deadlines

There will be three funding deadlines in 2014:

- Applications must be submitted by **17 March 2014** for projects starting between 17 June and 31 December 2014.

- Applications must be submitted by **30 April 2014** for projects starting between 1 August 2014 and 28 February 2015.
- Applications must be submitted by **1 October 2014** for projects starting between 1 January 2015 and 30 September 2015.

2.3 Strategic Partnerships in the field of Education, Training and Youth

UK organisations involved in Higher Education, Vocational Education and Training, School Education, Adult Education, and Youth can apply for funding to run collaborative projects aimed at improving provision across more than one field.

This part of Key Action 2 is managed in the UK by both the British Council and Ecorys, as part of the UK National Agency, dependent on the main field of focus.

What activities are possible?

Strategic Partnerships covering more than one field can last for **2 or 3 years** and are a flexible way of working with partners from different countries. Strategic Partnerships in more than one field must demonstrate how their activities will improve provision across the selected fields.

Activities could include:

- Curricula, courses, joint study programmes,
- Learning, teaching, training and the development of materials and methods
- Project-based collaboration, peer learning, workshops, research and analysis
- Capacity building and networking,
- Information, guidance, coaching and counselling activities
- Improvement of qualifications frameworks, credit transfer, quality assurance
- Training, teaching and learning activities for HE, VET, school education, adult education and/or youth.

Full details of these activities, including durations and eligibility criteria, are given in the [Programme Guide](#).

How many partners are needed?

Strategic Partnerships in more than one field must include a minimum of **3 partners from 3 different [Programme Countries](#)**, including the applicant organisation. The number of partners and funding will vary depending on the project's aims and activities. Strategic Partnerships can receive a maximum of 150,000 euro in funding per year.

Who can apply?

Any UK organisation involved in education, training and youth can participate in a Strategic Partnership, either as the lead or as a partner. One organisation must lead the project and make the application for funding. UK organisations leading a project must apply to the UK National Agency on behalf of the partnership. Any Higher Education Institution from Programme Countries involved in the partnership must hold a valid [Erasmus Charter for Higher Education](#).

How to apply

The application deadline for the 2014 Call was **11am UK time on Wednesday 30 April**. There is only one funding round for Strategic Partnerships in more than one field in 2014.

You should have received acknowledgement of your application from us by the end of June. If you have any queries about your application, please contact us at erasmusplus@uk.ecorys.com. All application guidance is still available in the Key Documents section of this page for your reference.

2.4 - Capacity Building in the field of youth

Capacity Building projects are transnational cooperation projects based on **multilateral partnerships** between organisations active in the field of **youth** in Programme and Partner Countries.

Youth Capacity Building projects aim to:

- foster cooperation and exchanges in the field of youth between Programme Countries and Partner Countries from different regions of the world
- improve the quality and recognition of youth work, non-formal learning and volunteering in Partner Countries and enhance their synergies and complementarities with other education systems, the labour market and society
- foster the development, testing and launching of schemes and programmes of non-formal learning mobility at regional level (i.e. within and across regions of the world)
- promote transnational non-formal learning mobility between Programme and Partner Countries, notably targeting young people with fewer opportunities, with a view to improving participants' level of competences and fostering their active participation in society. Capacity Building projects should carry out activities that: promote strategic cooperation between youth organisations on the one hand and public authorities in Partner Countries on the other hand;
- promote the cooperation between youth organisations and organisations in the education and training fields as well as with representatives of business and labour market;
- raise the capacities of youth councils, youth platforms and local, regional and national authorities dealing with youth in Partner Countries;
- enhance the management, governance, innovation capacity and internationalisation of youth organisations in Partner Countries;
- launch, test and implement youth work practices, such as:
 - o tools and methods for the socio-professional development of youth workers and trainers;
 - o non-formal learning methods, especially those promoting the acquisition/improvement of competences, including media literacy skills;
- new forms of practical training schemes and simulation of real life cases in society; new forms of youth work, notably strategic use of open and flexible learning, virtual mobility, open educational resources (OER) and better exploitation of the ICT potential;
- cooperation, networking and peer-learning activities fostering efficient management, internationalisation and leadership of youth work organisations.

2.5 Meetings between young people and decision-makers in the field of youth

Structured Dialogue: Meetings between Young People and Decision-Makers in the Field of Youth promotes the active participation of young people in democratic life and facilitates discussions between young people and policy-makers.

This part of Key Action 3 is managed in the UK by Ecorys as part of the UK National Agency.

What activities are possible?

Structured Dialogue projects can last from **3 to 24 months** and must promote the active participation of **young people aged 13 and 30**, allowing them to make their voice heard on how youth policies should be shaped and implemented in Europe.

Young people should be actively involved in all stages of the project from preparation to follow-up. Activities could include:

- National meetings and transnational seminars that include the active participation of young people in debate and dialogue
- National meetings and transnational seminars that prepare the ground for official
- Youth Conferences run by the Member State holding the Presidency of the European Union Youth policy debate events organised during European Youth Week.
- Any other meetings, events, seminars or debates between young people and decision-makers.

Statutory meetings between organisations or politically influenced events are not eligible for grants under this Action.

Who can apply?

Any participating organisation in a [Programme Country](#) actively involved in youth work can apply. Please read the [Erasmus+ Programme Guide](#) for full eligibility criteria.

How to Apply

1. Register your organisation on [ECAS](#) and the [Participant Portal](#), if not already registered
2. Ensure you have the latest version of Adobe Reader installed (Version 10), or install it for free from the [Adobe website](#)
3. Read our [Key Action 3 Application Guidance for Youth](#) from the previous funding round to familiarise yourself with the application process
4. Download and save the [model Meetings between Young People and Decision-Makers eForm](#), which will enable you to familiarise yourself with the information required to make your application
5. Download and save the [Youth Timetable of Activities Template](#), you will need to include it as an annex to your application
6. Download and save the [Partner Mandate Template](#), all partners will need to sign this before it is scanned and attached as an annex to your application.
7. When the live eForm for the next round of funding for Mobility for Young People and Youth Workers is published by the European Commission, we will make it available from this page.

Application Deadline

There is one remaining funding deadline in 2014: -

- Applications must be submitted by **11am UK time on 1 October 2014** for projects starting between 1 January 2015 and 30 September 2015.

If you applied for funding under Round 2 (30 April deadline), you should have received acknowledgement of your application from us by the end of June. If you have any queries about your application, please contact us at erasmusplus@uk.ecorys.com.

The best education for a clever person traveling. What Goethe referred to the traveler of his time, in the same way applies to the students of today's Days: A diverse education find those who leave the beaten track their studies and complete a part of their studies abroad. You can find by going abroad for both personal gain and useful experience for the further study and the profession. In the degree to which globalization progresses, gaining international experience in science and in working life important. Mobility and flexibility are not mere tags of HR managers, but real requirements for highly qualified professionals of the future.

Iemelianenko Mariia

PhD in Music Art at the Odessa National A.V. Nezhdanova Academy of Music, Ukraine Master in Public Administration at the National Academy of Public Administration, the President of Ukraine

mariayemelyanenko@ukr.net

«Prospects for Democracy, Stability and Europeanization in Ukraine»

Annotation: The paper will address a number of themes central to the evolving political situation in Ukraine – those pertaining to domestic reforms and strategies of state- and nation-building as well as those related to the country's precarious security situation and its external relations. The

article will also examine the implications of the Ukrainian crisis for the relationship between the West and Russia, as well as for EU and Russian policies in their «shared» neighborhood.

The interaction between the West and Ukraine over the last twenty five years has been shaped by the conditionality paradigm. Kyiv's rapprochement with the West, as a whole, and Brussels, in particular, was made dependent on the progress of Ukraine's democratization, liberalization, and reformation. The ultimate rewards that the West offered for such achievements did exist, but were small, or blurred or both. It was a «conditionality lite» or «soft conditions» approach that, even in case of Ukrainian successes, postponed larger repercussions for either Brussels or Kyiv. In particular, the West's officially announced potential prizes for sustainable Ukrainian reforms included an only undetermined future membership promise from NATO made at the Bucharest summit of 2008, and demonstrative ambivalence about an EU accession, repeated in many statements by the EU Council and Commission over the last years. Arguably, prolonged Western vagueness, which continued even after the successful 2004 Orange Revolution, played their role in the eruption of deep political conflict at Kyiv in autumn 2013.

Why Ukraine Today Should Be Seen in a Different Perspective:

The steep rise of insecurity, tension, and confrontation that this political escalation has now produced in Eastern Europe illustrates not only that the «soft conditionality» paradigm was misguided. It has also demonstrated that the West's timid approach has become untenable with regard to the novel domestic and international conditions in which Ukraine found itself in 2014. The victorious **Euromaidan Revolution**, Kyiv's conflict with Moscow, and the signing of the EU- Ukraine Association Agreement have changed the country's situation to its core. Not only the ongoing war with Russia, but also the fundamentally new state of domestic affairs in the territorially largest entirely European country should lead to a critical reassessment of the West's interests and strategies regarding Kyiv. The earlier approach by the West emphasized Ukrainian deficiencies and promised vague integration steps once her numerous political, economic, and social imperfections are overcome.

Given the different circumstances in which Kyiv finds itself today, the direction of this method should be reversed. Not only should the West take a clearer stance towards Russia. Instead of rewarding Ukrainian reforms post hoc with unspecified rapprochement, the West should offer ad hoc integrative measures that will effectively help, stabilize, and transform Ukraine. Why is such a radical change of course towards Ukraine now possible and preferable, if not gravely necessary?

First, the stakes of Ukraine's future have grown during the last months. What is at risk is not only democracy and freedom in Europe's largest country and the reputation of the EU's Eastern Partnership policies. The dangers of a Ukrainian failure are now also threatening political stability in the post-Soviet area, the post-war European security architecture, and cooperative transcontinental relations in the Earth's northern hemisphere. Being a geopolitical pivot country, the fate of Ukraine will influence the future of other states, international arrangement, and numerous projects that are in one way or another tied to Kyiv. The demonstration effects of a successful Ukrainian Europeanization on Russian and other post-Soviet countries' domestic affairs could change world politics in fundamental ways.

Second, the preconditions for a successful Ukrainian reformation have recently changed – and, in some regards, for the better. As a result of the ongoing socio-political revolution in Kyiv and beyond, Ukrainian civil society remains highly mobilized. The European Union has, with the signing of the Association Agreement in July 2014, become part and parcel of the Ukrainian reform process. Whether its political class, journalistic community, intellectual circles, or ordinary citizens – Ukraine's population has, over the last year, experienced a thrust towards responsible patriotism and civic engagement. In earlier years, the Ukrainian government and bureaucracy often needed to be motivated from abroad to undertake necessary reforms. During the last months, increasingly deep change in such fields as higher education, procurement policies, or public relations has been initiated from civil society or from inside the new government that includes reputed Europeanizers.

Saving and Reforming Post-Euromaidan Ukraine:

Given the new stakes and circumstances of Ukraine's Europeanization, a radical redefinition of the West's relationship to this country is due – in parallel and addition to a reformulation of Western approaches towards Russia. Ukrainian researchers propose nowadays 10 practical steps that touch only en passant the issue of new sanctions against Russia. Instead, these measures are designed to aid Ukraine in successfully ending the military conflict on its territory, Europeanizing its socio-political system, and fostering energy security. A number of these proposals have been made before – some of them, many times so. Researchers propose them nowadays to be reconsidered anew, within the above-mentioned novel perspective under which Ukraine should be viewed, in 2014.

The below focus is on improving the foreign investment and business climate in Ukraine, and less on generic policies of developmental aid and cultural exchange that would be beneficial to most countries in the world. With its recent policies, the Kremlin is trying to spoil international trust into Ukraine's economic potential, undermine entrepreneurial confidence in her political order, as well as lower general sureness about the governmental capacity of the Ukrainian state. Western counter-measures should be designed to compensate for the recent negative business climate change in Ukraine. Some of these measures would have only low financial and political costs for the EU, US as well as other organizations and states willing to support Ukraine, in this crucial moment.

EU Membership Perspective as Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) Encouragement: Over the last 15 years, the role of the EU's membership perspective in East-Central Europe and the potential impact of a future entry offer for such countries as Moldova, Georgia or Ukraine have been discussed, in dozens of op-eds, book chapters and scholarly papers. How Brussels's accession promise helped reformers in post-authoritarian Southern and post-communist Eastern Europe is by now well-known and does not need to be repeated here. So far, the academic discussion of this issue, however, had only few repercussions on high-level political and diplomatic decision-making. As the Ukrainian case was, by many European politicians, until recently seen as a minor and undetermined one, the provision of a full official membership perspective to Kyiv remained taboo.

Eminent Yale historian Timothy Snyder (I had discussion with him last summer in frames "Summer school of Dialogue", which was held August 1-8, 2013, Krasnogruda, Poland) has recently added an argument why the European Council should, after all, officially recognize a future membership option for Ukraine. A formally announced EU entry option would not only

strengthen and energize today's reformers in Ukraine, an argument made before. It would also motivate potential foreign investors to come to Ukraine in order to gain a foot in this future EU member country. By encouraging foreign direct investment (FDI) via an EU membership possibility as well as some other measures proposed below, the West could effectively intervene into Ukraine's economic affairs, with little costs – at least during the next years. Without much effort, the EU could help to balance the current discouragement of investment activities by Russia-promoted military and political instability. Brussels's official membership perspective would especially encourage multi-national conglomerates to start building up already today a presence in this large East European market scheduled to become one day an integral part of the EU economy.

The official provision of a future EU entry offer should be easier than is sometimes assumed. Opinion polls indicate considerable public sympathy for Ukraine and increasing frustration about Moscow's policies towards Kyiv, in many European states. This circumstance should make it easy for EU politicians to justify such a move. Under the Treaty of the European Union, all states situated in Europe can apply to become EU members, in any way. Finally, the example of Turkey indicates that, even once official EU entry negotiations are opened, a soon accession is not a foregone conclusion.

Swift VLAP Implementation and AA Ratification for FDI Facilitation: For similar reasons, the EU should push for the completion of its Visa Liberalization Action Plan (VLAP) and full ratification of its Association Agreement (AA), with Ukraine. Visa-free short term travelling for both EU citizens to Ukraine, as already possible now, also of Ukrainian citizens to the EU, under the VLAP, would facilitate economic, educational, governmental, and other interaction. Before the visa-free regime is put into action, EU consulates should issue as many long-term multiple visas as possible. (The widespread fear of an additional inflow of illegal Ukrainian labor migrants is overblown. Their numbers in the EU are already high. The possibilities for illegal migration to the Schengen area are currently wide too.)

Full ratification of the AA, by all EU member states and the European Parliament, would send signals to foreign investors similar to those of an official EU membership perspective. Its implementation would, in a number of ways, encourage, ease and simplify the planning and implementation of foreign investment projects. The fully ratified AA, moreover, presumes the creation of common institutions that would include representatives of both the EU and Ukraine. These institutions will be setting Ukraine's reform agenda for the years to come and influencing Kyiv's domestic decision-making. The Association Council to be created once the AA is fully ratified could be vocal on problematic issues in legislation, policy-making, and jurisdiction. It would put pressure on the Ukrainian parliament, courts, and government, both in meetings and via mass media, to deeply incorporate and fully apply EU regulations in practice.

Political Insurance Provision for International FDI: In an article in The Guardian, prominent financial magnate and philanthropist George Soros suggested that Western governments could provide political risk guarantees to those «willing to invest in or do business with Ukraine». Obviously, potential investors will be more interested, if they feel their investments are safer, while their funds might be crucial to kick start Ukraine's receding economy. To install such insurance schemes or guarantee funds, European governments and interested private donors should pool callable capital that can be used to cover losses if needed.

They could do so on both the national and international level. In the first case, they could follow, for instance, the example of the German so-called «Hermes cover», an export credit guarantee scheme that insured, among others, German business relations with partners in the fragile post-Soviet area over the last two decades. In the second case, the Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency (MIGA) of the World Bank – primarily designed to insure investment risks in developing economies – could be specifically tasked (and, if necessary, additionally funded) to extend credible assurances of FDIs into the Ukrainian economy.

A Crimea Occupation Tax: The European Union could introduce special import duties for certain Russian deliveries through a Crimea Occupation Tax (COT). As long as Crimea remains annexed, all energy imports from Russia – which, in 2013, made up 78% of all EU imports from Russia – would be taxed, with an annually increasing customs rate. One draft project proposes a 5% tax, to be levied already in 2014, which would grow to 25% by 2018. A gradual rise would allow EU states to find alternative gas, coal, and oil suppliers, and incrementally develop non-fossil energy sources. Parts of the COT-generated revenue would be directed to Ukraine; parts could be used by the EU to become more energy-efficient and Gazprom-independent. An EU-wide unified COT would be also a step towards strengthening common EU energy policies. Finally, the economy and budget of Russia would be weakened diminishing funds that the Kremlin can direct towards the military sector.

Non-Lethal Weapons Deliveries, Medical Assistance and Counter-Insurgency Advice: The Ukrainian army is in dire need of medical assistance as well as specialized training, advice and material for suppressing the Russia-supported separatist insurgency in the Donets Basin. Non-lethal equipment and material provided by the West to Ukraine could include body armor, transport helicopters, mobile border surveillance watch towers, as well as first aid kits, medical equipment, and pharmaceutical supplies. Providing medicine and other non-weaponry support would lower Ukrainian casualties and suffering. Such equipment and aid cannot be misused in politically sensitive ways, or cause direct harm to civilians. It has low escalatory potential, and should be soon delivered. Non-lethal weapons and professional counter-insurgency counseling would also support peace-keeping in territories already liberated by the Ukrainian army, as activity of partisan separatist groups has been reported to continue in these regions.

Selected Lethal Weapons Deliveries and Military Intelligence Information: In a further step, NATO and the EU could officially recognize that Ukraine conducts an anti-terrorist operation on its territory, or formally define Russia's activities in Eastern Ukraine as a military invasion. In either case, supplying crucial lethal weapons systems as well as relevant military intelligence, like satellite data, to the Ukrainian army could be considered. In both symbolic and practical terms, this would be a more risky endeavor than non-lethal equipment provision and non-military assistance. Thus, a positive decision to provide Ukraine with direct military help, even if excluding deployment of NATO troops, would require significant expenditure of political capital, and public discussion. Columbia University's Kimberly Marten, for instance, pointed recently out the risk of Western weaponry falling into the hands of pro-Russian separatists and Russia.

Anti-Extremist Measures as Conditions for Weapons Deliveries: An additional risk could be that Western guns end up in the hands of Ukrainian radical rightists. There are some minor units of

this kind currently serving in Eastern Ukraine under the guidance of Ukraine's Ministry of Interior. They, for instance, include the numerically small, but well-publicized Azov Battalion, the leadership of which contains professed racists, as documented in research by, for instance, Anton Shekhovtsov. Arming this battalion and similar groups with Western lethal weapons would not only be symbolically disastrous - it could have negative repercussions for Ukraine's post-war development, a major challenge of which will be the demobilization of currently active para-military units.

Therefore, lethal weapons deliveries should be made dependent upon full dissolution of all ultra-nationalist-dominated military or para-military units. The staff of such battalions should be either dismissed, or purposefully reassigned to, and dispersed in, ideologically neutral platoons.

Moreover, parliamentary ultra-nationalist parties as well as individual racists should be excluded from government and other high executive positions. Such a conditionality mechanism will have positive repercussions on Ukrainian state-building that go beyond narrowly military aspects of Western help to Kyiv's fight against the Russia-directed rebellion.

Continued Exploration of Solutions for Ukraine's Energy Problem: Over the last five years, the EU and some of its member states, like Germany, have engaged in discussion and projects to lower Ukraine's energy dependency on Russia. The topics tackled include improving energy efficiency, developing non-fossil energy sources, initiating pilot projects, as well as searching for new energy providers, carriers and routes, which would involve exploring the use of technologies such as shale and liquefied natural gas. More should be done in that regard, by Western organizations and states - in their own interest.

Despite the EU Commission's decision to freeze the South Stream project, an energy partnership with Gazprom, Austria and Hungary are seemingly eager to continue to cooperate with the Kremlin, on this issue. Such attempts should not be tolerated considering not only the current Ukrainian situation, but also in view of general energy diversification policies of the EU. Instead, closer cooperation with other potential fossil energy suppliers, such as Azerbaijan, Algeria, Norway, the US, or Iran should be considered in order to lower the EU's current dependency on Russian gas. Implementing South Stream would both increase the latter problem and undermine Ukraine's effort to retain bargaining power against Russia by remaining an important player in regional energy matters.

Using OLAF to Fight Corruption in Ukraine: An extension of the operation of the European Anti-Fraud Office (known as OLAF) to Ukraine should be offered to Kyiv, as part of the EU's Eastern Partnership and association policies. Corruption, budget misuse, and the prevalence of untaxed economic transactions are major problems of Ukraine. Utilizing the rich experience and high reputation of OLAF to push through effective anti-corruption measures could be an important, yet low-cost contribution to reforming the Ukrainian state. The EU itself, including European investors and the trading partners of Ukraine, would benefit from such a change, as well as from the broader economic repercussions of lower corruption in one the Union's major partner countries.

Dispatching Long-Term Experts to Ukrainian Institutions: Apart from ad hoc consultation, counseling and training, the West should consider financing the sustainable transfer of security,

technical, legal, academic, governmental, managerial, and other relevant expertise to various branches of the Ukrainian state. Placement of experts should focus on organizations outside Kyiv, not the least, the Donets Basin. Privately and publicly supported multi-month to multi-year specialist appointments in Ukraine should include a sizeable contingent of foreign reform experts, police women and men, and MBAs. They should be made to attract, first and foremost, Ukrainians or Ukrainian émigrés who have obtained specialized training and work experience in reputed educational, governmental, non-governmental, and other institutions. There were and are such schemes in operation, in the post-Soviet area, including the Academic Fellowship Program of Soros's Open Society Foundations or the Returning Experts Program of Germany's Center for International Migration and Development.

Such Western-supported appointments, fellowships and contracts should be increased. Well-educated specialists on good governance, international trade, educational reform, city policing, and border guarding should be offered for placement in various Ukrainian governmental organs and supported financially. For instance, legal expertise could be provided to support Kyiv's arbitration proceedings against Gazprom at the Stockholm Arbitration Court. If this Court rules that the gas price currently set by Russia for Ukraine is to be lowered, this would increase energy security in the region. Ukraine will be able to pay its debts and the gas conflict with Russia can be gradually soothed – something of vital interest to the EU too.

Conclusions: The Ukrainian revolution of 2013-2014 opened up new opportunities for a comprehensive reform of the country's political, economic and legal system, as well as for building closer ties to the European Union. In the aftermath of the revolution, however, a major security crisis unfolded. The crisis, widely seen as the worst in Europe since the Balkan wars, is largely due to military intervention by the Russian Federation which occupied and annexed the autonomous region of Crimea and contributed to the escalation of tensions and an outbreak of violence in Eastern Ukraine.

No list of practical steps can be exhaustive when it comes to supporting a transition country like Ukraine. However, the measures proposed in this paper in my opinion are among fundamental steps necessary to transform one of the poorest states in Europe with an ongoing armed conflict into a peaceful, secure and prosperous country. To be sure, Western countries, in general, and the European Union, in particular, have currently their plate full with numerous further daring challenges in- and outside their borders. The salience, gravity and riskiness of the Ukrainian case, however, are of such magnitude that resolute Western engagement is overdue.

Koshchiyenko Olha

Perception of Europe by young adults in the Eastern and Western Ukraine: a comparative study

Abstract: The notion of “Europe” carries different meanings for the young adults in different parts of Ukraine.

In my paper, I compare the perception of Europe by the young adults from the Western-Central Ukraine (“Western Ukraine”) and South-Eastern Ukraine (“Eastern Ukraine”). I base my analysis on the case study of the opinions of the Ukrainian young adults on the signing of the EU-Ukraine Association Agreement. I analyzed the discourse, which dominated in the two regions between August 2013 and May 2014, when the most heated discussions on the Association Agreement happened in Ukraine. The two regions have shown opposing attitudes, with Western Ukrainian youth being actively pro-European and Eastern Ukrainian youth being actively Euro-skeptic.

In my article, I discuss the characteristic features that Eastern and Western Ukrainian young adults tended to attribute to Europe, as well as their expectations from and perceptions of the EU. Further on, I describe the reasons for the geographical division of the Ukrainian youth’s perception of Europe. I consider that the main reason can be found in the legacy of the Ukrainian history, which still influences the identities and perceptions of the modern young people.

Research outlined in this paper might contribute to better understanding of the perception of Europe by the young Ukrainian adults, and might serve as a case to demonstrate how our historical legacy influences our contemporary lives. Furthermore, the analysis conducted in this paper might serve as a starting point for predicting the possible vectors of development of Ukraine in the following decades.

Keywords: Europe, European Union, Association Agreement, youth, Eastern and Western Ukraine, perception, history.

Introduction and research methodology

It can be said without exaggeration that the Ukrainian crisis of 2014 is at the same time a crisis of perception of Europe and its politics. Long and extremely difficult negotiations on the EU-Ukraine Association Agreement have unveiled a long smoldering conflict of identities and perceptions in the Ukrainian society. The Association Agreement was hard to get: the Ukrainian society went through extreme hardships and deep tragedies to finally sign it. Prospects of approximation with the EU split the Ukrainians into two irreconcilable groups: the ones “for Europe” and the ones “against it”.

In my research, I analyzed and compared the two opposing perceptions of Europe that dominate today’s Ukraine. The dichotomous conceptual framework of East and West is commonly accepted in most studies of contemporary Ukraine. I followed the established tradition and selected geography as a basic comparison principle. I united Central and Western Ukrainian regions under the common label of “Western Ukraine”, and Eastern and Southern Ukrainian regions under the label of “Eastern Ukraine”.

Further on, I limited down my research to the analysis of the opinions of the young adults, namely of individuals, who at the moment of this article writing were aged between 18 and 35. My research focused on the youth, as young adults of today are the ones, who will take leadership positions in the office in the next 10 to 20 years and will take decisions about the vector of development of Ukraine in the future. By studying their views we can predict, what the future of Ukraine might look like. The perceptions and attitudes of individuals become most evident, when the analyzed individuals are about to make a choice, which they perceive as life changing. The Association Agreement with the EU, which the two parties struggled to sign since 2011 and have finally signed in May 2014, can be viewed as one of such life-changing events. As the dates of signing the treaty approached, the population of Ukraine divided into those passionately supporting Ukraine's approximation with Europe and those voicing strongly against it. I limited down the timeframe of my research to the period between August 2013 and May 2014, as in my opinion most heated discussions on the EU- Ukraine Association Agreement happened within this period of time.

I will start my paper with a brief discussion on what is an Association Agreement, what meaning the European Union attaches to it, and what it means for Ukraine. Further on, I will shortly outline the history of negotiations on the Agreement matter between the EU and Ukraine, and will accompany the reader through June 2014, when the Association Agreement was finally signed. This short historical outline will be used to introduce the reader to the context of the analyzed issue. Further on, I will conduct a short overview of the public opinion polls, which were conducted in Ukraine within the timeframe of my research.

In the main body of my paper, I will conduct the actual analysis of the perception of Europe by the young adults from Eastern and Western Ukraine. I will conduct discourse analysis of Eastern and Western Ukrainian online newspaper articles, online blog entries and social media web-sites, interviews, pictures and pieced of art available online.

In the final part of my research, I will provide a brief outline of the Ukrainian history and will identify historical past as an important factor of differences in attitudes of Ukrainians from different parts of Ukraine.

Association Agreement as a litmus test for the Ukrainian society What is an Association Agreement, and what was its history in Ukraine

The Ukraine-European Union Association Agreement (AA) is a treaty between the European Union and Ukraine, which establishes an association between the two parties in the economic and political spheres. The major aim of the AA is to intensify the relations between the two parties and to enhance their cooperation in all areas of mutual interest. By signing an agreement, parties commit to enhance their economic and trade relations, to deepen their cooperation in the fields of justice, freedom and security, as well as to increase the political dialogue between the two signatories ²¹.

²¹'Association Agreement between the European Union and the European Atomic Energy Community and Their Member States, of the One Part, and Ukraine, of the Other Part', 2014 <http://eeas.europa.eu/ukraine/docs/association_agreement_ukraine_2014_en.pdf> [accessed 17 September 2014].

The first Association Agreement was signed by the European Economic Community with Greece in 1961, and since then Association Agreements have been the EEC's and later on the EU's main instrument to bring the EU's neighboring countries to EU standards and norms²². Countries signing an Association Agreement with the EU typically commit to conduct a wide range of structural reforms. In exchange, they are offered tariff-free access to the EU markets and financial and technical assistance from the side of the EU.

Negotiations between Ukraine and the EU on signing the AA started in July 2008²³. The text of the AA for Ukraine was finalized by the end of 2011; however, the signing was postponed by the EU, mainly due to the significant deterioration of democracy and the rule of law in Ukraine in the years following the negotiations start. The EU demanded that Ukraine conducted electoral, judiciary and constitutional reforms, as well as that Ukraine took forward the fight against corruption²⁴. Besides that, the EU insisted on immediate release from jail of the former Ukrainian Prime Minister Yulia Tymoshenko, former Ukrainian Minister of Interior Yuriy Lutsenko and other political prisoners²⁵. The EU-Ukraine AA was initiated in March 2012 in Brussels; however, its ratification was conditional to Ukraine fulfilling the abovementioned demands of the EU. From March 2013, Ukraine started to slowly fulfill the EU conditions: in April 2013, Yuriy Lutsenko and several other political prisoners were freed from prison; in September 2013, then President of Ukraine Viktor Yanukovich urged the Ukrainian parliament to reform the judiciary and law enforcement bodies of Ukraine in accordance with the EU norms²⁶. In September 2013, the Ukrainian government unanimously approved the draft AA.

However, in November 2013 the Ukrainian government decree suspended all the preparations for signing of the AA. President Viktor Yanukovich announced that Ukraine was not ready to sign the AA, and refused to sign it in the EU Summit in Vilnius²⁷.

22

Rikard Jozwiak, 'Explainer: What Exactly Is An EU Association Agreement?', *Radio Free Europe*, 8 September 2014 <<http://www.rferl.org/content/eu-association-agreement-explained/25174247.html>> [accessed 17 September 2014].

23

'New Enhanced Agreement between Ukraine and EU Called "Agreement on Association" : UNIAN News' <<http://www.unian.info/world/131960-new-enhanced-agreement-between-ukraine-and-eu-called-agreement-on-association.html>> [accessed 17 September 2014].

24

'EU Expects Ukraine to Conduct Reforms That Will Help Implement Association Agreement' <<http://www.kyivpost.com/content/ukraine/eu-expects-ukraine-to-conduct-reforms-that-will-help-implement-association-agreement-317437.html>> [accessed 17 September 2014].

25

'EU-Ukraine Pact Finalized, Signing Stalled' <<http://www.kyivpost.com/content/ukraine/eu-ukraine-pact-finalized-signing-stalled-119249.html>> [accessed 17 September 2014].

26

'Ukraine Leader Urges pro-Europe Drive despite Kremlin Pressure | Reuters'

<<http://www.reuters.com/article/2013/09/03/us-ukraine-russia-yanukovich-idUSBRE9820HG20130903>> [accessed 17 September 2014].

27

'Ukraine "Still Wants to Sign EU Deal" - Europe - Al Jazeera English'

<<http://www.aljazeera.com/news/europe/2013/11/ukraine-still-wants-sign-eu-deal->

Viktor Yanukovych's refusal to sign the AA caused the Euromaidan revolution in Ukraine, which started in November 2013 and lasted through March 2014. The protests started on the night of November 21, 2014, when the Ukrainian government suspended preparations for signing the AA. Protesters demanded closer European integration, and, as the protests expanded, they called for the resignation of President Viktor Yanukovych and his government²⁸. The reaction of the government was growing more and more violent, with reaching its peak in February 2014, when police and protesters started to use arms. Hundreds of protesters got injured and died as a result of the violent actions of the Ukrainian government's special police forces.

As a result of the revolution, Yanukovych was removed from power, and in March 2014 the new Ukrainian Prime Minister Arseniy Yatseniuk along with the EU leaders signed the AA. In June 2014, the newly elected President of Ukraine Petro Poroshenko signed the economic part of the AA – the Deep and Comprehensive Free Trade Agreement (DCFTA)²⁹.

Public opinion about the Association Agreement and Euromaidan in Ukraine

Although Euromaidan and its initial cause – approximation with the EU and signing the AA – were supported by a big part of the Ukrainian population, many Ukrainians actively voiced against the two. To see the public opinion on the AA and Euromaidan, let's have a look at the opinion polls conducted by several Ukrainian sociological research companies.

A massive public opinion poll was conducted by the Ukrainian company Research & Branding Group, which cooperated with Viktor Yanukovych's Party of Regions throughout the last couple of years. Their research has shown that in December 2013, 46 percent of Ukrainians supported the integration of the country into the EU, whereas 36 per cent preferred Ukraine to join Customs Union – an economic union controlled by Russia³⁰. The survey has shown that supporters of integration with the EU mostly prevailed in Western (81 per cent) and Central (56 per cent) Ukraine, whereas 61 per cent of residents of Eastern Ukraine and 54 per cent of residents of Southern Ukraine voiced against integration with the EU and for approximation with Russia.

Another opinion poll on the same matter was conducted by the Kyiv International Institute of Sociology. Their research has shown that younger people in Ukraine are more prone to support the approximation with the EU, while older people are more in favor of approximation with Russia. In the age group of 18-29, according to the poll, 48 per cent of Ukraine's population was pro-European, while 25 per cent of the young people were pro-Russian³¹. According to the survey, youth from

28

'Kiev Protesters Gather, EU Dangles Aid Promise | Reuters'

<<http://www.reuters.com/article/2013/12/12/us-ukraine-idUSBRE9BA04420131212>> [accessed 17 September 2014].

29

'BBC News - EU Signs Pacts with Ukraine, Georgia and Moldova'

<<http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-28052645>> [accessed 17 September 2014].

30

"EUROMAYDAN - 2013" - R&B Group' <<http://rb.com.ua/eng/projects/omnibus/8840/>> [accessed 17 September 2014].

31

'Viktor Yanukovych: Losing Europe...and Losing the Ukrainian Public? | Brookings Institution'

<<http://www.brookings.edu/blogs/up-front/posts/2013/11/18-viktor-yanukovych-losing-europe-ukrainian-public-pifer-thoburn>> [accessed 17 September 2014].

Western and Central Ukraine is more likely to be pro-European, while youth from Eastern Ukraine is more likely to be anti-EU and pro-Russian.

In March 2014, the opinion poll conducted by the International Republican Institute has shown that the population of Western (81 per cent) and Central (61 per cent) Ukraine have a very positive image of the EU, whereas in Southern (21 per cent) and Eastern Ukraine (18 per cent) the majority of population is Euro-skeptic³².

Kozhukhovska Iuliia

The Realization of the Concept JOURNEY in the Integration Processes: the Pattern of Ukrainian and Greek Ethno-linguistic Consciousness

The problem of the identification of different extent of the cultural affinity is one of the most burning issues in modern society. The report examines the similarity of Ukrainian and European cultures on the basis of linguocultural factors. Its aim is to find out the degree of relatedness of European and Ukrainian cultures.

Edward Sapir's and Benjamin Lee Whorf's hypothesis [1; 2] states that the real world is unconsciously based on the language standards of the society. There do not exist two languages that are so identical that can express the same social reality. Nowadays the majority of the researchers come to the conclusion that language and thinking are interrelated and consequently

there is an impact of language on culture. That's why the study of language is necessary for understanding of cultural and social processes of different nations.

The notion of a world picture is the underlying factor of linguoculturology. The world picture is a set of images that are allocated in concerned culture [3, p. 64]. The conceptual world picture is a system of concepts. The study of the dominant concepts in the cultures determines the axiological orientation of various nations.

The frequency of usage of the travel symbolics in European culture as a whole should be noted. The concept JOURNEY is one of the dominant concepts in European culture. First of all, it is interesting by its metaphorical interpretation that roots in Indo-European mythopoetic tradition: the symbolic perception of path and movement is central to the understanding of life. Journey implies change and development. Due to the dominance of the concept JOURNEY in the European consciousness that has been developed over time, the idea of the association of countries and the development of relationships also manifested on a social level in the form of integration processes.

The peculiarities of a further development of the concept are determined by the ethno-consciousness of every nation, so the verbalization of the concept achieves a national marking in different cultures.

Modern Greek and Ukrainian linguistic cultures are chosen as a basis for the analysis in this report. Hryhorii Skovoroda can be noted as a typical representative of Ukrainian literature, in whose works the concept JOURNEY has found the characteristic realization. The philosophical focus of his works is realized through the conceptual metaphor "Life is a journey". Hryhorii Skovoroda lived in the 18th century, but his works are contemporary and topical, as they are acknowledged as a vivid expression of the specific philosophy of Ukrainian people: so-called "philosophy of the heart". Due to the nature of the Greek ethnic consciousness, concept JOURNEY has found realization primarily in the interrelation with the concept SHIP, so the comparison group of Greek poetry includes the poems of the 20th century that contain ship imagery.

A comparative analysis intends to distinguish a number of common attributes that are present in two linguistic cultures. The main cognitive feature of the concept JOURNEY is movement. The Ukrainian writer Hryhorii Skovoroda emphasizes: "Not to worry about anything, not to care - means not to live and to be dead, because care is movement of a soul and life is movement" [5]. In Greek poetry the ship with the positive axiological evaluation is always in motion. Movement is associated with the concepts LIFE and SOUL in the texts of Greek authors.

The motif of "spiritual pilgrimage" of the lyrical hero is implemented by means of lexical sets, grammatical forms and stylistic devices in Ukrainian texts, in particular by the usage of verbs with the semantics of movement: «to descend» («сойти»), «ascent» («взойди») «soared» («возлетел»), «do exalt» («возвысись»), «upon the earth walking» («по земле ходя») and so on [4]. In Greek poetry the verbs that signify motion are numerous too: «arrives» («φτάνει»), «moors» («προσλιμένισει»), «floats» («αρμενίζει»), «sails» («πλέει»), «travels» («ταξιδεύει»), «will leave» («θα φεύγαμε») etc.

According to Hryhorii Skovoroda: the sinner moves by winding paths, knobby terrain through the deep ditches. The mad rider that does not know how to control a horse tears along [6: 201]. Herein the labyrinth movement is concluded. As follows it has a negative estimate in Ukrainian culture, though in Modern Greek poetry it can have a positive axiological evaluation, the strong example is the verse "Ithaca" by Constantine P. Cavafy. As can be seen from the above, a labyrinth movement is identified as a distinctive feature in both cultures.

A prominent feature of the verbalization of the concept JOURNEY is its interconnection and interdependence of other concepts in the analyzed linguistic cultures.

The journey implies the way through time and consequently the journey foregrounds the concept TIME in Ukrainian and Modern Greek texts. The Ukrainian writer Hryhorii Skovoroda writes: "The crown of praise is old age", "unmerciful old age is approaching hour by hour with the terrible army, an invincible death is following behind" [5: 351]; "The sun goes down, the sun will rise - this is a century of the golden years!" [5]. Therefore in Ukrainian culture the movement of time and a metaphorical journey through time are implied, which emphasize the fragility of existence. In Modern Greek poetry the ship is a vehicle through time, and in some cases the ship is identified with time in such extent that it becomes the time itself. The past time is mainly objectified in Greek texts; it manifests by associativity with such concepts as NOSTALGIA, MEMORY and TRANSIENCE. Consequently, both linguistic cultures demonstrate the expressiveness of image of the time course, which is associated with the bygone years and with the transience of life.

It follows from the idea of time that the concept JOURNEY overlaps with the concept DEATH in Ukrainian and Modern Greek linguistic cultures. In the Ukrainian texts [4] the tragic world perception of lyrical hero is reflected in the constant reference to the motif of death, in the feeling of metaphysical anxiety and disharmony of the existence. In Modern Greek poetry the concurrent implementation of the concepts JOURNEY - SHIP - DEATH manifests emphatically that is proved by the extensive metaphorization, for example, the following conceptual metaphors are realized: "Sailing away on the Ship is Death", "The Sea is death", "The Ship is a Means of a Spiritual Journey". The deficiency of movement implies death. Thus the conceptual metaphor "The Journey's End is a Spiritual Death" is detected in both cultures.

The obstacles are the permanent attributes of any journey. Thus, the Ukrainian writer Hryhorii Skovoroda metaphorically depicts the terrestrial obstacles: "If an inexperienced rider rules the horse badly, he races over the winding roads, over the hills and through deep ditches". For Modern Greek poetry the cognitive attribute "storm" is characteristic as an obstacle, for example, one can find it in the works by Margaret Karlafti, Melissanthi, Zakharios Papandoniu, Kostas Karyotakis, Yannis Skarimbas.

The metaphoricalness in the realization of the concept JOURNEY finds expression in the European culture, including Greek and Ukrainian literatures. The way of a travel metaphorization refers to the national peculiarities of the concept's realization in two linguistic cultures. Ukrainian ethnic consciousness focuses on the journey of a soul, for example, "Oh, how sweet the way of life is, when the conscience is pure" (Hryhorii Skovoroda). Greek poets (for instance, George Seferis, Odysseas Elytis, and Reno Apostolidi) examine not only the ways of people, but also the destiny of state in terms of traveling. This tradition was originated in ancient times since Alcaeus, the further development the conceptual metaphor "The ship is a State" got in Latin poetry as it was used by Horace.

As can be seen from the above, the relatedness of Modern Greek (as a representative of one of the European cultures) and Ukrainian conceptual world pictures is detected on the basis of similarity of the verbalization of the concept JOURNEY. The distinctions are naturally occurring, they are explained by national- specific features and originate from the individual development of nations. The designated common features of both cultures: Ukrainian and Modern Greek - determine a similar understanding by these peoples of common European values. It contributes to the development of preconditions for the integration of Ukraine into the European Community.

The bibliography:

1. Language, culture, and personality: essays in memory of Edward Sapir / edited by Leslie Spier, A. Irving Hallowell, Stanley S. Newman. - Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1983. – 298 p.
2. Whorf B. L. Language, thought and reality: Selected writings of Benjamin Lee Whorf. Ed. John B. Carroll. — New York: Wiley, 1956
3. Маслова В.А. Лингвокультурология: Учеб. пособие для студентов высш. учеб. заведений. – М.: Академия, 2001, - 208 с.
4. Л.С. Семенюк Концепт „духовного мандрівництва” в поезії Григорія Сковороди <http://esnuir.eenu.edu.ua/bitstream/123456789/2942/3/6715.pdf>
5. Сковорода Григорій. Повн. збір. твор. Т.1. - К., 1973.
6. Сковорода Григорій. Повн. збір. твор.: В 2т., Т.2 - К., 1973.

The abstract

As the title implies the article focuses on the integration processes in the perspective of cognitive linguistics. The issues of interaction of language, culture and consciousness are topical in the modern day world that develops and changes rapidly. The study of the concepts allows considering language in its integral relationship with the mentality, culture of different nations and social processes that take place in the society. The article proves the inalienability of the concept JOURNEY of multivarious language world pictures and comes to the conclusion that the integration tendency is associated with the concept JOURNEY and is typical to the human consciousness; it manifests through the linguistic reality. The lexical sets, which represent the targeted concept, are examined. The social processes embodied in language are studied in a diachronic aspect, including innovation and tradition.

Kuznetsova Ekaterina

Russia

**What's Europe? European and non-European young people facing
How do I see Europe?**

I think it is not an easy task to define how one sees Europe, especially not through the eyes of one person. Especially if this person is divided in half and cannot give an exact answer whether he is European or not.

As I am a citizen of Russia, a country, that hasn't even achieved the candidate status of the European Union; you may logically ask what are my relations to European citizenship. Who am I to take part in European events if they don't directly relate to me? I will try to explain how I see Europe and why I feel that it is important to look at it, analyse it and reflect upon it.

Before living in Europe for five years and becoming the member of the European Youth Press Organization, I also shared the same doubts. I also thought that citizens of non-EU countries were excluded from the benefits of such a desirable status. But now I think that being European is not only about politics.

I am not so related to the European Union, my country is not a member state. But at the same time, I am very related; a citizen of a country, which is not part of the EU, but still inevitably takes part in EU matters. We cannot feel indifferent about it. I follow the news, I travel, I make friends with European people and I am interested in politics.

However, European identity, in my opinion, is not formed through legal treaties, but through the cultural impact. I am fond of the Spanish author Cortázar, I was very touched by the Bosnia war victims as interviewing them when visiting their country, and I would like to travel to Italy and drop a coin in the Trevi fountain. I give these personal examples in order to show my curiosity for Europe and my bonds with it.

So how do I see Europe? Metaphorically speaking, Europe is like a big tree full of apples – the tree where I grew up and found my identity. I am part of Europe, but at the same time I feel excluded most of the time. This tree is my home, but I feel like a fruit that does not belong there. This creates misunderstanding and disconnection with the whole tree. I know that it is my home, but why do I need a visa to travel home?

This is how I feel about Europe – it is home that I feel distant with. It is strange how two words go together – distance and home. I believe that this should not be the case. Despite politics there should be the world of people, who can feel confident and safe at home. I would like to keep my European rights, learn more about other cultures, travel around the world and expand my knowledge. I would like to feel European, but not just by name. I would like to say Europe is my home and mean it.

I would like to show everyone the videos we made at M100 Young European journalists workshop about European identity and challenges young people are facing when defining if they are European. Here are the links:

www.youtube.com/watch?v=XG_CiWUNYf0 Europe. Who Cares?

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=38A0mh8WPS0&index=2&list=LL_WwAxRUD3IZnDWD_xv7hsng

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WqXnBidlw-k>

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cA0PQ1Bu8wQ>

Distinguished participants, dear friends!

Let me please begin by saying I am very honored and thankful to be here today with you, to offer you some of my own ideas, opinions as well as experiences which came into my mind on the related topic. This is a “Youth Forum”. We all are regarded as young generation. However, one might ask, what does it actually mean in today’s world to be treated as young? Are we capable enough to commit ourselves to make our world a better place to live in?

The European Union was set up to serve the people of Europe and to fulfill its potential; our future must be shaped by the active involvement of people from all walks of life. The EU’s founding fathers were well aware of this. Jean Monnet said in 1953: “We are not bringing together states, we are uniting people.” Raising public awareness about the EU and involving citizens in its activities is still one of the greatest challenges we face nowadays.

It is a well-documented trend that citizens in general, especially the younger generations are becoming increasingly disillusioned by national government policies, losing their sense of adequacy and as a result we are confronted with the reality of widespread resignation and detachment from civic and political life.

Since I am studying in Vienna, I decided to conduct a small research exercise concerning the opinions and expectations of young people living and studying here towards Europe. You may wonder what the results were.

It was an advantage to conduct this research in Vienna, since this city tends to be regarded as a very multicultural venue bustling with the legacy of different histories, nationalities, cultural backgrounds and lifestyles. Concerning the main results of my research, the majority of participants have expressed general satisfaction with being a European citizen and having the crucial freedom of movement inherent to the EU’s founding principles – we can travel, study, work and vote anywhere in the EU. Many of the participants see a real opportunity for exchange and mutual learning which can improve the quality of our own national programmes and personal self-actualization. For others, the EU is invariably connoted with a promise of unity, unwavering commitment to human rights, attaining peace, solidarity, transparency, common progress, many opportunities as well as call for action.

Despite Europe’s relatively small size, it is widely regarded as a place of great diversity, where the emergence of the European Union’s trade market has marked the dawn of a unique and dynamic project which holds great potential for the citizens of its member states as well as national progress.

Europe has a long and often overlooked tradition of multiculturalism arising from the diversity of European societies and a history of fluctuating borders.

Without exposure to diversity, there’s a missing piece to the puzzle that concerns us all as global citizens in the 21st century. Awareness of the different languages and dialects, and different ways of thinking, encourage comprehension and flexibility, allowing one to grow and develop one’s self-perception and capacity for critical thinking. Apart from that, cultural diversity makes multiple aspects of life more interesting.

As a young generation, the more we come together and exchange our brilliant ideas and opinions, fostering tolerance and flexibility, the more we will be able to own our future, creating a better

world for everyone to live in. Without intercultural understanding through dialogue and discussion, we cannot frame, promote and carry out the most pressing challenges we are faced with today.

The youth carries the highest number of population in every society. In doing so, they have a greater say for the rapid growth of a community. The youth are peace makers in every combat situation. Therefore, the world without the youth is like a football match without referees. Youth is sometimes a missing puzzle piece in the road of continuous development and prosperity building. Without trust and support of our younger generations, there is no chance to change the future. It is very important to raise the decision-makers' awareness regarding the importance of young people's contribution to fostering understanding between people of various cultural and religious backgrounds.

Mr. Soekarno, Indonesia's first president, said once: "Give me 10 youths, and then I will change the world". I will be one of them, so will you; and we all can change the world for the better! We are the future leaders!

Nowadays, young people are more and more confronted with the mutually reinforcing dynamics of lower expectations towards them and lack of responsibility, both personal and collective. A lot of people are rather skeptical about the credibility and impact of their work. A huge potential result are being wasted. Therefore it is necessary to address the issue of trusting in young people, sharing their ideas and helping them to transform these ideas into real change. Dialogues at the United Nations, NATO or European Union platforms should include dialogues on youth involvement and initiatives. Expectations and commitment in youth are high. Experiences on both national and international level are highly desired. But where is potential, there must be chance.

Thomas Edison started developing his laboratory when he was ten years old. The founder of American Red Cross Clara Barton started nursing at the age of fourteen. At that time period young men and women like that were nothing unique. Today however, people in their age are only considered being teenagers. The majority of adults are pretty skeptical about the credibility of their work. The question arising is WHY?

Being young is currently perceived as being incompetent and inexperienced. A university diploma is not a guarantee for a stable, well-paid job anymore; our generation needs to think in different dimensions. But what is the change that is needed? Often there is an excuse such as financial situation or education system. Youth is often a priority only on paper.

Confucius once said: "A youth is to be regarded with respect. How do we know that his future will not be equal to our present? If he reaches the age of forty or fifty, and has not made himself heard of, then indeed he will not be worth being regarded with respect". 33

As from my own experience, I have observed the behavior of young people in recent years more intensely since I started studying in Vienna. Based on my personal observations, I have come to a general conclusion that young people in Austria tend to be more involved in extracurricular activities than in Slovakia. In Austria, people start getting involved at a comparatively young age, joining youth-organizations, political parties, NGOs etc. Is this because they are more motivated, or are convinced that their actions have an impact? Why are young people in some countries losing their motivation, passion and courage?

Many people are familiar with the term "Lost generation" mostly from literature. "The "Lost Generation" denotes a sense of moral loss or aimlessness apparent in contemporary society, especially in light of issues related to the young generation. "Civic engagement refers to a wide range of ways in which citizens can engage in their community. Exercising the right to vote, volunteering, going to public meetings, or writing a letter to a public official are all ways that we typically think of to be civically engaged. We have seen statistics revealing that these activities are happening less and less in today's society.

33

<http://www.goodreads.com/quotes/269345-a-youth-is-to-be-regarded-with-respect-how-do>, seen 23.08.2014 literary figures during the 1920s."

34

However this term can be applied to

There is some discussion about whether the disengaged youth of today will become the engaged adults of tomorrow." 35 This question refers to the Title of my Paper and today's Speech as well. How to solve this problem is one chapter of the book. But what might be the consequences of this disengagement and resignation is another one.

To conclude, I would like to end my speech with a short quotation from the book I have read recently. It was a short Biography of Martin Luther King, a great leader of civil rights movement. It is a small talk between Martin and his Mum about feelings of white people towards black ones. Martin was feeling depressed and frustrated. *But Martin's mother told him he should always keep a sense of "somebodyness"-that he was important-even though the outside world was telling him he was not.* With this short example I would like to encourage you all, to think in way like Martin's mother did, to keep in mind that everybody of us is unique and everyone must stand up for the aspirations one has. We don't need to be afraid, ashamed or underestimate ourselves. If you won't remember any other part of my speech, please remember this one.

34

<http://www.montgomerycollege.edu/Departments/hpolscrv/jbolhofer.html> 35

<http://www.serviceleader.org/instructors/studentpaper4>

Miloshevski Viktor

Republic of Macedonia
milosevski.viktor@hotmail.com

**“European Future, young Europeans through the prism of culture,
dialogue and active participation”**

ABSTRACT

The paper reflects the dialogue and meeting points between young people from Europe, residing in EU and non-EU countries, with particular reference to the active young Europeans. It also discusses the cultural differences and the social and economic obstacles as a challenge in the emergence of the European values in the integration process for the young people coming from developing countries, case study of the Republic of Macedonia.

The topic is discussed on concrete evidence and results of the European Youth Programs implemented by the European Institutions with particular references on the inclusion of young people coming from the Republic of Macedonia as a candidate country. It shows that transformation and integration process require special and individual approach, enhanced by a mutual process of learning and accepting through joint project, campaigns and initiatives. Joint Educational platforms as a combination of formal and non-formal learning and active civil multi-level participation are established as key concept for a mutual future and sustainable European growth and development.

Key words: Integration, Education, Participation, Dialogue, Young people, Europe

Introduction

Our generation, the largest youth generation ever in this world, is witnessing the galloping globalization empowered by the even faster technological development and communication boom. Now, like never before people can get in touch and communicate no matter where they come from or how different they are. The availability of the means of communication and the access to them, varies from a continent to continent, but generally speaking allows, the majority of the youth generation to connect to their peers. Most of us cannot imagine a day without participation on the global social and educational networks.

One thing is a defined fact, Europe has significantly changed. From a demographic, cultural, social and political stand point, the margins have been rewritten. With the formation of the European Union as the largest political and economic union on the old continent, the emergences of the European values created a common framework and a standard which applies to developing countries and young democracies as a strategic goal for their integration. Diversity is a well-recognized European reality which often finds itself in collision with the foundations of the European Unitary Republics.

The challenges of today's Europe are addressed with mutual efforts from the members states as well as the candidates. After the world economic crisis and the European debt crisis the economic and social indicators activated the alarm, with particular references to young European's, present, future and prosperity. The high rates of youth unemployment are a breaking point for new creative solutions and a major "play card" for the European politicians, as we witnessed during the campaign for the European elections. Paradoxically, our generation is maybe the most educated youth generation in Europe but in the same time the most unemployed youth generation in Europe.

Culture is used from one side as an integration prerogative, but very often misused as a manipulation tool from the other side. The differences are highlighted and create conflicts during the social integration especially in the cases with representatives from minority groups. The dialogue between generations is another big challenge for Europe and the Europeans countries both, the members and the candidates. The member countries are already facing this transition with the actively aging population and low rates of child birth.

The European Educational system, both formal and non-formal is also facing a challenges of it's on. The recognition and validation tools are yet to be implemented as an employment contribution, in particular the non-formal education gained through various forms. The implementation process of the European Credit Transfer System is in the final stage at the Educational systems of the member states. The candidate states are often facing an inner resistance, or partly implement some parts not focusing on the quality of opportunities. The European youth dialogue is taking different forms and is happening on different levels. The European Youth Forum distinguish itself as a key factor and legitimate youth representative on European level. The Republic of Macedonia after its partial participation in the Youth in Action Program of the European Commission, with the support of the European Union made the historical step forward and for the first time is fully participating in the new ERASMUS + Program.

Culture in Europe, young Europeans producing cultural values

To better understand culture and thus continue in further elaboration and research on the topic we need to define our research subject. Culture in fact could be hardly defined by one definition and therefore there is none internationally recognized as "the", universal definition of culture. The first highly influential definition came from Edward Tylor (1871, 1), who further elaborates in his anthropology text with the thesis that culture is, "that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, law, morals, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society."

Since Taylor there have been more philosophers with their own attempts to define culture, overall most definitions characterize culture as –“something that is widely shared by members of a social group and shared in virtue of belonging to that group”.

“Culture can also define as a stuff of which human paradigms are made; it provides them content-their identity, beliefs, values and behavior. It is learned as part of the natural process of growing up in a family and community and from participating in societal institutions”.

If we see culture as a paradigm we can conclude that one’s culture becomes one’s paradigm. Today’s diverse European societies (culture, religion, race) create the network of different paradigms ,which shapes one’s perception of how humanity lives and practice life .Different paradigms imply different perceptions and anticipation of social messages putting constant pressure on the inner cohesion of social groups.

The differences between the emigrant young Europeans and the domical young Europeans are still high , enhanced mostly by the practice of this paradigms. Despite the constant efforts, programs and support offered by the national authorities in charge of migration affairs and integration affairs mainly through education of the emigrant young Europeans, still there are cases of growing animosity based on prejudice and stereotypes.

After the establishment of the European values, the member states through the common budget have invested large amount of funds ensuring equal access for all. The incorporation of the same values and the exchange with different values were one of the core ideas of the European youth programs, including the present one, the ERASMUS + Program. The direct contact of the young Europeans structured and enhanced with the non-formal education methodology contributed to the recognition and exchange of values between young people residing in the member or the candidate states. This “clash” of paradigms should reflect the future European identity, diversity and reality.

Comparing cultural paradigms in Europe

To investigate further more we should first investigate the importance of the research subject. With a research question –: Is culture really that important part of the social connections and therefore important part of the societal systems? –we start our further elaboration.

According to the survey carried out by TNS Opinion & Social, interviewing 26755 citizens in the 27 Member States. (March 2007). With methodology used as of Eurobarometer surveys as carried out by the Directorate General for Communication (Unit for Public Opinion and Media Monitoring), culture no matter how is defined- “occupies an important role in the lives of many Europeans”. A large number of Europeans (77 %) answered that culture is important to them. But acknowledgment and participation in culture can or cannot be in the same direction. The manifestation of culture takes different shapes and perceptions. In the same survey a very interested conclusion is highlighted:

-“Cultural participation is highest amongst the youngest, educated and urbanized respondents” which can open a big debate since most of the effort of integration, and most of the measures are addressed to this group.

Living in the 21-st century is living in the era of internet and social online platforms Therefore the Internet also plays a key role as a facilitator of cultural life, with 42% of all leisure-time users saying that they use the Internet to obtain information on cultural events and products. The Internet is thus very important in helping people to plan and prepare their cultural consumption and production.

-“The Internet has also come to assume the status of a direct media channel, for example with 28% of leisure-time users saying that they use the internet for listening to radio broadcasts and music online, making this a relatively popular activity”.

Another interesting fact in this survey was the finding that “- Food forms the most common means of cross-cultural contact” .

A very good example that clearly shows the use of methodologies and measures to ensure the cultural component in every European project implemented and funded under the Youth in Action Program(2007-2013) is the obligatory intercultural evening. On the intercultural evening the participating countries (cultures) present their culture trough food national/traditional, drinks, dances, customs, etc. The food on the intercultural nights is often homemade or made by the family of the present representatives of that particular culture, or prepared by the representatives itself. The communication among young people through traditional food, drinks, dances, customs etc, is an open platform for intersection of paradigms, functioning on a personal direct level, using personal channel for communication. The exchange of everyday realities among young people in a form of sincere manifestation of views and opinions creates a unique cultural learning process. It is not just a saying that Europe is the “continent of culture”.

-“There is evidence of some feeling that the place of culture defines the European continent”. When presented with the statement ‘Europe is clearly the continent of culture’, over two-thirds (67%) say that this sums up their opinion well, with less than a quarter (24%) saying that this corresponds badly to their own views.”

- A majority of Europeans see their continent as being ‘the continent of culture’ (European Cultural Values 2007)

Dialogue between young people on European Level

The structured dialogue

The Structured Dialog is an open channel for communication and a platform for collaboration between young Europeans and the European policy makers both on national and European level. It is mechanism that articulates youth needs, interests and vision through active youth participation. It takes the form of national councils at Member State level and EU Youth Conferences at European level.

The Structured Dialogue until 2014 was organized into 18 month cycles, with each cycle split into three phases. Each cycle has an overall theme such as social inclusion or youth participation in democratic life.

There have been three phases:

1. Phase 1: 2010/2011 - Youth unemployment - Belgium, Spain, Hungary
2. Phase 2: 2011/2012 - Youth participation in democratic life - Poland, Denmark, Cyprus
3. Phase 3: 2012/2013 - Social inclusion & Youth employment - Ireland, Lithuania & Greece

This positioning of the structured dialogue so far ensured that the voice of young people across Europe to be heard.

The structured dialogue is facilitated by the European Youth Forum in collaboration with the member states and the European Union. The European Youth Forum (YFJ) is the platform of youth organizations in Europe. Representing 99 youth organizations, both National Youth Councils and International Non-Governmental Youth Organizations, and it is one of the largest umbrella organizations in Europe.

Through its structure the dialogue ensures representation of every Member State and it goes even beyond that because some of the non-member states and some of the candidate states have their national youth councils as member of the European Youth Forum.

The position of the European Youth Forum regarding the further development of the structured dialogue process does not offer any innovation or drastic change of the form of the way of functioning. The Forum advocates for: Youth involvement in deciding the overall priority of any future cycle of the structured dialogue. An emphasis on dialogue and the joint decision-making of young people and policymakers remain the focus of the process. From the previous cycles they detected a need for setting up a European Working Group for future cycles. The continuation of the structured dialogue process until at least the end of the EU Youth Strategy in ,2018 is also a priority.

The structured dialogue is a continuous process with the aim of securing political outcomes. Its structures are set down in the Council Resolution for a renewed framework for European cooperation in the youth field. This dialogue functions in a manner where among other relevant stakeholders in each phase, National Working Groups made up of representatives from National Youth Council(s), the ministry responsible for youth affairs; and National Agencies for the Youth in Action Programme conduct consultations with young people and policymakers at national level, including the local and regional levels wherever possible. The results of their joint consultations are collected in a national report, which is then sent to the European Steering Committee

European Steering Committee for Youth (CDEJ)

The European Steering Committee on Youth was set up by the Committee of Ministers under Article 17 of the Statute of the Council of Europe and in accordance with Resolution³⁶ on intergovernmental committees and subordinate bodies, their terms of reference and working methods Under the authority of the Committee of Ministers, the role of the European Steering Committee for Youth (CDEJ) is to oversee the Council of Europe's programme in the field of youth

and advise the Committee of Ministers on all questions within its area of competence. Taking due account of relevant transversal perspectives, the overall aim is to stimulate co-operation between the governments of the States party to the European Cultural Convention, with a view to developing youth policies which are likely to ensure young people's successful integration into society. The CDEJ acts as the governmental partner in the co-management structures of the youth sector (the non-governmental partner being the Advisory Council on Youth, CCJ); CDEJ and CCJ co-operate within the Joint Council on Youth (CMJ) in order to establish the priorities of the Council of Europe youth sector.

Non-formal groups

36 [CM/Res\(2011\)24](#)

As a result of the friendship and collaboration made during the project funded either by the European commission or the European Youth foundation or any other European or National donors who supported projects with European dimension, the development of the non-formal groups is a growing trend as a follow up phase of every project. Enhanced by the possibilities offered by the new media outlets and the social platform, the young Europeans are developing a dialogue on their own, without any form, level or special theme.

The groups are usually on Facebook and they are from to open to close character .Especially functioning are those for partners or participants finding for some projects that are planned to be applied mostly under the previous Youth in Action programme. Other groups are more thematic and focused on one or many interests or fields of interest for young people. Of course the blogs and discussion forums are still used but not with the same accessibility and popularity .This shows that youth around Europe can communicate and network without any structure or special process. It comes naturally with shared values, challenges, interests and realities. If we place this like that the first question that arises is the impact. Can youth make impact and influence policies and decisions through non-formal structures and elected or nominated representatives? Well it is very hard to tell, but one thing is sure, youth need to be free to decide what form or level their participation should be. The most important thing as we should not forget is the youth willingness for active participation in the society and their readiness to face the challenges with taking full responsibilities as an equal partner.

European Youth strategy and the impact of European Youth Programs

The European Commission's determination to invest in the youth capital of Europe reflected and resulted with the creation and adoption of the EU Youth Strategy .The intention of the European commission to –“promote dialogue between youth and policy makers in order to increase active citizenship, foster social integration, and ensure inclusion of the young in EU policy development.” Established the core objectives of the EU Youth Strategy 2010-2018 which are - “to **provide more and equal opportunities for young people** in education and in the job market” and “to **encourage young people to actively participate in society**”.

The strategy approaches through its eight fields of action: Education and training, Employment and entrepreneurship, health and well-being, participation, voluntary activities, social inclusion, youth and the world, creativity and culture. In accordance with this strategy all of the European Youth Programmes are designed and impact oriented to the challenges and support detected through research. So far this created the Youth Sector in Europe and enhanced the structural dialogue between the Union and the Young People and among Young People directly.

The impact of the European Youth Programs on European and National level can be said that is quite significant. Especially the Youth in Action Programme, the Erasmus Mundus programme, and the Comenius Programme. The Youth in Action program was closer to youth associations as well as non-formal youth movements, the Erasmus Mundus was focused on the European students, and the Comenius program was dealing with young people enrolled in high schools. If we focus our research on the Youth in Action program we can conclude that the Programme represents a very good example of collaboration in the Youth Sector, both on National and European level.

The Youth Sector of the Council of Europe is functioning very well and uses a similar methodology but with far less funding and impact. The past Youth in Action Programme and the current ERASMUS + Programme supported and supports Youth Associations all over Europe and beyond, allowing young people to become creators of their own European vision more than any other programme.

The clear and continuous support and determination of the Member states and the European Union is a smart investment in the youth capital in Europe and deserves acknowledgement and appreciation. An effort should be made in the consolidation of the national law and adoption of the *acquis communautaire on national level regarding matters that regulate the provisions in the youth sector especially in the case of the candidate state the Republic of Macedonia.*

This Programme in the case of the Republic of Macedonia created a pro-European perception among young people supporting them to create friendship and collaboration with their peers and other young people and exchange values and visions for the future of Europe. The interest in the active participation in this Programme was low in the first pilot years but later, especially in the final year or two raised to a very high level. This raise of interest created a good field and promising future for the implementation of the new ERASMUS + Programme.

Social and economic factors

Since the tendency of the European Union is the development of the member states economies and stabilizing the living standard differences among the member states the European Youth Policy is more or less, but should be, more focused on the social possibilities and especially economic possibilities of the young people in Europe. The access to education, employment, equal participation, housing, loans etc. varies from country to country so the design of the European Social Model should be more focused on the differences between young people especially now after the economic crisis rather than creating new measures with smaller impact. In this framework, the European Youth Forum considers there are four key elements for the European Social Model: employment, education, autonomy and active citizenship. Employment can be considered as the crucial toll to welfare and full integration in society. Where under employment we understand decent employment, with non-discriminatory approach ensuring that young people can enter the world of work without being paid less or not paid at all. Here we

distinguish volunteering and internships as special forms, not as employment. Education on the other hand “builds” the base for achieving life goals and intentions, it also plays a crucial role in the integration of the young persons in the society and in the system. The development of skills and knowledge is a core investment in the European future. Autonomy in this framework is understood as a support in any form and access to resources and creation of opportunities for fully independent inclusive access to the social, political, economic and cultural life. The involvement of young people in the decision making process is also part of this autonomy. These previous three factors are also pre-condition for the last element. Without employment, education and autonomy we cannot have active citizenship. The four elements should not preclude each other, because of their tight connection they cannot be implemented by choice or priority.

The question of social inclusion, as it pertains to young people, is often scaled down to simply the improvement of employment policies. Improved employment policies are indeed a prerequisite to promoting the social inclusion of young people, but are not, on their own, sufficient. In order to ensure full social inclusion, employment policies must be complemented by other social measures. All aspects of young people’s lives should be taken into consideration: for example, education policy, access to services, housing and improved political representation need also to be fully considered.

European education and incorporation of the European dimension in the national educational systems

Education is considered as the pillar for social and political involvement of the young people and their starting position for active participation in their communities. Education is also considered to be one of the main factors for decent employment and increasing social inclusion. The traditional definitions and perception of education on European level, tends to focus on the part of education which is recognized as formal (schools, universities) where according to the accreditation of the formal institution and the formal level of studies, students are awarded with certificates or more often a diploma, as a proof of their attendance. Education in the formal form as internationally recognized is only part of the process of learning, it may seem as one of the essential components but it is not equal to the definition of learning, because learning is a lifelong process which takes different forms and places.

On the old continent education is often recognized in three major forms, formal, non-formal and informal. Non-formal education is defined as structured and guided learning which takes place outside the formal education institutions, which uses methodology which is alternative to the classical teaching methodology. Because of the bigger possibility of interaction and increased active participation with a main focus on learning by doing methodology, non-formal education became very popular among young people. The old ex-cathedra lectures compared with the non-formal education methodology offer less opportunities for development of skills like communication, inter-personal skills, leadership skills, team work, conflict and problem resolution skills and other more relevant skills, needed to face the challenges of the globalized world. The European education systems are expected to offer skills and knowledge to young Europeans which can be used for international mobility and cooperation, but still there is a lot to be done in this field since the national educational systems of the most European countries remain introspective in nature. Schools are very important agents of socialization and thus their role in the society is very important. The opened criticism over national educational systems is

justified because they fail to prepare young people for the new reality of the diverse and globalized world.

There have been many attempts to incorporate a so called "European dimension" in the national education system but none of them resulted significantly. A Resolution on the European Dimension was adopted by the Council of Ministers of the European Union as far back as 1988. With an intention to enhance the awareness of the European identity and the values of the European civilization the resolution detected schools and education as the prime actors in the process of inclusion of the above mentioned. However, recent studies on the incorporation of the European Dimension in the national education systems reveal that very little has been done to incorporate a real European dimension into the national learning curricula .On the other hand the European Union made a lot of effort to incorporate the European dimension in the European Youth Programs, for example for every project funded the Youth in Action program besides the cultural dimension the European dimension of every project was equally important to be elaborated .In the new ERASMUS + Program the same rules apply now enhanced with the bigger budget for the Jean Monet Program which focuses on strictly offering an European dimension to the formal education.

Another distinguished effort has been made on the recognition of the non-formal education gained through the projects and learning opportunities funded under the European Youth Programs ,especially in the new ERASMUS + programme through the validation and recognition of Europass mobility certificates, ECAVET and other tools.

The case study of the Republic of Macedonia

The implementation of the Youth in Action Program on European level despite the cultural ,European and educational impact withdraw some financial implication as well .On European level according to the mid-term evaluation undertaken by the evaluators for the period of 2007-2009, more than 380,000 people participated in the programme, 42,700 projects were submitted, 21,800 projects were granted. In the case study of the Republic of Macedonia according to the official data of the Ministry of Education and Science in the year 2013 the funds for the implementation of the two educational programmes, Life Long Learning and Youth in Action were increased by 18 %,compared to 2012. In the same year 2013 under the framework of the two programmes for pilot projects there were 1,77 million euros on disposal. For pilot projects under the framework of the Life Long Learning Programme there were 1,27 million euros ,and for pilot projects under the framework of the Youth in Action Projects there were 504,000 euros allocated .From the 111 grant agreements made with the various beneficiaries 89 projects were under the framework of the LLP of which the largest amount 22 of the project were for the Leonardo Da Vinci Programme ,for vocal and educational curriculums with partners form the European Union. Under the framework of the Youth in Action there were 22 agreements signed with the beneficiaries ,which translated to money equals the amount of 317,000 euros. In comparison with 2012 when there were a total of 1,315,000 euros used under the two programmes or in percent's, 87% of the total funds on disposal, in the year 2013. This statistical data represent the funding received from the National Agency and since Macedonia was a Partner Country in the programme ,Macedonian Applicants had the opportunity to apply directly to the Executive Agency in Brussels, meaning that the funding was a lot bigger through the years 2007-2013.

The implementation of all this projects on the territory of the country had an impact on all levels of the society. The various topics and challenges tackled with active participation and collaboration with other young Europeans allowed young Macedonians to gain benefits in various dimensions .With the starting European dimension, young Macedonians created their own perception about Europe and young Europeans ,gained new knowledge and skills ,learned good practices and for many of them got familiar with the European way of functioning and participation. Every European country participating in the programme had the opportunity to present itself, so young Macedonians had the chance to promote their culture among other young people and in the same time to get familiar with other European cultures .By sharing and learning from each other young Macedonians crossed over the stereotypes and prejudice, created by the fear of the unknown and the manipulation of the politicians.

Expect for the opportunity for young Macedonians to host their European peers on projects in the country, an opportunity for traveling and discovering new horizons was opened to them. Most of the young Macedonians participating in projects funded under the Youth in Action Programme visited some other Europeans city for the first time in their life's. Mainly because of the social, economic and geographical obstacles, young Macedonians rarely have the chance to travel abroad and learn about new cultures and meet other young people, especially for those coming from the more rural regions of the country. Youth in Action Programme also represented the only youth programme that is implemented on the territory of the Republic of Macedonia, since a presence of the national youth programme is a story for the si-fi fans. The educational component of the programme also represented an innovative, new, creative and unseen way of learning by doing, task oriented approach enabling young Macedonians to rethink the whole educational approach and involve themselves in activities and fields which they consider most relevant and needed. With the training and networking on free disposal some of the more interested young people found their employment, creating a new sector, the youth workers sector.

Other very important thing that was introduced to young Macedonians for the first time with this programme was the European citizenship in a sense of an active participation on Local, National and European level. Since the candidate status of the Republic of Macedonia gained in 2005, there we none existing tools and mechanisms to articulate the meaning of the status European citizenship, thus young people were confused and misinformed of the true meaning and interpretation of the concept. Now after the implementation of the Youth in Action Programme as well as the other programmes young Macedonians have a clear picture of what does European citizenship means and how they can canalize their energy and gave their contribution on making Europe a more youth friendly place to live in. The successful stories of the European projects inspired many young people to dare to dream and encouraged them to believe in themselves, in their ideas and vision by supporting them in the realization of their goals. Now after the end of the programme the interest for participation in the new ERASMUS+ Programme is very high both from schools and universities to youth organizations and private companies. According to the non-official data of the National Agency on the first deadline for projects under the Key Action 1 they have received more than a hundred applications, which is a really big percentage per capita.

Another very important and historical moment in the acceptance of the Republic of Macedonia as a "programme Country", which besides Turkey is the only European country which is awarded this status and it is not a member state of the European Union. The status "programme Country" interpreted in terms of access means that the stakeholders registered and working in the

Republic of Macedonia have access to all the Key Actions of the ERASMUS + Programme starting from small scale projects to large scale transnational long-term initiatives. In socio- political sense this can be interpreted as a clear signal and support from the European Union in the reform process of the Country and an investment in this generation of young people, European young Macedonians who hopefully one day will be policy and decision makers actively participating in the creation of the future of the European Union.

Conclusion

Facing the new challenges today's Europe needs to create a new agenda with strong consensus, including not only the member states of the European Union, but the accession and the candidate countries as well. The extensive consultation process should address and rethink every field of action represented in the former and the current strategy. Good practices implemented on National and Regional level should be promoted and supported, with particular reference to grass-root projects and initiatives.

The European cultural agenda should be enhanced and enlarged, promoting people to people initiatives. The promotion of cultural diversity and intercultural dialogue should remain one of the top priorities, but with wider scope of activities including all the stakeholders in the society by building networks of interest on local, national and at the end European level. Those Networks of interest should be free to cooperate among each other and with other already existing. The idea is not to support the adoption of already existing ones and formalize their collaboration, but to create new ones and support directly the creation of their structure and later the projects created in that common framework their vision. Young Europeans are the ideal prime starting point for that, their non- formal networks and their vision for the structure of networks, based on their previous experience and active participation are very usefully resource base for the European policy makers. The inclusion of young Europeans should be introduced on larger scale and on all levels, Local, National and European. Culture as well could serve as a catalyst in the transition to employment especially in creative industries sector, allowing at the same time cultural expression of young people and creation of entrepreneurial start- ups with direct economic impact on European level. Having in mind that culture is not only introvert and does not preclude sharing and exchange, the European cultural agenda should design an inclusive international component which will not only enhance the international relations of the Union, but will create opportunities for smoother transitions to the developing democracies around the globe.

It could be concluded that the cohesion of the European Union quite is stronger at macro (community) level including the functioning of the European Institutions, Political system, and Economical Policy, creating a picture of the European Union as a one big "bureaucratic apparatus". On the other side the cohesion of the European Union is less strong at micro level, the level of people, of the common citizen. This can be explained by the different interest and aspiration of the national governments across Europe enhanced by the historical issues and cultural and religious differences. Young people again here can be the pioneers of the cohesion especially empowered by programs like the Youth in Action Programme, which not necessarily have the cohesion component written in the objectives, but is running smoothly in the background of every project and initiative. All of the countries members of the European Union and the

candidate countries as will need to start creating mechanism to address the major demographic changes that will happen between the generations. Europe is de facto aging, especially Western Europe. The gap between the generations will become more and more obvious in the years to come, thus this challenge should become part of the policy makers agenda with emphasis on the solidarity and collaboration between the young and the old generation. Young people here again, should be the main focus of the policy because they are, and they will continue to be in vulnerable position. The lack of dialogue between the generations in current European demographic landscape is already affecting the communities, young people are becoming more and more discouraged to take active participation and share the responsibility of the policies that affect them.

A wider debate including various stake-holders like academics, business and civil society representatives is urgent on all levels.

The future of the structured dialogue depends of the willingness of the European Institutions and the European politicians. There is no doubt, what so ever that the young Europeans are willing to take active participation and main role in the process. The management of the youth affairs and the co-management of the rest of the affairs should be a priority in the demands of the European youth citizens. The introduction of quotas in the elected European bodies should not be ruled out of the table.

European education is challenged to adapt and advance in an ongoing process which should ensure qualitative output enabling students to gain access to transnational skill and knowledge. The recognition of the non-formal education and the extra curriculum activities as well as their incorporation to some level by the formal educational institutions, needs the support by the European Institutions. Youth unemployment and youth transition to decent employment is the top priority to young Europeans.

References:

Prinz, Jesse. Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy. 2011.

<http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/culture-cogsci/#WhaCul> (accessed july 12, 2014).

Europe, Council of. *Council of Europe*. 2014.

http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/youth/ig_coop/cdej_EN.asp (accessed 8 2014).

Ministry of Education and Science, Republic of Macedonia. *Ministry of Education and Science ,Republic of Macedonia*. 2014. <http://www.mon.gov.mk/index.php/aktivnosti/1531-dozivotno-uchenje-i-mladi-vo-akcija> (accessed 7 22, 2014).

commission, European. *European Commission Youth-Tools* . 2014.

http://ec.europa.eu/youth/tools/youth-in-action_en.htm (accessed 8 2014).

Eur-Lex. *Eur-Lex Access to European Union law*. 2014. <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=CELEX:52011DC0220> (accessed 8 2014).

"Council of the European Union." *Council of the European Union*. 5 20-21, 2014.

http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cms_data/docs/pressdata/en/educ/142704.pdf
(accessed 20 8, 2014).

Forum, European Youth. *Policy Paper on Youth and European Social Model*. PP, Brussels: EYF, 2008.

Forum, European Youth. *Position Paper on Structured Dialogue*. Position Paper, Brussels: European Youth Forum, 2012.

Forum, Youth European. *Position Paper on Youth in Action 2.0*. PP, Brussels: EYF, 2010. Diller, Jerry V. *Cultural diversity a primer for the human services*. Belmont : Brooks/Cole Cengage Learning, 2011.

European Cultural Values. Special Eurobarometer 278, Brussels: European Commission, 2007.
http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/archives/ebs/ebs_278_en.pdf (Accessed 8,2014) Forum, European Youth *Position Paper on Youth in Action 2.0*. PP, Brussels: EYF, 2010

NEAGOE CORNELIA

Romania

le.pampaf@gmail.com

Image, Imaginary and Imagination- Toward a European Identity

My work represents a cultural-philosophical approach toward the « European Identity », related to the concept of «other», and the social implications generated by the interferences between the two.

The concept of identity, is never a finite concept, or relatively exhaustible through a systematic description but a concept in a building process.

European identity, seats somewhere between myth and reality inside a continent that conserves rather continually evolving rapports (marked by limitations in relationship with the past) than irrevocable ones, and thus, it assumes a culture in constant transformation.

The European identity, is therefore not limited to a fundamental legacy but to an entire process of constant redefinition, in a constantly evolving context, that is the product of several community phases of, cultural, religious, political and pan-European nature (the phase of the Greek civilization, Greek and Latin and then of Roman Empire; the phase of the Germans, of Western Christianity, of Renaissance, of Reformation and absolutism, of the Enlightenment together with the development of the ideas of freedom and modernization, and in the twentieth century, from 1914 until 1945 of colonial domination, and finally of a kind of self-destruction).

It is very important to know, how the values of Europe are revealed throughout history, and how do they gain their own legitimacy.

Considering the contemporary idea that we're definitely on our way to change and shift civilizational paradigms, we will show, in what way, the progressive loss of European values occurred.

It has become standard to incorporate the word « identity » when referring to communities and it is of "essentialist" nature the fact that each ethnic group, or community was presumed to hold its culture, its formation (that is its own identity).

Even if the identity image is a union of itself, constantly distorted and recovered from concrete history representation, it still plays an important role as a social binder.

The identity organizations are not pre-realities; they are recurrently created and recreated, thus supporting contrasts, political, economical and territorial struggles. National identities are modeled from a remarkable historical legend that immerses its roots in the remote past, a recovered ancient story from where are emerging : national heroes, illustrious episodes, popular traditions, symbolic sites.

Consequently, national identities can be considered «imagined communities» where members preserve in their minds a mental image of their affinity.

Between the radical, creative, dimension of our imagination and the social imaginary we are wrapped-on, exists, an intermediate space, entitled the «imaginal » and colonized by images or (re)presentations that are presences in themselves.

The image, the imagination, the imaginary; these are all terms which direct us to an heuristic and interdisciplinary approach toward European identity.

A first imperative issue in order to sustain the endeavor of defining the concept of European identity, is the way we understand the term «Europe»: inhabited territory that welcomes a social reality and social representations; a given image, a particular idea or a myth (first from the semantic point of view because the word « Europe » has mythological roots; and second from the political point of view because Europe is often considered to be a myth, not only in the historical sense but also in the modern one, since today Europe, outlined as a community, it is not a picture of a real state, but only a postulate).

Europe has a broad view. It is «the one who sees far». This is its literal meaning, hence its critical thinking and its susceptibility for the universal and infinite.

It is crucial to revive the memory of Europe considering its culture, its geography and its history, to find finally, the core features of its identity.

I will focus on three particular but essential points, identified as the foundation of a common past and an eventual current, shared, European identity: the appearance of the **transcendence** and of the **linear time** in the European culture, which brings a new vision of historical time, namely the existence of the universal circular time.

Originating from Latin, the word «transcendence» presents several meanings, united around the idea of surpassing; the transcendent is everything from then, exceeding and creating an entirely different order.

The concept materializes from the Aristotelian vision of God and is rooted in the Christian thought used in particular to discuss the relationship of God to the world. To it withstands «the immanence» that means the inner presence, a God that is present in all the things that compose the world and can be experimented in correspondence with the pantheism of Spinoza.

The history of religions recognises four great monotheistic religions: Judaism, the religion of Zarathustra (Zoroastrianism), Islam and Christianity and the substance of the last one is precisely the intolerance toward religions venerating several gods which in the Christian conception, are false gods.

Furthermore the evidence of the conviction concerning the existence of one God who is transcendent is present in the period of Roman polytheism when frequent persecution of christians refusing to worship the emperor took place.

It is in fact like this that initiates the development of Christian ideology until the arrival of Constantine who grants freedom of worship to christians and finally Theodosius declares Christianity the official religion of the empire. In the sixteenth century, humanism ceases to be interpreted as a pagan influence thanks to its important cultural bestowal. Later on are arriving Martin Luther, the Great Schism and it appears as well the Protestant Reform, an impulse to the freedom of thought with a significant contribution to the emancipation of the mind.

The circular time, or the trip time is the vision of the historical time, the global time that is present everywhere, in absolutely all of the civilizations including the ancient Greeks, until the Judeo Christianity which practically unfolds in the axiom : "there is never anything new under the sun".

The representation of a circular time appears in an immanent universe (outside of transcendence) and endlessly innates from the original chaos.

Chaos is death, disintegration of body, of emotions, feelings, knowledge and institutions; against which we struggle constantly. We exceed our time to compete against the chaos and install the order, but that order always ends. It is an eternal reverberation, a natural system since neither chaos nor order can not dominate forever.

What characterizes the Judeo-Christianity is that at one point of this spiral that spins endlessly, it emerges an event that correlates with transcendence : the rebirth of Christ.

The notion of time is essential for a « waiting » people and europeans are a « waiting » people who is looking for Messiah, thus time becomes meaningful in Europe.

In general, in his/her life, a singular entity is aware of the time, by virtue of his/her memory and in the modern sense, the image of a line is often the graphical representation of time in the minds of individuals.

Consciousness can be compared with an arrow and the desired object or ideal can be compared with a target; there is nothing more natural therefore to consider the time like a straight line that goes on forever in the future and also in history.

There are two trips of two characters which are delineative in this sense: first is Ulysses who left his native land (Ithaca), attempting to return later on- it is a circular movement. The second one is Abraham from Chaldea (southern Iraq) whom one day heard a voice that commands him to leave the land of his grandparents, to discover the promised land. He arrived to the territory of Canaan, with the intention of not coming back. His it is a linear journey, a new sense of time that is the linear time (because time is relative to the movement, and Ulysses leaves to come back , while Abraham never does it); and this is specific to Europe and moreover monotheist.

Subsequently in the linear view of time, the past is undoubtedly known, while the future is uncertain. The passage of time creates a new type of existence (the historical existence) in which

there may be room for change, for improvement and this new conception of time is liberating because it frees us from routine and leads us to progress.

However, nature works in cycles and a cycle presupposes a circular rather than linear change ; and strangely, is this circular representation of time that has established itself in traditional cultures. Time does not march in a line but in a circle and this fact is the equivalent of the regress because the modern age was hoping to change the world and was instead only ineffective.

Monotheism is the belief in a transcendent truth. With the denial of the Christian culture (a culture that has been present in Europe for over 2500 years, and that was triggered by the Greeks and the Hebrews and then propagated to Rome and Europe) it is not only a religion that is rejected, but all its values: introspection of truth, certainty of reason, faith in progress, democracy.

All cultures have conveyed many answers to the matter of time, and most of them grow around the same topics infused with the human condition: the permanence of God, the constancy of the cosmos, the passenger human life, are common temporal representations by most people on Earth.

The Judeo-Christian tradition itself acquires mystical abstractions since The Bible states that time it is a heavenly revelation because it is God who produces it and offers it to humankind. The christian time, from the point of view of the man, is a time of hope, of promise even if its outcome is the return to the divinity.

Instead, the time of the Hindu culture for instance it is a time of « permanence and introspection » where the individual endures somehow less anxieties regarding time and its passing hence, the cultural foundations have an important involvement in the global impressions on time, and life rhythm.

The second concept to discuss is that of **liberty** analyzed in the context of a continent built on a cosmogony, a myth of origin and seen as a natural faculty, as well as the main foundation of european democracy.

We find among other cultures (it is essential for the comparison) the negation to transform the world and it was reported that some asian people literally held all scientific discoveries in order to produce radical changes in the world. In other words, they had everything to be a culture that produces technology that generates the entity named consumer for instance but they did not. They invented typography before the europeans, they invented the first vaccine which instantly after being invented was settled on a rack and remained there for centuries, for the only reason that it is in the nature of some people to not want to get involved in converting the world.

Max Weber launched a demand to know why are the Westerners who had the predisposition and the desire to transform the world, and the answer he found was : « rationalization ».

In a very wonderful book called « Fragments of Paradise » a sailor asks his captain why he left (without having any idea at all why he actually left) and the captain replies, « I do not think the joys of the world are all listed in the catalog where you put them ».

In other words, there are other joys we do not yet know. And this attitude is very European. This means that is precisely the world to come to us and this explains why we are not fatalists at the same level as are so many other cultures.

These are undoubtedly invented stories that give meaning to history and recount its foundation. The Babylonian epic of Gilgamesh, the myth of Romulus and Remus in Rome, the myth of Erechtheus in Athens and the Kalevala in Finland are all foundation myths which are neither true nor false.

In other cultures the original story is quite distinct and it is the European belief that the world is not enough, this is a prevailing assumption that motivates the development of means beyond pure knowledge. It is the desire to turn the world into a flawless place we want to animate, guided by the certainty that there is always more to come and to create.

The world regarded as something that can be improved it is peculiarly European.

The European man living in a strange ambivalence, surrounded by certainly more freedom than elsewhere, knows something more than that: frustration. There are therefore no pure and genuine progress in history since there is always a price to pay for it.

Furthermore, Europe finds its genealogy in 3 mythological figures which follow in time: Prometheus, Faust, Frankenstein that tried to achieve the infinite, in a disenchanted world.

It is the idea of « truth » that does not cease to bring to the world the good news because we have in the European culture the idea of the universal truth. The study of truth had the power to freeze fanaticism, convert patriotism into nationalism, sovereignty into introversion, and anarchy into democracy.

The man chooses to get rid of these crimes rather than trying to correct the anomalies. The end of Christianity confused the way to pantheism which stirred humans because it declines hierarchies, it glorifies individuality, and that leads, paradoxically, to the devastation of the individual who discovers himself melted into the eminent everything.

Egalitarian fervor brought the destruction of morality along with that of the hierarchy: if everything is equal and conforming, it can no longer contain truth; it is the symbol of relativism.

We know very little the history of European monasteries, however abundant of political senses.

The Majority rule is publicly established in 1143 while the Church was practicing it for six centuries already and that was the beginning of modern democracy.

So it is both strange and surprising that the monasteries, which did not represent the space par excellence where genuine democracy can take place, however, they have been the cradle of the constitution of a revival power under the law.

Make the power law is not the sign of an universal moral virtue, but of particular anthropological vision. This anthropological vision is Christian and European (Christian anthropology, which is both that of finitude and freedom, hence called a power under the law and Modern Europe which is not the daughter of revolutionary anthropology, as believed, but of Christian anthropology)

So we preliminarily mention that the democracy originated in ancient Greece in a jeopardized manner therefore it is contingent which means she could not appear and this thing makes us ask what value does it have outside of our European history?; Is it universal?; Does it exist in other cultures?

For reference, the Chinese philosophy does not argue in order to support its statements. Very profound things are mostly formulated in a quite incomprehensible, mysterious, chimerical and paradoxical way. It expects that the observer research himself the meaning and experiences by himself the good of what is said.

The great writer Lao Tzu, for instance, begins «Tao Te Ching» in the following manner:

*«The way that can be expressed by words is not the eternal Way
The name that can be named is not the eternal Name
In the world where all men have learned to appreciate the beauty,*

*Then the ugliness appeared.
When all the men were able to appreciate the good, then evil has appeared.
Therefore being and non-being are born from one another».*

We are dealing with two radically antithetical configurations: the bulky, demonstrative european style and the flamboyant and mysterious chinese style making obvious that the way of practicing philosophy on the continent will be highly influenced by the culture.

For a european, the chinese philosophical work may lack argument, and for a chinese, european philosophy may appear as extreme and excessive, so it becomes impossible to determine who is right and we can not determine the superiority of one to the other.

So what is the truth and is it possible to live out of the truth?

The unique concept of truth is coming from three sources : first by the Jews and it is the appearance of adherence to truth ; then there were at the same time the Greeks, with Parmenides and his poem that opens the idea of truth by stating: « what is, is ; what is not, is not » ; and finally, the resurrection of Christ, an event that no one can scientifically prove, but that is the central truth of Christianity.

These three successive phenomena had anchored the idea of truth in our consciousness for over two thousand years. And this probably explains, among other things, why science is so highly developed in the West.

To seek the truth, it is usually unwelcome, it is frequently antagonistic with happiness. In another way, when we look at the history of the West, we find that it has been continually quite unhappy. Sometimes persecuted, martyred like Galileo, sometimes living in poverty as Lamarck; the european man, is characterised by the fact that he often seeks the truth to the detriment of good. The search for truth is the completion of a long approach, that tastes his glory starting with Renaissance. « The truth » attempts to be substituted by « the useful » from the sixteenth century starting with Machiavelli continuing with Bacon, Hobbes and Descartes. But this predisposition has experienced an increase in the twentieth century, given the appalling events that happened. Many people have been murdered in the name of what in that time was speculated to be true.

From the Greeks and from Christianity, Europe wishes to guard a valid message for all mankind. It never ceases to bring the "good news" and the ultimate is that of human rights. The universality of human rights (in order to satisfy the requirement to avoid damaging dogmatism) requires being seen as an interpretation of human reality, and in this sense, it functions as a myth.

In a traditional way, the non-Western cultures are holistic, and so contrary to our individualistic picture on human rights, but yet, the more our founding myth stretches interminably the more it becomes powerful the magic that it liberates.

German philosophers of the time explaining the European identity as a universal identity, refer to as a mosaic of civilizing humanism.

In the vision of our contemporaries, Europe can exist only to fulfill its universal vocation, that is to convey to the world everything that defines it (like international law and international equity, a universal concept of human rights).

This is what shapes european identity.

This shows that the roots of the philosophy need to be defended.

In our safeguard the universal, we are authentic.

Inventiveness and openness, predisposition to create.

Universal is an engagement.

It is not an achievement, rather a search. We will never finish utterly.

Absolutely, the European spirit is characterized by a genius of invention, curiosity and the critical contribution of the Greeks, personified by the famous words of Socrates: «I know that I know nothing at all».

Bibliography:

Castoriadis Cornelius, L'Institution imaginaire de la société, Paris, Seuil, 1975

Constantinescu Cornel, Stereotipuri, reprezentari si identitate sociala, 2000, Pitesti, Ed. Universitatii

Delsol Chantal, L'âge du renoncement, Le Cerf, Paris, 2011

Delsol Chantal, Penser le présent; chroniques d'actualité 1997-2010, 2011, Paris

Delosol Chantal, Jean-François Mattéi- L'identité de l'Europe, PUF, Paris, 2010 Duroselle Jean Baptiste, L'Europe, histoire de ses peuples, 1995, Paris, Hachette

Licata Laurent, Representing the future of the U.E.- Consequences on national and European identifications, 2003, London, PSR

Montfort E., Dieu a-t-il sa place en Europe, 2003, Paris, François Xavier de Guibert Morin Edgard, Penser l'Europe, 1987, Paris, Gallimard

Paocka Jan, Essais Hérétiques : Sur la philosophie de l'histoire, 2007, Paris, Verdier Rap Francis, Le Saint-Empire romain germanique, 2003, [Lonrai](#), [Seuil](#)

Rougemont Denis, Vingt-huit siècles d'Europe: la conscience européenne à travers les textes, d'Hésiode à nos jours, 1961, Paris, Payot

Therborn Goran, European modernity & beyond, London, Sage publications, 1995

Valéry Paul, La crise de l'esprit, première lettre, extrait de «Europe de l'antiquité au XXe siècle », 2000, collection Bouquins, éditions Robert Laffont

Valéry Paul, Variété, Œuvre II, 1960, Paris, Gallimard, collection Bibliothèque de la Pléiade, chap. Notes sur la grandeur et décadence de l'Europe

Wilmington Robin Dick, The Unlearned Lessons of the Twentieth Century: An Essay on Late Modernity, 2006, DE: ISI Books

Winchester Simon, L'uomo che amava la Cina, 2010, Milano, Adelphi.

Zweig Stefan, Le monde d'hier, souvenirs d'un Européen, 1993, Paris, Belfond

Consulted websites:

www.chantaldelsol.fr 01.07.2014

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ktRbJCup4Go> 13.07.2014

WORLD YOUTH FORUM 'RIGHT TO DIALOGUE'
VII EDITION

DEBATES, CULTURE AND ARTISTIC EVENT, FRIENDSHIP

INDIVIDUALISM V.S COLLECTIVISM

By Duy. Nguyen Duc Hoai

INTERNATIONAL UNIVERSITY - VIETNAM NATIONAL UNIVERSITY

Abstract

Globalization now has considerable influence with all of the countries in the world; it is also a direct element for the creation of tradition and culture diversity in every countries. In developed as well as developing countries, the presence of international companies and multinational corporations has made a significant distribution to the economic development of the host country; moreover, it creates the diversity in human, nationalities and encourages the transfer of customs, practices and lifestyle from country to country.

Globalization can be an empowering entity. It can interconnect the world, support [economic development](#), provide information availability and assist in developing a [global village](#) (Moahi, 2007). Thus, we need to understand about the people, nationality and its culture to have a broader understanding about the humanity, cultures, and most important, the 2 theories of "individualism & collectivism" from the **European** and **Southeast and East Asian (SEAn)** continent.

*Southeast and East Asia: **SEA***

*Southeast and East Asian: **SEAn***

TABLE OF CONTENT

I. Introduction	4
1. Background	4
2. Research Objective	4
3. Limitation	4
II. Literature Review	7
1. Individualism	7
2. Collectivism	7
3. Education	8
4. Working Environment	8
5. Relationship	8
III. Comparison	9

1. Education	10
2. Working Environment	12
3. Relationship	15
IV. Conclusion	18
V. Recommendations for Further Research	20
VI. References	21

I. Introduction:

1. Background.

International integration motivates the development of each country's economic and society; it also creates the diversity in human & population for that country; which also means the interaction between people in public place and working place. The graph 1 below shows the shape increase in the number of immigrants of European countries in 10 years from 2002 to 2012. The number shows the increase from 680 to 820 from 2002 to 2012. The adjustment in population structure and the increasing number of immigrants create the diversity of cultures and human.

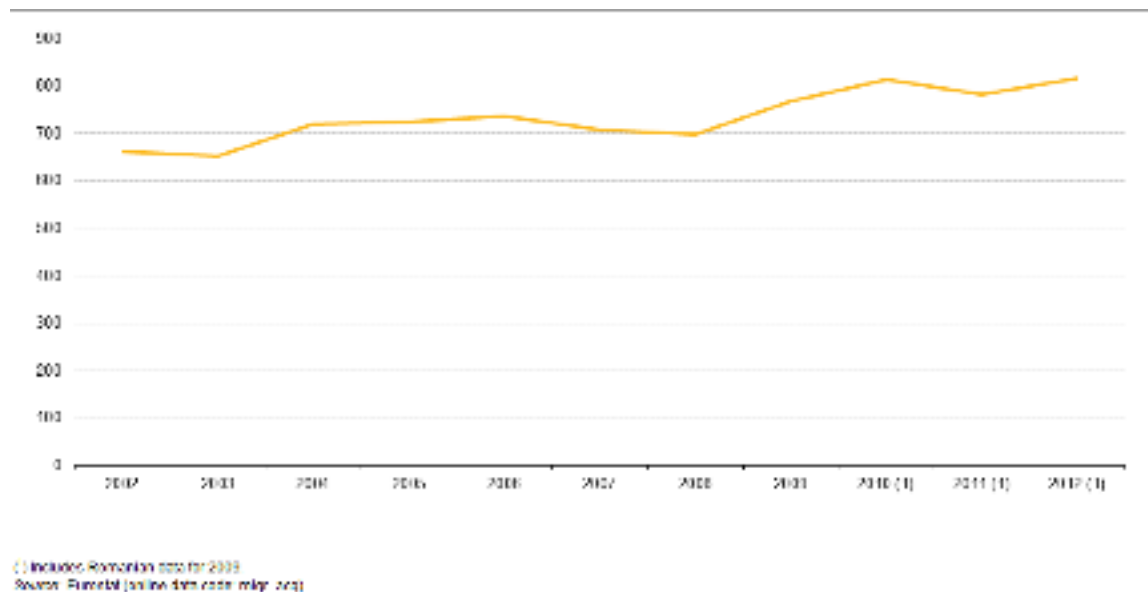


Figure 1: Increasing in the number of immigrants of European countries in 10 years from 2002 to 2012.

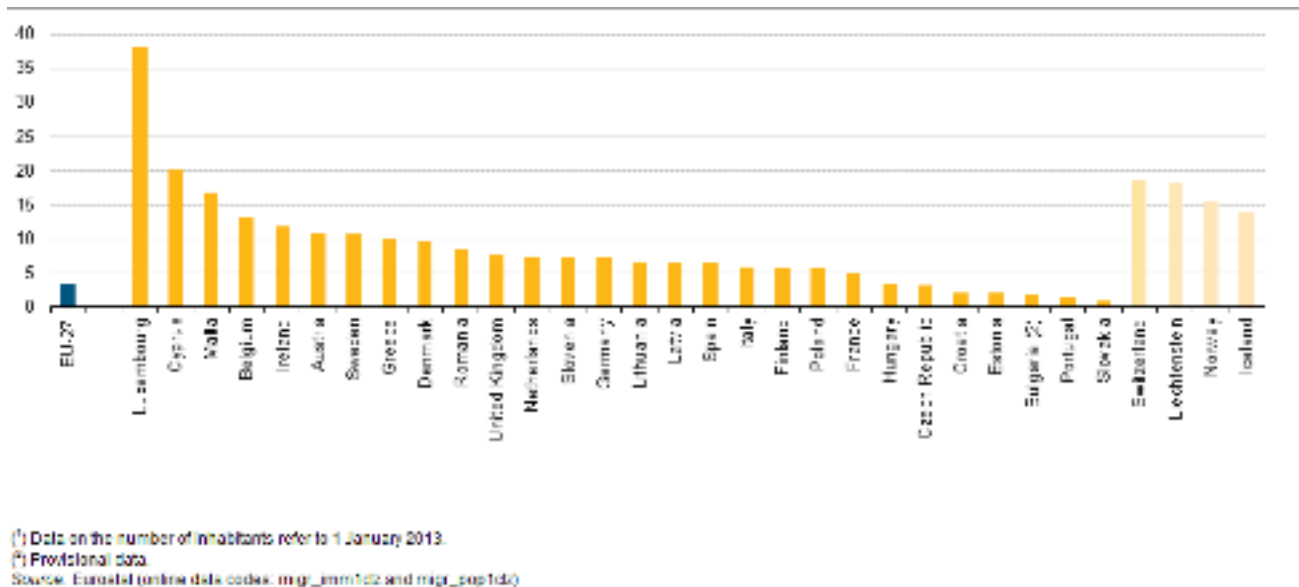


Figure 2: The immigrant percentage of European countries in 2013

From the cultural & national aspect, it is interesting for people to get to know the human as well as the other cultures in the world. My reason for this research is to provide a general understanding about the 2 theories of "Individualism & Collectivism" from the European & the SEAn, 2 opposite theories from the 2 continents.

2. Research Objective.

This research's objects of interest are the human and cultures from Europe and SEA based on the 2 theories of "individualism & collectivism". Through that, speculations about the movement & adjustment of varied cultures of those countries will later be made.

3. Limitation.

Since the research's scope is the comparisons between European countries and SEAn countries, so the only focus will be on those 2 continents; it is a challenge to apply the research's result for other continents that researches have not been conducted.

According to Trueba, Cheng, & Ima (1993), Asia areas is divided in to 3 main ethnicities within the "Asian" community: (1) Pacific Islanders, mostly Hawaiians, Samoans, and Guamanians; (2) Southeast Asians, largely comprised of Indochinese from Vietnam, Thailand, Cambodia, Laos, and Burmese and Filipinos; and (3) East Asians, including Chinese, Japanese, and Korean . My paper will show the closer look into community number (2) and (3).

"Individualism & collectivism" will be demonstrated in 3 aspects: education, working environment & relationship.

Therefore, in any future researches, a larger study field, which is conducted later will have the general look in 2 continents. Moreover, further comparison regarding different characteristic and living style, etc. are highly recommended.

II. Literature Review:

1. Individualism

According to [Craig Biddle](#) | [Philosophy](#) (2012) "Individualism is the idea that the individual's life belongs to him and that he has an inalienable right to live it as he sees fit, to act on his own judgment, to keep and use the product of his effort, and to pursue the values of his choosing." Besides, in the research of YuriyGorodniche ko and Gerard Roland (University of California) individualism emphasizes personal freedom and achievement. Individualist culture therefore awards social status to personal accomplishments such as important discoveries, innovations, great artistic or humanitarian achievements and all actions that make an individual stand out.

2. Collectivism.

Regarding to [Craig Biddle](#) | [Philosophy](#) (2012)Collectivism is the idea that the individual's life belongs not to him but to the group or society of which he is merely a part, that he has no rights, and that he must sacrifice his values and goals for the group's "greater good". Additionally, Collectivism, in contrast emphasizes embeddedness of individuals in a larger group. It encourages conformity and discourages individuals from dissenting and standing out. Platteau (2000).

3. Education.

In Oxford dictionary, education is the process of receiving or giving systematic instruction, especially at a school or university.

4. Working environment.

The term work environment is used to describe the surrounding conditions in which an employee operates. The work environment can be composed of physical conditions, such as office temperature, or equipment, such as personal computers. It can also be related to factors such as work processes or procedures. We can say that the work environment can involve the social interactions at the workplace, including interactions with peers, subordinates, and managers. Generally, and within limits, employees are entitled to a work environment that is free from harassment. A hostile work environment exists when unwelcome sexual conduct interferes with an employee's job performance, or creates a hostile, intimidating, or offensive work environment. (Money-zin.com).

5. Relationship.

Oxford dictionary states that relationship is the way in which two or more people or things are connected, or the state of being connected. There are galore types of relationship. Here, we mention about “family relationship”.

COMPARISON

III. Comparison:

1. Education

Firstly, it is widely accepted that education has a great impact on human personality and society. Different country has different style of education; education has been the foundation for the development for the country's society through different period of time. We can see the importance of education; and education has always been considered as a priority for every country in the world.

Parents from SEAn countries believe that their children are a part of the family as well as the society; this is the reason why it is important for the children to realize that their actions and decisions will strongly affect their family and their society. From the viewpoint of SEAn parents, the way Western families raise their children is selfish and it is unacceptable to put one's needs before other people's. Life of a child in the family usually has the strong connection with the life of that child's parents, grandparents and the society that child is a part of. Children have to learn to respect people (especially those who are older) and how to live in the perfect harmony with their parents and people in their society. Eastern mothers do not seem to pay much attention to the need of self-expressing and the independence of their children; in fact, they tend to focus on teaching their children to respect older people and take care of their family.

If a child in a Eastern family talks back to their parents, uses inappropriate language or has a bad studying result, Eastern parents will find their child's action selfish and unacceptable instead of considering it as normal characteristics of a specific stage in child's growing up progress like the Western families often do. Eastern children are expected to sacrifice their feelings for the good of the family.

In school, collectivism shapes study culture of SEAn students when they have a pressure to grow up similarly with their peers in classes and activities. For example, most of SEAn students go to class and listen to the professors and note down all the theories providing to them, which is called passive learning method passive learning. *Dean A. McManus, School of Oceanography and Center for Instructional Development and Research (University of Washington)* said that students are assumed to enter the course with minds like empty vessels or sponges to be filled with knowledge" in passive learning. As we can see clearly those students have mostly verbal lectures and their instructor is "verbal" textbook. Therefore, they are like a passive "tape recorder". Sometimes, they are afraid of asking questions and do not dare to discuss to the teachers in order to understand clearly about the lectures since they think that is how they respect teacher and believe that knowledge providing by teachers is always right or they worry about bother teachers when he/she is teaching. Furthermore, students might observe their passive classmates who do not have the interaction with teachers during the class; thus, they require their parents to go to tutorial classes to study more, yet the knowledge is the same in their main classes. By doing this, students somehow have more chances to learn the massive number of theories and they can easily solve almost the exercises in textbook. However, they may lack of logical thought as students just follow the frame work providing by teacher.

Currently, the information provided by the teachers in kindergartens, primary schools and high schools are too much for students to fully absorb. In countries like Vietnam, China and Singapore, the design of school programs demand intensive efforts from students. However, it seems too much for a child's ability to absorb and the knowledge gained from school may not be always useful to apply in reality for the child's future career. At that age, students should get physical education programs as well as be guided to improve their independence in thinking & in giving opinions about what happens around them. In addition, a student's curiosity should be encouraged, students should be encouraged to ask questions about their family as well as their environment; encouraging curiosity means giving students an opportunity to think and solve their problems.

In contract, Individualism contributes a lot for European students. To parents, they strongly believe that every child is an independent individual who always has its own rights. They diminish criticism, punishment and force on their kid, which violates individual rights. Moreover, this prevents their kids from their own development including creativity and self- expression. Parents never want their kids to follow the opinions agreed by the majority of people; they want them to take the responsibilities for their own ones. Kids are also encouraged to freely have options, even when they are failed; they possibly can negotiate with their parents, sometimes because they believe in individual aspects, self-expression, creativity, independence, and will of freedom. In School, students have an opportunity to interact to teachers and raise their questions directly in the class. The instructor strives to create "a learning environment in which the student can learn to restructure the new information and their prior knowledge into new knowledge about the content and to practice using it". In addition, In addition, the distance between the teachers and students is lessened. They always share their experiences in their life together. About the lessons, they are classified to levels (from easy to difficult) and they can be implemented in reality. Students learn primary knowledge at school and at home as well, which

stimulates their learning and thinking. Besides, teaching and practicing are parallel applied helps student's memory and implementing ability last longer. As the result, student's understanding, thinking and self-studying better. What is more, in Europe, parents are not put high pressure on their children to have the same highest result with their classmates. Hence, students feel free to study in their own and create more ideas which can be found as a result for "innovation".

As Donna Bryant Goertz likes to say, if the First Plane children are like tadpoles, the elementary children are like the frogs into which they were transformed. At this stage, parents and schools need to provide them the suitable approach in teaching in order to build up their skills and characteristic in the future.

2. Working environment.

Working environment is one of the crucial factors influencing on production or economy of every country. The better the working environment is, the higher the employee productivity increases. Hence, this research mainly focuses on working culture, which shows the differences in the working structure and style.

Collectivism are clustered together in SEA, compare with the opposite for many western countries. The SEAn scores are high for supporting hierarchy as a principle in social ordering, although Japan is an exception and the principle is also less strongly endorsed in Korea and Taiwan. (Inglehard and Baker 2000) support this. According to, in business, employees are afraid of long-term and short-term. For short term, they might think of their personal steadiness and stability, and try to protect their "face". Additionally, they have to respect their boss or the elder because of tradition or a sense of reciprocity. That would lead to the long-term orientation of them: persistence/ perseverance, status, thrift or sense of shame in front of people. It means an individual considers that group is the most important at work that makes the contract obviously between Individualism and Collectivism. Almost people at work have to suffer the common goals of their team/group or company, then they assume as an elements in a group and try to work friendly, modestly and politely, it is hard for them to be differentiated as well as to show their own independent. Scientists called it as Intellectual Autonomy, is a value that relates to individual's freedom to think independently. In SEAn countries, some of employees should just listen to their boss and follow up what he/she assigns without giving their opinion, they need to do their task quickly and efficiently to avoid troubles from colleagues. By doing so, it will reduce the creativities of workers as well as the diversification of working environment while individual is considered as a main factor which influence directly on company success in Individualism.

Table 1. GDP per Capita of Clusters, 2011.

Cluster	Country	GDP
Advanced cities	Singapore	59,722
	Hong Kong	49,137
Japan		34,740
Advanced Northeast	Taiwan	37,720
	Korea	31,714
Emerging SE Asian	Malaysia	15,568
	Thailand	9,396
	Indonesia	4,666
	Philippines	4,073
Post-Socialist	China	8,382
	India	3,694
	Vietnam	3,359
	Laos	2,659

Source: IMF World Economic Outlook Database Dec. 2012

Figure 3: GDP per Capita of Clusters, 2011

It can be clearly seen that the table shows the economics of some countries in SEA. Although there are 5 clusters based on the GDP, yet it still follows the collectivism. It means that the collectivism also have the advantages and disadvantages. However, it may be hard for western people come and work in SEA because of culture differences.

There are differences between European and SEAn working culture. Although they both love teamwork spirit, the European always express their own opinions or think without feeling afraid of other member's feelings. Because their goal is to complete their job as well as possible, they are always confident in showing solutions to any problems, which helps them achieve their goal. Especially, directly an argument in negotiation – to them – is necessary to deal with conflicting or inappropriate thinking. Then, the rights of equality and humanity including the freedom of opinion contribution and the freedom of speech are obviously shown through their culture. The goal of team/group need to follow up the objective of individual as human are motivated to live in freedom, straight and independent not only in their thought but also in their action. From the perspective of the manager, the diversification of management is obviously shown: Directive – Participative – Empowering- Charismatic.)

The main reason for this difference is that the SEAn is strongly influenced by the philosophy of Confucius and other Eastern philosophers, who believed that there was inequality existing in life. On the other hand, because of the historical context and the conditions of socio- economy

(including the Enlightenment theories and the migrations from the continent of Europe to America after the Renaissance), the European believed in there was the equality between people and the social status was no longer important.

As mentioned above, the SEAn are strongly influenced by Confucian principles of Benevolence, Righteousness, Propriety, Wisdom, and Fidelity. Applying into an organization, it means that a staff must be loyal and responsible for his/ her job, be friendly and reliable to his/ her partners; which creates further differences. For example, under negotiation, while the SEAn gradually draw their conclusion because they need careful thinking or opinions of their outside colleagues, the European come to their decisions early and directly. In many cases, they immediately express their own opinions instead of wait for their superiors' ones.

3. Relationship

According to relationship perspective, the difference between two concepts also can be found in term of family culture. Group-oriented people, who have the right to influence on family connection as the major leader of identity and protection against the obstacles in life, can be found in South and West SEAn countries. The word "family" is meaningful as it stands for one including immediate family and relatives; thus, the loyalty is expected in term of family culture. Obviously, independent behavior may disrupt the harmony of family and it would lead to the dissatisfaction of family members. Therefore, there are galore rules and regulations even law in traditional SEAn family so that children need to abide and obey the elders' requests; sometimes, young generations have to follow elder family members without asking or acting against instructions.

In SEAn, individuals count on an extended network of parents, siblings, grandparents, aunts and uncles, cousins, etc. Many of these people have great influence on important decisions such as health care, finance, education or even marriage of one individual, including some who are unrelated to the individual through blood or marriage.

Additionally, in some of SEA countries, almost parents want their children to stay and live with them as long as possible as they do not want to accept that their kids are already grew up even they are more than 20 years old. Parents may think that their kids are too young at that age to know how to deal with tough life when their kids have no experience before. Take the major at university for an example to illustrate deeper the common situation in SEA courtiers such Thailand, Vietnam, China, etc. Parents will give advices to their children to choose the major for working and studying at the stage they are in high school following the hot trend of work or well-paid jobs such as doctor, professor or engineer without looking at skills and interest of kids. According to one student at International University in Vietnam, who studied Finance & Banking, she - after graduated - realizes that she just followed her parents' wish since Finance & Banking is the hot career with good salary. After all, it turns out that she did not love it at all, and then she decided to study graphic design, which is her interest. Therefore, it wastes of her time to contribute to what she pursued. Family decision has the strong impact to children life in SEAn countries.

Moreover, nuclear family can be found in traditional family in SEAn. Even though children get marriage already, they still want to live with their parents so that they can take care of them when their parents are sick or getting older. That would lead to 2-3 generations live together in the house; hence, that might happen the conflict between the gap of those generations when globalization and social adaption.

Moreover, the differences between cultures base on how much they promote individuality and uniqueness in comparison with compliance and interdependence. In collectivism, a person is expected to be absolutely loyal to his existing or extended family. Whereas individualism respects self-reliance, all the decisions are based on the needs of individual and he or she has the right to have a private life. Social model where decision-making process focus on the needs of the group is called familyism, in which having “a private life” may be just an illusion.

In western cultures, especially in European and American cultures, typical families often comprise of two generations which are parents and their children. Parents are the ones who decide when it comes to important decisions such as health care. However, children may as well be encouraged to have their own opinions and make their own decisions in accordance with their ages. When a child grows up and reaches its maturity, parental consent is no longer needed; young Western adult now has the right to decide upon their own matters such as health care, housing, career.

I observed some countries in Europe, parents really want their children to go out and encourage them to have the independent life to obtain more knowledge and social skills. It can be seen clearly by the exchange program in all Europe, especially the biggest program called Erasmus.

CONCLUSION

IV. Conclusion.

To sum up, there are typical differences between the European and the SEAn in education, working environment, and relationship within family based on the theories of “Individualism and Collectivism”. While the European follow “Individualism”, the SEAn stand for “Collectivism”, which is obviously shown in the human and culture of both. As for education, the European prefer lessening the distance between the instructors and the students and encouraging the students to learn by themselves or be curious about the real life. In contrast, SEAn students are told what and how to learn; especially they strictly follow their teachers and are afraid of change. In working environment, direct negotiation or decision making which are implemented by the European are hardly used in the SEAn countries. Lastly, in an SEAn family, there are many generations live together and parents always keep their children by their side, which are different from an European one in which children are motivated to be independent and early earn for their livings. Therefore, the research clearly shows that the European and the SEAn have different ideals which are created for long based on the historical context and socio-economic conditions in the past and at the present.

From the perspective of aSEAn, there has been dramatic change in the mindset of the SEA based on the perception of “Individualism” applied by almost European Countries. In general, the education systems now are gradually progressed. For example, many international schools are established to bring SEAn students close to the dynamic foreign training in Vietnam, Thailand, Singapore, etc. Besides, the exchange student programs with scholarships are more encouraged than ever, even thousands of SEAn students are given these chances to approach challenging learning environment. Nowadays, because of the friendship between nations,

European countries offer many kinds of scholarship to SEAn students, that is the splendid opportunity for SEAn youth enter to the world, gain more knowledge about economics, technologies, and cultures to support for their countries. Thanks to the amazing recognition of the SEAn family perceives this positive change as well. Nowadays, because of the increase in living standards and the support of foreign countries, parents want their children to have chances to expose the world outside. Studying abroad is a way that those parents might help their children be more independent and courage. As a result, SEAn students are not only physically equipped with knowledge, they might become talents who assists their own country in the future. Besides, it is good news for the development of both economy and society in long term.

Thus, it is believed that with the current progress, the SEAn not only better their mindset, but they open a new future as well. The compromise between original “Collectivism” thinking and the “Individualism” perception is a complete key so that the SEAn and the European or others can come close to each other, which leads the SEAn to further achievements of socio- economy and external relationships in the near future.

V. Recommendations for further research.

My recommendations for further research are to look deeper into the cultures of each country in SEAn as well as in Europe to have the specific knowledge about the cultures. Besides, it would be recommended to research more about the perspectives, angles or elements between SEAn and Europe in economics, history or social fields.

VI. References.

1. Title: Passive vs. Active Learning

Source: The Sourcebook for Teaching Science

<http://www.csun.edu/science/ref/pedagogy/active-passive/active-passive-learning.html>

2. Title: Individualism

Source: Psychology Wiki

<http://psychology.wikia.com/wiki/Individualism>

3. Title: Figure of The immigrant percentage of European countries in 2013 – Page

Source: European Commission – Eurostat

[http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/statistics_explained/index.php/File:Immigrants, 2012 \(1 \) \(per 1 000 inhabitants\) YB14 IL.png](http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/statistics_explained/index.php/File:Immigrants,_2012_(1_per_1_000_inhabitants)_YB14_IL.png)

4. Title: Khác biệt thú vị cách nuôi dạy con của người phương Đông và phương Tây (Or: The interesting differences in raising and teaching children between the Eastern and Western parents)

Source: Mr. Why Author: Minh Huyền

Posted time: July 25, 2014

<http://phamngocanh.com/thu-vien/phat-trien-ca-nhan-thu-vien/khac-biet-thu-vi-khi-nuoi-day-con-giua-phuong-tay-va-phuong-dong/>

5. Title: Introduction to Basic Asian Values

Source: AsianWeek Author: Authur Hu

Posted time: April 28, 2012

<http://www.asianweek.com/2012/04/28/introduction-to-basic-asian-values/>

6. Title: Cultural Values of Asian Patients and Families

Source: Dimensions of Culture Author: Marcia Carteret. M. Ed.

<http://www.dimensionsofculture.com/2010/10/cultural-values-of-asian-patients-and-families/>

Nhapulo Marcos

Nucleo degli Studenti della Lingua e Cultura Italiana – NELCI-Mozambico

Youth in Institutional Cooperation & Community Development

Abstract

Since the State is no longer a centralization of public matters, there is a need of considering not only public institutions, but also the private ones and, in particular, the youth organizations. Looking at youth in Europe and outside this continent, there is a feeling of distress among youth and not only, among elders too, since most of the aspirations young people have are sometimes seen both as a menace and as ingenuity. This means that there is a need of reinforcing the cooperation among youth institutions at the inter-national levels, enabling their participation in decision-making processes, taking into account that young people are the majority of the people all around the world. Therefore, multinational youth projects have to be embraced worldwide if cooperation and development are needed.

Government: talking about young people is not as easy as it may seem. By youth we mean all those who are between the age of 15 and 35 years old, as it was agreed in the 7th Ordinary Conference of African Leaders in 2006 and witnessed by the United Nations. However, apart from the age brackets, we can also consider youth as a social representation of people who have the

same interest (Bourdieu, 1992), and who are capable of developing activities in order to achieve a common goal which leads to community and personal development.

It is common to find a Ministry of Youth all over the world, but it is not common to find youth organizations who are integrally involved in the actions of the government, since most of the action plans towards the improvement of youth ideals are left on the written and not on the practical form. This is generally the problem found all over the world, because youth is seen as both a power to be used for political purposes (sometimes as simple innocents, using their so-called ingenuity), and as menace for current ideals of the elders who are the current actors of development and leadership.

Considering that young people are busy with their professional, educational and societal occupations, involving youth in political activities needs to be carefully understood and empowered. Therefore, motivating young people in social, political and economic actions is crucial for their active involvement, since any action has to guarantee that more and more young people get willingly involved. For this to be possible, governments have to show consideration and compromise regarding youth aspirations and political duties.

For instance, in the Mozambican Ministry of Youth there is the Youth Strategy, and this is a set of guidelines which the government has to accomplish for satisfying youth needs in general. Under this Strategy, it is the right of young people to have access to education, training, employment and entrepreneurship, legal services, medical assistance, sports and recreation/entertainment in general (Nhapulo, 2011). However, what has been observed in the ground is that these are not more than words which are never turned into action. This is the greatest mistake which tends to open a barrier between youth and governments in general. An example of a vague promise can be found in the Ordinary Session of the African Union (in its no12), which has declared the decade 2009-2018 as de Decade for Development and Empowerment of Youth in Africa, but without visible actions which can be witnesses (by community-based associations and youth organizations) as part of this goal.

Housing: housing is one of the problems affecting the majority of young people all around the world in this growing urbanization. While some governments are free to offer land at least for those who have the financial ability of building their own shelter, still there are more who only expect young people to find their way out, and this leads to frustration and anti-social behaviours which are sort of desperation in action. In the few cases which governments have housing projects for the youth, the young people who can afford buying the so-called cheap houses are only those who are already part of the system. That is, the young people who can be in such houses are those who are directly or indirectly linked to the government through political parties or through financial power. Then what is to be expected of those young people who did not have access to education, who do not earn that much to face the current and globalized “Achilles heel”, capitalism?

Employment: employment has never been easy for young professionals. When trying to get the first job, recently-trained professionals are faced with the length of experience requested in many companies, which spans from three to five years. This excuse is used for preventing young people to be part of the development, to share what they bring to the society and it is also a matter of keeping the same professionals working on the ground. Although internship has been one of the ways young people used to break through the employment line, it is not always a passport for a contract. Sometimes young people are welcomed as trainees in several companies and they are seen as a priceless power which needs nothing in exchange.

Entrepreneurism: when young people are faced with stubborn practices as described above, they end up giving up and looking at their own skills and talents. Although we find many skilled young people who are capable of bringing innovations at national and international levels, few governments pay attention to these talents. Funding innovative initiatives could be part of governments' action plans but what happens is that young and talented people are left on their own with no financial power of introducing their product or innovation on the local community or country, and the result is again desperation and loss of the prophets and architects of the future, because young people are the flowers that will never wither.

Community Development: even with no recognition at the national or international level, still there are many things to do within our communities. This means that young people should be actively involved in community development actions, not only because they are the majority of

people in all communities, but also because they are the future of these communities. Unfortunately, the disappearance of cultural values and social networks in many communities lead to a growing violent youth behaviour. We know in all communities there are problems, so supporting the implementation of community identified projects is the best way of enabling young people to work on projects with an environmental, infrastructure, health and/or social focus for the development of the community.

While involved in community development activities, young people may both help and learn. It is through their participation that they can exercise what they know and what is part of their perspective of community development. It is, for instance, in the community where the young people can become mentors and role models for children and youth. It is also through this contact that young people will learn about community challenges and they will also raise awareness of important issues affecting the community as well as the local region. This is where we find Capacity Building programs which are aimed at enabling community members to cope with the current personal, professional and community needs, by working with the community on projects and engaging in cross-cultural development and skills sharing.

So, in order to face the problems faced by young people, youth organizations have to be united in multinational cooperation projects as Non-/Governmental organizations, promoting youth aspirations and putting advocacy in the core of attention at the inter-national levels, since it is through dialogue between youth and governments that both the (“united”) nations and the youth organizations will see their goals achieved and their communities developed. Although not all solutions are suitable for all settings, there are basic needs underlined in this article which are common all over the world and for which the United Nations have to draw practical goals to be achieved in Europe and in all the other continents.

Looking at the problem of governments’ theoretical action plans, housing, employment, entrepreneurship and community development, we can see that there is a need of: being realistic when it comes to implementation of actions related to youth, dealing with housing projects which involve young people of all financial and societal levels, empower community-based institutions for recruitment and empower innovative actions which are aimed at developing personal and community development.

References

African Union (2009). *Action Plan for the Decade for the Development and Youth Entrepreneurism in Africa 2009-2018*. 3rd Ordinary Session of the Conference of African Union Ministers Responsible for Youth.

Holzhausen, Bettina (2007). *Youth Culture in Mozambique*. Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation. <www.nestcepas.ch>

Nhapulo, Marcos (2011). *Gender Equality Promotions Strategies & Community Development*. Maputo: University Press. Pp. 187.

Marcin Piekalkiewicz

University of Siena

Happiness data in a comparative perspective

The word 'happiness' seems to be one of the most intriguing and enigmatic terms used in our everyday life. Although people across the world live in different circumstances being a part of diverse cultural and social structures, achieving happiness is commonly considered as a life goal. This does not imply, however, that the meaning of the word remains the same for everybody. Individuals tend to define their own happiness in various ways, listing several aspects that have positive or negative influence on it, while the recipe for happiness still seems to be something undiscovered.

However, when we check the meaning of the term in the dictionary it turns out to be quite simple. Happiness is «a state of being happy», where the adjective *happy* is defined as «feeling or showing pleasure or contentment»³⁷. Nevertheless, this remains nothing more than a semantic explanation of the word, while a deeper scientific investigation could lead to more profound definition and better understanding of the issue in question. In fact, throughout the centuries a variety of philosophical, religious, and psychological approaches have striven to define happiness and identify its sources.

One of the first ancient philosophers who has posed the question «what is happiness?» was Aristotle in his work *Nicomachean Ethics*, where he presented a theory of happiness that is still relevant today. In a way typical for philosophers, before providing an answer to the question, he proposed to divide it into two separate problems. Firstly, the attention may be focused on the meaning of the word «happiness» itself, while the second issue is what makes us truly happy, in other words, what are the «sources of happiness». He believed that it was insufficient and useless

37 *The New Oxford Dictionary of English* (1998), p. 835.

to try to find the answer to the second question without having explained the first doubt. Aristotle wrote that «it is for the sake of happiness that we all do everything else we do», defining the word happiness as «the supreme good that supplies the purpose, and measures the value, of all human activity and striving»³⁸. The philosopher concludes: «He is happy who lives in accordance with complete virtue and is sufficiently equipped with external goods, not for some chance period but throughout a complete life».³⁹

Coming back to the modern era, it has to be pointed out that recently a wide range of research on *happiness* has also been performed by the economists and started to have its representation in the theory of economics. Modern economic approach to well-being, the so-called «happiness economics», has proven that, apart from the material welfare, there are many other factors,

which are non-material (mostly social), that should be taken into consideration by economists when evaluating how well a given society is doing. These findings have then provoked a heated debate on the relationships between material and mental condition of an individual, or, in a broader sense, between economic and psychological well-being of a society.

But why actually should the economists deal with *happiness*? The answer can be found in one of the most used handbooks of macroeconomics, written by Paul Krugman, Nobel laureate in economics in 1998. Commenting on the problem of efficient use of resources, which is the main issue of the economic science, he states: «You might imagine that the efficient use of resources has something to do with money, maybe that it is measured in dollars-and-cents terms. But in economics, as in life, money is only a means to other ends. The measure that economists really care about is not money but people's happiness or welfare».40 However, the situation is quite different from what was described by Krugman: the main goal of economic policy worldwide has become to maximize the GDP, which is a pure monetary and material measure of well-being. Actually, as this most famous economic index does not take into consideration a lot of factors that do have an influence on our psychological state, it can be argued that GDP should be called not the measure of *well-being*, but *well-having*.

Still, to make it possible for economists to apply policies aiming at maximization of not only the material but also the mental condition of a society, what is needed is a *measure* of well-being. In the history of economic thought, one of the first economists who has tried to introduce such idea was Jeremy Bentham. In his seminal work, *Introduction to Principles of Morals and*

38 Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*. Translated by Rowe, C. and Broadie, S., Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002, p. 1102a3.

39 *Ibid.*, p. 1101a10.

40 Krugman P. and Wells R., *Macroeconomics*, Worth Publishers, 2006, p. 14.

Legislation (published in 1789), although he has limited the concept of happiness just to «pleasure», he has managed to offer a concrete proposal for the measurement psychological feelings. Bentham distinguished four main dimensions that should be taken into consideration: «To a person considered by himself, the value of a pleasure or pain considered by itself, will be greater or less, according to the four following circumstances: 1. Its *intensity*; 2. Its *duration*; 3. Its *certainty* or *uncertainty*; 4. Its *propinquity* or *remoteness*. These are the circumstances which are to be considered in estimating a pleasure or a pain considered each of them by itself».41

Although the guidance for legislators given by Bentham seemed to be clear and quite logical, he was aware that it may be difficult to implement his idea in real life, since the quantification of pleasure was, as he noted, not a trivial task. In fact, the issue is still controversial in the modern approach.

The economists of happiness, knowing that well-being or satisfaction with life may be differently understood by individuals, have proposed a measure that is based on a personal *subjective* evaluation of one's situation. This has finally allowed us to apply in practice the idea formulated by Bentham in the late 17th century, which, further developed, became the cornerstone of the economic contribution to the interdisciplinary analysis of happiness. How has this been achieved? The answer is: by questioning.

Happiness surveys may be differentiated with respect to two substantial aspects: (1) They can consider general assessments of life-as-a-whole and/or its features (long-run memory-based approach, based on cognitive evaluation), or real-time judgements of what currently happens (short-run moment-based approach, based on affective evaluation); (2) they can consist of one general question (one-dimensional approach), or several questions (multidimensional approach). As far as the first aspect is concerned, we can additionally distinguish mixed conceptions that account for very recent past, which makes the evaluation dependent on both memories and current affect.

One of the most commonly used single-item question on life-as-a-whole evaluation comes from the standard happiness question used in the World Value Survey (WVS), which asks people: «Taken all together, how happy would you say you are: very happy, quite happy, not very happy, not at all happy?».42 Each answer is then associated with a score from one to four points so that

41 Bentham, J., 1907. *An Introduction to the Principles of Morals and Legislation*. Library of Economics and Liberty (<http://www.econlib.org/library/Bentham/bnthPML1.html>), IV.2-5. 42 <http://www.worldvaluessurvey.org/>

a numerical scale can be created: starting from the lowest subjective well-being level (not at all happy = 1), reaching the highest level of subjective well-being (very happy = 4). Such measure is called with a term: «subjective well-being».

This kind of surveys have already been done for more than three decades now, all over the world and in different time periods. This gave a possibility to construct databases which allow psychologists, sociologists, and economists to determine which economic and non-economic aspects of life can influence our happiness. In one of the works by Daniel Kahneman (psychologist, Nobel Prize winner in economics in 2002), we can find a list of factors highly and positively correlated with life satisfaction and happiness reported by individuals; these are: smiling frequency, smiling with the eyes (“unfakeable smile”), ratings of one’s happiness made by friends, frequent verbal expressions of positive emotions, sociability and extraversion, sleep quality, happiness of close relatives, self-reported health, high income, and high income rank in a reference group, active involvement in religion, recent positive changes of circumstances (increased income, marriage).43

Therefore, as we can see, the economic factors, such as high income, are only one of many different correlates of a happy life. The majority of the other aspects is related to non-economic quality of life, while the «social dimension» of our subjective well-being seems to be a crucial thing. This fact has been underlined by Stefano Bartolini: «Economic prosperity is significant for well-being. It matters less than was previously thought, but it matters. But the real question is: what price are we willing to pay for economic prosperity? [...] If this price is the sacrifice of those things that are truly important to us, such as relationships, then the game of economic growth is not worth the candle of well-being. It is not so much development, but its social quality that matters for well-being».44

It is now worth to have a look at the subjective well-being data to make it clear what the discussion is about. One of the widest database of happiness is known as *World Happiness Report*. It collects results from happiness surveys performed in different years and in different regions

and countries of the world. It will be now interesting to see what are the differences in *reported happiness levels* and in *happiness determinants* between European and non-European countries.

43 Kahneman, D. and Krueger, A. B., 2006, *Developments in the Measurement of Subjective Well-Being*.

Journal of Economic Perspectives, American Economic Association, vol. 20(1), p. 9.

44 Bartolini S., *Manifesto for Happiness. Shifting society from money to well-being*, Pennsylvania University Press, forthcoming, p. 20. (Italian version: *Manifesto per la Felicità. Come Passare dalla Società del Ben-Avere a quella del Ben-Essere*, Donzelli, Roma, 2010).

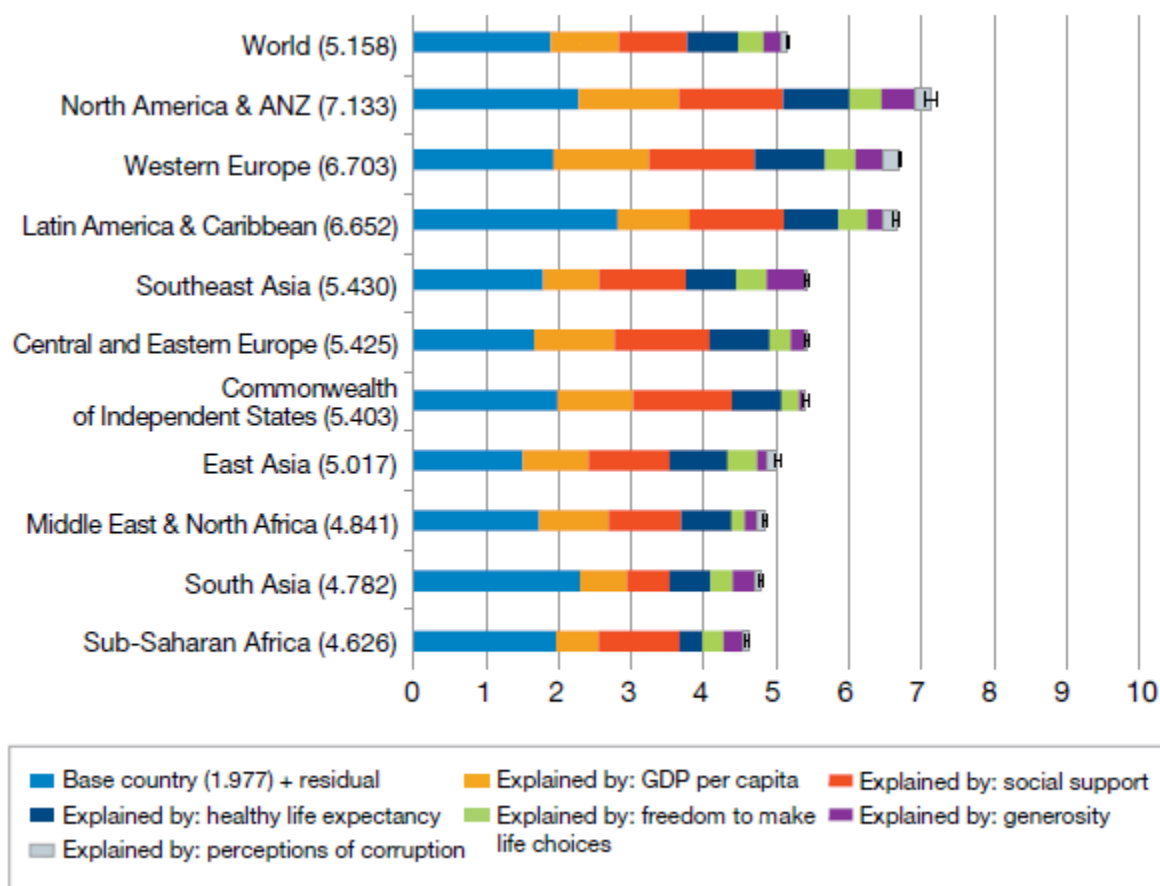


Figure 1 shows the level and decomposition of happiness by regions of the world in the period 2010-12.

Figure 1. Level and Decomposition of Happiness by Regions, 2010-12.

Source: *World Happiness Report 2013*, edited by John Helliwell, Richard Layard and Jeffrey Sachs, p. 21,
(http://unsdsn.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/02/WorldHappinessReport2013_online.pdf).

We can note that on the scale from 1 to 10, the highest subjective well-being is reported by individuals living in North America and Australia & New Zealand (ANZ), it is the only group of countries where the average national happiness level is higher than 7. Right behind there are two regions: Western Europe, and Latin America & Caribbean, oscillating around 6.70. This can be a surprising result given the fact that the difference in development level between these two groups of countries (in terms of GDP), is notable. This is because, as we can see by the decomposition of the happiness determinants, the GDP per capita⁴⁵ is only one of many factors which influence

45 GDP per capita calculated as: Purchasing Power Parity (PPP) adjusted to constant 2005 international dollars, taken from the World Development Indicators (WDI) released by the World Bank in April 2013.

subjective well-being of individuals. The others are: social support, healthy life expectancy, freedom to make life choices, perceptions of corruption, and generosity.

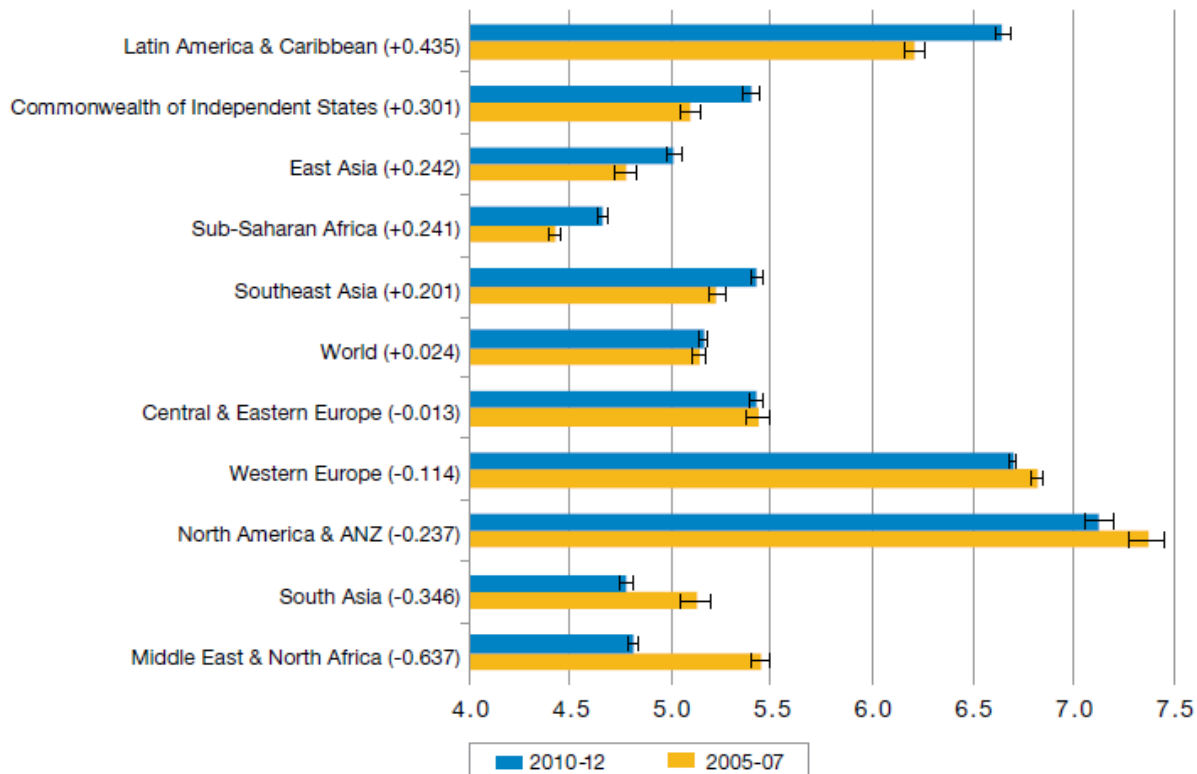
Here is the explanation provided by the authors about the meaning of all these factors and about how they are measured: «We adopt the following strategy to construct **healthy life expectancy** at birth for other country-years: first we generate the ratio of healthy life expectancy to life expectancy in 2007 for countries with both data, and assign countries with missing data the ratio of world average of healthy life expectancy over life expectancy; then we apply the ratio to other years (i.e. 2005, 2006, and 2008-12) to generate the healthy life expectancy data. **Social support** (or having someone to count on in times of trouble) is the national average of the binary responses (either 0 or 1) to the question “If you were in trouble, do you have relatives or friends you can count on to help you whenever you need them, or not?” **Freedom to make life choices** is the national average of responses to the question “Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with your freedom to choose what you do with your life?” **Generosity** is the residual of regressing national average of response to the question “Have you donated money to a charity in the past month?” on GDP per capita. **Perceptions of corruption** are the average of answers to two questions: “Is corruption widespread throughout the government or not” and “Is corruption widespread within businesses or not?”».⁴⁶

What is striking is that in some cases, for example, Southeast Asia or Sub-Saharan Africa, the importance of GDP per capita turns out to be smaller than the importance of the social support; while in the world average the two factors seem to have almost equal influence on the reported happiness. Another fact that is worth noting is the difference in subjective well-being level between the two «sides» of Europe: in the Western part people report to be much more happy than in the Central and Eastern one.

Figure 2. shows the difference in subjective happiness that has been noted between period 2005-07 and 2010-12 in the same regions of the world. We can note that in the two «most happy» regions, that is North America & ANZ and Western Europe, there has been observed a radical drop in the reported well-being of people, while for South Asia and Middle East & North Africa the decrease has been even bigger. On the other hand, we can see that for Southeast Asia, East

Asia, and Latin America & Caribbean the subjective happiness has increased significantly. The world average, as well as the value for Central & Eastern Europe, have both remained almost unchanged.

Figure 2. Comparing World and Regional Happiness Levels: 2005-07 and 2010-12.



Source: *World Happiness Report 2013*, edited by John Helliwell, Richard Layard and Jeffrey Sachs, p. 25, (http://unsdsn.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/02/WorldHappinessReport2013_online.pdf).

To conclude, it is necessary to underline that the social aspects of economic growth have to be taken into consideration in the debate on well-being. The evidence shows that, apart from the

GDP per capita, there are several factors, mainly social ones, which have influence on the happiness reported by individuals. Moreover, these factors differ across regions of the world, while in some countries the level of well-being increases, in others, instead, decreases – the future research should be aimed at explaining this phenomenon.

Piekałkiewicz Marcin

University of Siena

**Well-being of Europe and Non-Europe.
Happiness data in a comparative perspective**

The word 'happiness' seems to be one of the most intriguing and enigmatic terms used in our everyday life. Although people across the world live in different circumstances being a part of diverse cultural and social structures, achieving happiness is commonly considered as a life goal. This does not imply, however, that the meaning of the word remains the same for everybody. Individuals tend to define their own happiness in various ways, listing several aspects that have positive or negative influence on it, while the recipe for happiness still seems to be something undiscovered.

However, when we check the meaning of the term in the dictionary it turns out to be quite simple. Happiness is «a state of being happy», where the adjective *happy* is defined as «feeling or showing pleasure or contentment»⁴⁷. Nevertheless, this remains nothing more than a semantic explanation of the word, while a deeper scientific investigation could lead to more profound definition and better understanding of the issue in question. In fact, throughout the centuries a variety of philosophical, religious, and psychological approaches have striven to define happiness and identify its sources.

One of the first ancient philosophers who has posed the question «what is happiness?» was Aristotle in his work *Nicomachean Ethics*, where he presented a theory of happiness that is still relevant today. In a way typical for philosophers, before providing an answer to the question, he proposed to divide it into two separate problems. Firstly, the attention may be focused on the meaning of the word «happiness» itself, while the second issue is what makes us truly happy, in

other words, what are the «sources of happiness». He believed that it was insufficient and useless to try to find the answer to the second question without having explained the first doubt. Aristotle wrote that «it is for the sake of happiness that we all do everything else we do», defining the word happiness as «the supreme good that supplies the purpose, and measures the

47 *The New Oxford Dictionary of English* (1998), p. 835.

value, of all human activity and striving»⁴⁸. The philosopher concludes: «He is happy who lives in accordance with complete virtue and is sufficiently equipped with external goods, not for some chance period but throughout a complete life».⁴⁹

Coming back to the modern era, it has to be pointed out that recently a wide range of research on *happiness* has also been performed by the economists and started to have its representation in the theory of economics. Modern economic approach to well-being, the so-called «happiness economics», has proven that, apart from the material welfare, there are many other factors, which are non-material (mostly social), that should be taken into consideration by economists when evaluating how well a given society is doing. These findings have then provoked a heated debate on the relationships between material and mental condition of an individual, or, in a broader sense, between economic and psychological well-being of a society.

But why actually should the economists deal with *happiness*? The answer can be found in one of the most used handbooks of macroeconomics, written by Paul Krugman, Nobel laureate in economics in 1998. Commenting on the problem of efficient use of resources, which is the main issue of the economic science, he states: «You might imagine that the efficient use of resources has something to do with money, maybe that it is measured in dollars-and-cents terms. But in economics, as in life, money is only a means to other ends. The measure that economists really care about is not money but people's happiness or welfare».⁵⁰ However, the situation is quite different from what was described by Krugman: the main goal of economic policy worldwide has become to maximize the GDP, which is a pure monetary and material measure of well-being. Actually, as this most famous economic index does not take into consideration a lot of factors that do have an influence on our psychological state, it can be argued that GDP should be called not the measure of *well-being*, but *well-having*.

Still, to make it possible for economists to apply policies aiming at maximization of not only the material but also the mental condition of a society, what is needed is a *measure* of well-being. In the history of economic thought, one of the first economists who has tried to introduce such idea was Jeremy Bentham. In his seminal work, *Introduction to Principles of Morals and Legislation* (published in 1789), although he has limited the concept of happiness just to «pleasure», he has managed to offer a concrete proposal for the measurement psychological

48 Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*. Translated by Rowe, C. and Broadie, S., Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002, p. 1102a3.

49 *Ibid.*, p. 1101a10.

50 Krugman P. and Wells R., *Macroeconomics*, Worth Publishers, 2006, p. 14

feelings. Bentham distinguished four main dimensions that should be taken into consideration: «To a person considered by himself, the value of a pleasure or pain considered by itself, will be greater or less, according to the four following circumstances: 1. Its *intensity*; 2. Its *duration*; 3. Its *certainty* or *uncertainty*; 4. Its *propinquity* or *remoteness*. These are the circumstances which are to be considered in estimating a pleasure or a pain considered each of them by itself».51

Although the guidance for legislators given by Bentham seemed to be clear and quite logical, he was aware that it may be difficult to implement his idea in real life, since the quantification of pleasure was, as he noted, not a trivial task. In fact, the issue is still controversial in the modern approach.

The economists of happiness, knowing that well-being or satisfaction with life may be differently understood by individuals, have proposed a measure that is based on a personal *subjective* evaluation of one's situation. This has finally allowed us to apply in practice the idea formulated by Bentham in the late 17th century, which, further developed, became the cornerstone of the economic contribution to the interdisciplinary analysis of happiness. How has this been achieved? The answer is: by questioning.

Happiness surveys may be differentiated with respect to two substantial aspects: (1) They can consider general assessments of life-as-a-whole and/or its features (long-run memory-based approach, based on cognitive evaluation), or real-time judgements of what currently happens (short-run moment-based approach, based on affective evaluation); (2) they can consist of one general question (one-dimensional approach), or several questions (multidimensional approach). As far as the first aspect is concerned, we can additionally distinguish mixed conceptions that account for very recent past, which makes the evaluation dependent on both memories and current affect.

One of the most commonly used single-item question on life-as-a-whole evaluation comes from the standard happiness question used in the World Value Survey (WVS), which asks people: «Taken all together, how happy would you say you are: very happy, quite happy, not very happy, not at all happy?».52 Each answer is then associated with a score from one to four points so that a numerical scale can be created: starting from the lowest subjective well-being level (not at all

51 Bentham, J., 1907. *An Introduction to the Principles of Morals and Legislation*. Library of Economics and Liberty (<http://www.econlib.org/library/Bentham/bnthPML1.html>), IV.2-5.
52 <http://www.worldvaluessurvey.org/>

happy = 1), reaching the highest level of subjective well-being (very happy = 4). Such measure is called with a term: «subjective well-being».

This kind of surveys have already been done for more than three decades now, all over the world and in different time periods. This gave a possibility to construct databases which allow psychologists, sociologists, and economists to determine which economic and non-economic aspects of life can influence our happiness. In one of the works by Daniel Kahneman (psychologist, Nobel Prize winner in economics in 2002), we can find a list of factors highly and positively correlated with life satisfaction and happiness reported by individuals; these are: smiling frequency, smiling with the eyes ("unfakeable smile"), ratings of one's happiness made by friends, frequent verbal expressions of positive emotions, sociability and extraversion, sleep quality, happiness of close relatives, self-reported health, high income, and high income rank in a

reference group, active involvement in religion, recent positive changes of circumstances (increased income, marriage).⁵³

Therefore, as we can see, the economic factors, such as high income, are only one of many different correlates of a happy life. The majority of the other aspects is related to non-economic quality of life, while the «social dimension» of our subjective well-being seems to be a crucial thing. This fact has been underlined by Stefano Bartolini: «Economic prosperity is significant for well-being. It matters less than was previously thought, but it matters. But the real question is: what price are we willing to pay for economic prosperity? [...] If this price is the sacrifice of those things that are truly important to us, such as relationships, then the game of economic growth is not worth the candle of well-being. It is not so much development, but its social quality that matters for well-being».⁵⁴

It is now worth to have a look at the subjective well-being data to make it clear what the discussion is about. One of the widest database of happiness is known as *World Happiness Report*. It collects results from happiness surveys performed in different years and in different regions and countries of the world. It will be now interesting to see what are the differences in *reported happiness levels* and in *happiness determinants* between European and non-European countries.

53 Kahneman, D. and Krueger, A. B., 2006, *Developments in the Measurement of Subjective Well-Being*.

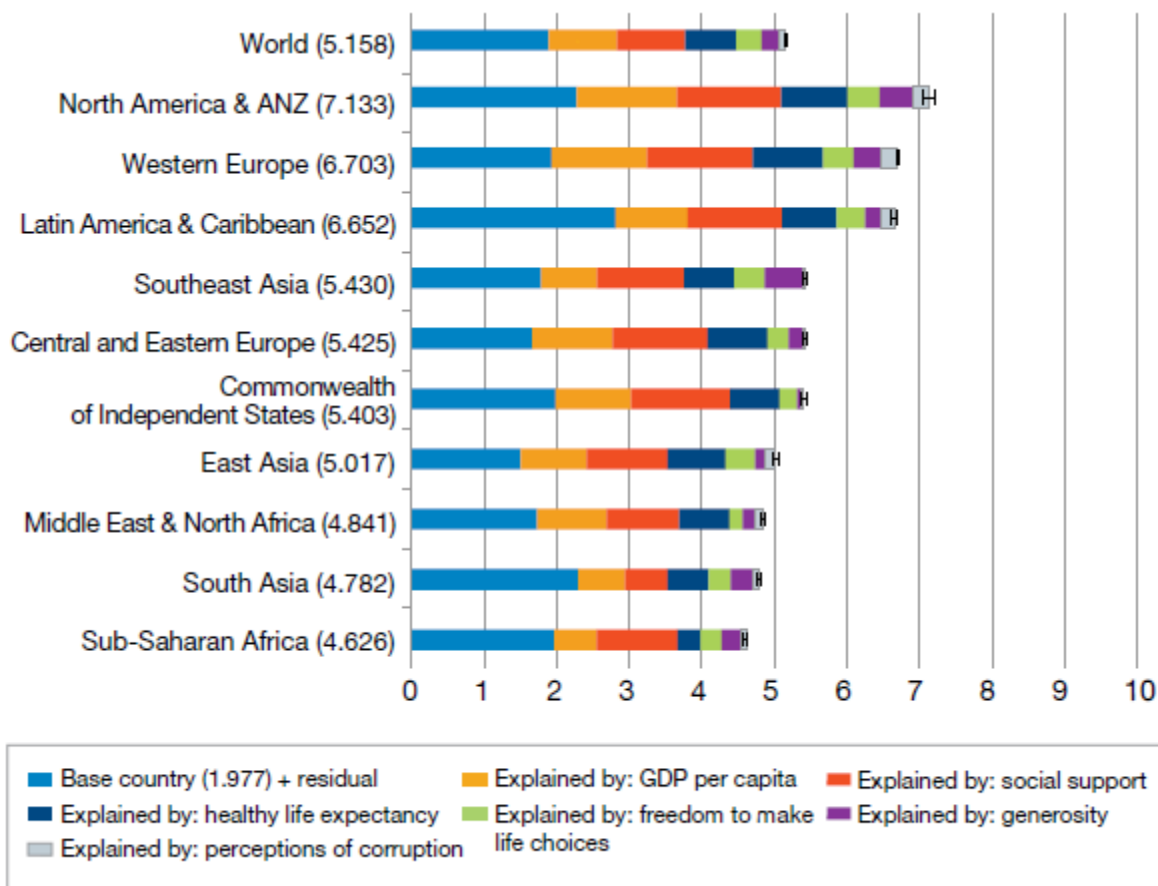
Journal of Economic Perspectives, American Economic Association, vol. 20(1), p. 9.

54 Bartolini S., *Manifesto for Happiness. Shifting society from money to well-being*, Pennsylvania University

Press, forthcoming, p. 20. (Italian version: *Manifesto per la Felicità. Come Passare dalla Società del Ben-Avere a quella del Ben-Essere*, Donzelli, Roma, 2010).

Figure 1 shows the level and decomposition of happiness by regions of the world in the period 2010-12.

Figure 1. Level and Decomposition of Happiness by Regions, 2010-12.



Source: *World Happiness Report 2013*, edited by John Helliwell, Richard Layard and Jeffrey Sachs, p. 21, (http://unsdsn.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/02/WorldHappinessReport2013_online.pdf).

We can note that on the scale from 1 to 10, the highest subjective well-being is reported by individuals living in North America and Australia & New Zealand (ANZ), it is the only group of countries where the average national happiness level is higher than 7. Right behind there are two regions: Western Europe, and Latin America & Caribbean, oscillating around 6.70. This can be a surprising result given the fact that the difference in development level between these two groups of countries (in terms of GDP), is notable. This is because, as we can see by the decomposition of the happiness determinants, the GDP per capita⁵⁵ is only one of many factors which influence

⁵⁵ GDP per capita calculated as: Purchasing Power Parity (PPP) adjusted to constant 2005 international dollars, taken from the World Development Indicators (WDI) released by the World Bank in April 2013.

subjective well-being of individuals. The others are: social support, healthy life expectancy, freedom to make life choices, perceptions of corruption, and generosity.

Here is the explanation provided by the authors about the meaning of all these factors and about how they are measured: «We adopt the following strategy to construct **healthy life expectancy** at birth for other country-years: first we generate the ratio of healthy life expectancy to life expectancy in 2007 for countries with both data, and assign countries with missing data the ratio of world average of healthy life expectancy over life expectancy; then we apply the ratio to other years (i.e. 2005, 2006, and 2008-12) to generate the healthy life expectancy data. **Social support** (or having someone to count on in times of trouble) is the national average of the binary responses (either 0 or 1) to the question “If you were in trouble, do you have relatives or friends you can count on to help you whenever you need them, or not?” **Freedom to make life choices** is the national average of responses to the question “Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with your freedom to choose what you do with your life?” **Generosity** is the residual of regressing national average of response to the question “Have you donated money to a charity in the past month?” on GDP per capita. **Perceptions of corruption** are the average of answers to two questions: “Is corruption widespread throughout the government or not” and “Is corruption widespread within businesses or not?”».⁵⁶

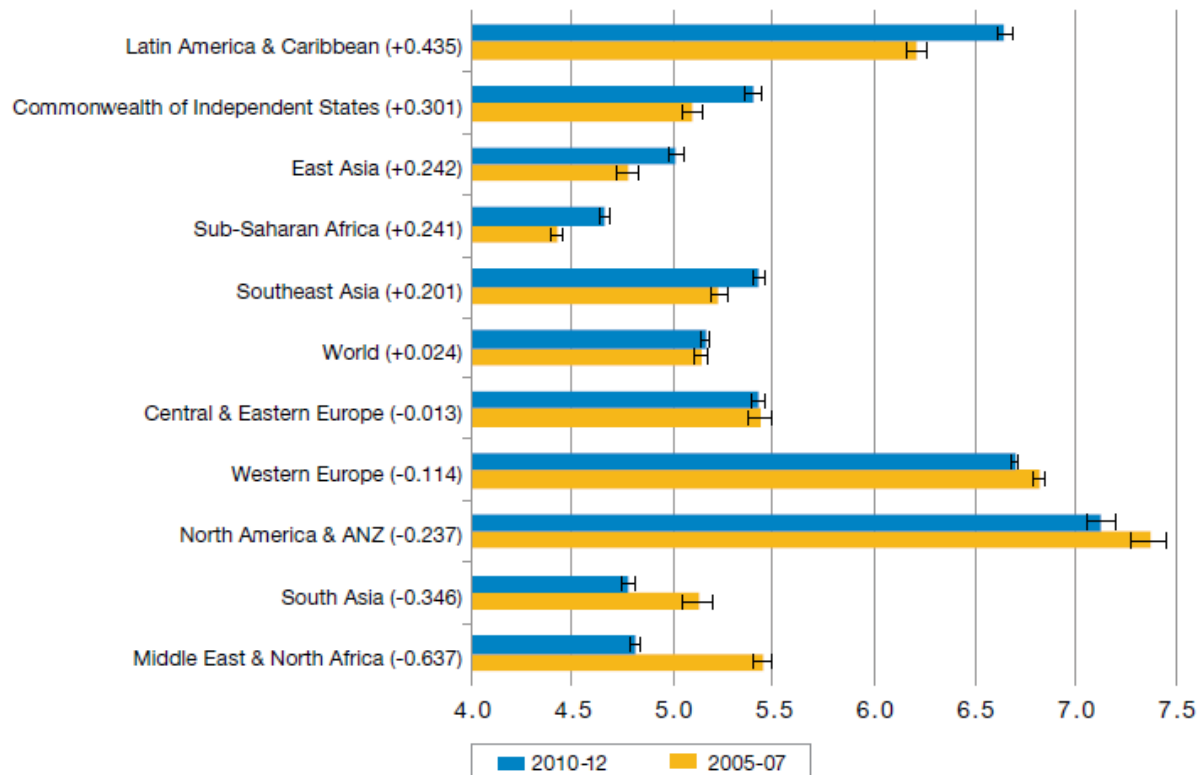
What is striking is that in some cases, for example, Southeast Asia or Sub-Saharan Africa, the importance of GDP per capita turns out to be smaller than the importance of the social support; while in the world average the two factors seem to have almost equal influence on the reported happiness. Another fact that is worth noting is the difference in subjective well-being level between the two «sides» of Europe: in the Western part people report to be much more happy than in the Central and Eastern one.

Figure 2. shows the difference in subjective happiness that has been noted between period 2005-07 and 2010-12 in the same regions of the world. We can note that in the two «most happy» regions, that is North America & ANZ and Western Europe, there has been observed a radical drop in the reported well-being of people, while for South Asia and Middle East & North Africa the decrease has been even bigger. On the other hand, we can see that for Southeast Asia, East

56 *World Happiness Report 2013*, edited by John Helliwell, Richard Layard and Jeffrey Sachs, p. 20, (http://unsdsn.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/02/WorldHappinessReport2013_online.pdf).

Asia, and Latin America & Caribbean the subjective happiness has increased significantly. The world average, as well as the value for Central & Eastern Europe, have both remained almost unchanged.

Figure 2. Comparing World and Regional Happiness Levels: 2005-07 and 2010-12.



Source: *World Happiness Report 2013*, edited by John Helliwell, Richard Layard and Jeffrey Sachs, p. 25, (http://unsdsn.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/02/WorldHappinessReport2013_online.pdf).

To conclude, it is necessary to underline that the social aspects of economic growth have to be taken into consideration in the debate on well-being. The evidence shows that, apart from the GDP per capita, there are several factors, mainly social ones, which have influence on the happiness reported by individuals. Moreover, these factors differ across regions of the world, while in some countries the level of well-being increases, in others, instead, decreases – the future research should be aimed at explaining this phenomenon.

Rabinovych Maryna

University of Hamburg, Europa Kolleg Hamburg Introduction

Multilevel governance in the EU: lessons for decentralization of Ukraine

The 2014 EuroMaidan Revolution and following events in Eastern Ukraine revealed variety of issues concerning Ukraine's economics, the mode of governance, the relationships between a citizen and a state, as well as people-to-people relationship. Among most overwhelming issues, the following ones can be mentioned:

- Corruption in all sectors of economics.
- Underdevelopment of key sectors of the country's economics (e.g., defense sector, metallurgy)

Extreme level of society's stratification

- Centralization of power and the lack of people's trust to either central, or regional (local authorities)
- The evident lack of national consensus on the future of the state.

It is worth mentioning that the last factor played a decisive role in making possible the participation of third states and non-state actors in the revolution in Ukraine. The presence of invisible borders inside the state (borders between the extremely rich and the totally poor; between adherents of the EU vector of Ukraine's development and the Eurasian one, etc.) makes outer borders of Ukraine less protected against outer aggression in whatever form. The need to make all the voices heard calls forth the actual necessity to reconsider current mode of Ukraine's governance, so that it becomes less centralized, and citizens get more opportunities to participate in a decision-making process, at least at the level of local and regional communities.

The study, conducted by the National Institute for Strategic Studies, substantiates the urgent need for decentralization as a means to preserve the unity of the state. However, specialists of the Institute have discovered multitude of risks, associated with possible decentralization. They are:

- Risks, concerned with possible need to change the borders of administrative-territorial entities (opposition of local elites, radicalization of local political groups)
- Risks, concerned with the weakening of state's control upon the functioning of the self-governmental authorities at regional and local levels that will be delegated to them by state local authorities under the circumstances of the weak civil society's institutes
- Risks, associated with so-called budget federalism (misbalance of the budget system) Risks, associated with worsening of the quality of local governance and legitimacy of decisions being made (general low level of the local officials' competency, improvement of the election system of local authorities' system)
- The development of particularism trends in oblasts

Risky nature of proposed decentralization reform requires studying relevant experience of foreign states, so that risks' impact can be minimized. The study of the EU experience is highly

relevant for these purposes due to significance of differences between Member States and the EU's possessing long-term experience of these differences' management. Thus, this study will proceed as follows. After presenting general information on the concept of multilevel governance within the EU context, I will continue with analyzing the means the Union utilizes to reduce risks that are currently associated with the decentralization of Ukraine.

General notice on the concept of multilevel governance

Multilevel governance characterizes one of distinctive structural policies of the European Union. According to the definition of Marks (1993), multi-level governance is "a system of continuous negotiation among governments at several territorial tiers-supranational, national, regional and local levels". Multilevel governance is considered to be one of the ways to understand the EU, namely, the continuation of a neo-functionalist approach towards defining the nature of the EU.

Multilevel governance, along with the European integration, can be viewed as an alternative to state-centric approach (that currently dominates in Ukraine). Major characteristics of state-centrism include the overall direction of policy-making being consistent with state control and a clear separation between politics at different levels. As opposed to the mode of state-centric approach, multilevel governance can be characterized with the following traits:

- Diminishment of the authorities of the state in relation to the governance in a particular region
- Decision-making competencies' being shared between actors at different levels Local and regional governments act as partners, rather than intermediaries
- Significant loss of control of individual executives (that is important for combating corruption and promoting good governance)

- Being a dynamic process that has both horizontal and vertical dimensions of cooperation
Despite possessing variety of positive characteristics (e.g., dynamic nature, involvement of different groups), it is evident that the introduction of multilevel governance may be opposed by local groups, afraid of sharing their influence upon local decision-making processes. Furthermore, relevant attention needs to be paid to introducing changes to legislation on local elections and civil service, as well as the design of state budget system. As the EU has already developed significant expertise in these fields, let us refer to its related legislation activities.

Ensuring participation of different groups (combating opposition of elites)

As all the systems that combine various territorial layers, the EU political system provides its citizens with different institutionalized procedures for democratic participation. In their article on democratic dilemmas in multilevel governance Hurrelmann&DeBardeleben (2008) singled out three major channels of democratic participation as:

- Directly elected European Parliament
- States' directly elected officials' participation in the election of the Council of Ministers
- Conducting consultations in terms of the activities of the European Commission (e.g., currently, European Commission holds a range of consultations in such fields, as internal market, competition, consumer policy, regional policy, etc.). It is important to mention that, as opposed to Ukraine's practices, European Commission publishes summaries of consultations, so that one can trace consultations' impact upon the design of the legislative initiative or delegated act of the Commission.

The changes, provided for by the Treaty of Lisbon, included democracy-related ones, such as:

- An increase of the national and regional parliaments' role in the legislative process that has made the concept of multilevel governance more practical
- Introduction of the European Citizen's Initiative

Apart from abovementioned forms of ensuring different groups' participation in the process of governance, I would like to stress the importance of lobbying patterns and techniques in making multitude of voices heard. Lobbying may refer to the promotion of any groups' interests (e.g., business, professional groups, etc.). However, while organized interests (business, well-resourced lobbies) can afford themselves the use complicated and effective patterns of influencing decision-making process, civil society groups tend to experience difficulties, when organizing themselves at the EU level. In order to increase the participation of civil society groups in decision-making process, the Commission takes the following steps

- Promoting social dialogue
- Providing support for the formation of European groups
- Launching online consultations

Furthermore, special attention needs to be paid to the status, activities and achievements of European Economic and Social Committee and Committee of the Regions. European Economic and Social Committee plays a particular role in the development of civil society and its participation in policymaking by

- Involving civil society organizations more in the European venture, both at the EU and national levels
- Boosting the role of civil society in non-member states (especially, the ones, seeking membership perspective).

While European Economic and Social Committee concentrates on ensuring representation and participation of different groups at the level of the EU, Committee of the Regions aims at providing sub-national authorities with the direct voice in the European institutional system. Both are important due to considerable impact of EU legislation on different economic groups and the EU legal acts being frequently implemented at the regional and local level.

Brief analysis of the ways EU employs to ensure participation of different groups in the decision-making process at multiple levels shows that the following measures need to be considered with regard to potential decentralization of powers in Ukraine:

- Ensuring proper representation of the regions in the parliament
- Providing subnational authorities with the opportunity to participate in a decision-making process at the central level of governance
- Legal establishment of subsidiarity principle and creating a system of control over its realization that will include local and regional legislatures
- Promoting the development of civil society (i.e., through online consultations)
- Reforming the Council of the Regions of Ukraine, so that its participation in the decision-making process gets more weight
- Elaborating on the legal space for the representation of organized interests in decision-making process at both national and subnational levels (as the alternative to current informal influence of local and regional elites and the development of particularism trend in regions)

Ensuring quality of governance by local authorities

The EU legislation does not explicitly refer to ensuring control over the functioning of local self-government authorities. The functioning of local self-government authorities in the EU is subjected to the Council of Europe Charter of Local Self-Government. However, the Charter does not explicitly refer to the way control over the functioning of self-government should be

conducted by state authorities. Therefore, the EU experience on controlling the activities of self-governments in Member States cannot be applied in the EU. So, the experience of particular Member States may be used.

However, special attention needs to be paid to the ways the EU can employ in order to prevent misuse of powers of local and regional self-government authorities, in particular, good governance practices. There are different ways good governance can be measured. While the EU did not elaborate on its specific approach towards measuring good governance, the World Bank indicators can be used for this purpose. The indicators the EU uses to estimate good governance issues include policy coherence and effectiveness; openness and participation (e-government usage and availability); economic instruments and the level of citizens' confidence in EU institutions.

High standards of governance can be viewed as a prerequisite for its effectiveness. Therefore, extra steps that need to be taken with regard to the decentralization of Ukraine are to include:

- Promoting greater accountability
- Increasing effectiveness of governments' and self-governments' work through improving the legislation of Ukraine on civil service and the service in local self-government authorities. Comparative study on the system of civil servants' preparation for the EU institutions, as well as the preparation of officials in Member States needs to be prepared
- Promoting political stability and ensuring proper control over possible violence outbursts
- Enhancing the overall quality of legislation's implementation

Budget federalism in the EU

The major thesis behind decentralization lies in its being a contract between the political representatives of national and subnational governments. The contents of this contract are influenced by various actors, and can be subjected to changes due to possible economic and political developments. Budget federalism in the EU and its complying with the principle of subsidiarity has for a long time been one of most controversial issues in EU policing. While first-generation budget federalism is believed to focus on the normative case of assigning responsibilities to different tiers of government and forming interactions between different levels of governments, second-generation budget federalism focuses on issues, being faced by policymakers and effectiveness of relevant institutions. Significant body of research on both generations of federalism in the EU is available for being analyzed with regard to conducting decentralization in Ukraine.

However, a range of limitations need to be taken into account, when such analysis is planned. Firstly, the EU budget accounts for around 1 percent of Member States' GDPs. So, the ratio between EU budget and Member States' budget is considerable different from the one between central budget of a state and regional budgets in Ukraine. Secondly, the supranational level is qualitatively different from typical central governments. In this regard, the most considerable feature lies in the fact that the EU was established as a Union of citizens and Member States, and, by-turn, the accountability of the Union to Members States as much as citizens. Finally, the EU has only few of the competencies that are usually possessed by central governments (Begg, 2009). Thus, only grounding principles of the EU fiscal federalism can be used as guidelines for adjusting the budget system of Ukraine for future decentralization. The central principle that needs to be considered is the principle of subsidiarity that provides for a policy being located at the lowest level of government it can be delivered at. For the time being, subsidiarity principle is not highlighted in the legislation of Ukraine.

The implementation of subsidiarity principle into the relations between institutions at different levels of governance can help to improve self-governance and find the balance between competencies, being realized at different levels of governance. Furthermore, special attention needs to be paid to ensuring local and regional authorities (as well as self-government units) having enough opportunities to generate their own income and utilize it in terms of its legal competencies. As for the construction of the model of financial relationships between different governance levels, it is worth considering not only the EU model, but the ones, functioning in federal states (Switzerland, Canada).

Conclusion

Decentralization of Ukraine is viewed as one of the necessary prerequisites of preserving its territorial integrity. However, conducting decentralization in Ukraine, under current political and economic situation is concerned with a range of risks. They include states' authorities experiencing governance-related difficulties in particular regions due to opposition of local elites; weakening of state's control in particular regions; worsening quality of governance at the regional level, as well as budget misbalance. The investigation showed that a number of EU multilevel governance- related tools can be considered to mitigate these risks. They include:-

- Ensuring proper representation of the regions in the parliament
- Providing subnational authorities with the opportunity to participate in a decision-making process at the central level of governance
- Legal establishment of subsidiarity principle and creating a system of control over its realization that will include local and regional legislatures. Legal establishment and promotion of subsidiarity principle in budget system
- Promoting the development of civil society (i.e., through online consultations)
- Reforming the Council of the Regions of Ukraine, so that its participation in the decision-making process gets more weight
- Elaborating on the legal space for the representation of organized interests in decision-making process at both national and subnational levels (as the alternative to current informal influence of local and regional elites and the development of particularism trend in regions)
- Increasing effectiveness of governments' and self-governments' work through improving the legislation of Ukraine on civil service and the service in local self-government authorities. Comparative study on the system of civil servants' preparation for the EU institutions, as well as the preparation of officials in Member States needs to be prepared
- Promoting political stability and accountability
- Enhancing the overall quality of legislation's implementation
- Providing local and regional entities with legal space for generating their own income and spending it on the implementation of regional and local policies

References

Begg, I. (2009). Fiscal federalism subsidiarity and the EU budget review. Stockholm: SIEPS
Marks, G. (1993). Structural policy and the multilevel governance in the EC. In: A Cafruny and G. Rosenthal (eds.): The State of the European Community: The Maastricht debate and beyond. London: SAGE, pp.391-411

The National Institute for Strategic Studies (n.d.). Expected risks in terms of the decentralization of Ukraine. Retrieved 17 August 2014 from <http://www.niss.gov.ua/articles/1021/>

Semenenko Inna

Ukraine

isemenenko@ukr.net

Pro-west or pro-east: young ukrainians choose their future

Abstract

The political and economic situation in Ukraine is very tense and is observed by the whole world. Since the Orange revolution Ukraine was conditionally divided into two parts, which for simplicity were called the West and the East, as different parties promoted different policy. While the majority of people from the West saved the mood and intentions for entry to EU and radical changes in the government policy, the East remained conservative despite some changes in people's mood. Besides a part of population does not support any direction and prefers staying indifferent and independent.

At present people from the East of Ukraine choose between pro-European and pro-Russian ways of further development of Ukraine. The referendum concerning the fortune of the eastern regions, even being non-legitimate, had many supporters among youth population.

The examination and analysis of young people's mood and desires show the percentage of youth population who belong to different groups and the reasons of their choice. The main factors which influence the choice can be grouped into psychological and emotional, cultural and those

which deal with lifestyle, economic, social, political. The paper reveals the factors in detail and their relative significance. Models of interaction and dialogue, level of tolerance of different groups towards each other, and the possibility of change of their opinions are also shown.

The political and economic situation in Ukraine is very tense and is observed by the whole world. The present political crisis started from the moment of temporary suspension of Association of Ukraine with European Union, which had not been signed by Victor Yanukovitch – the former President of Ukraine – in November 2013 in Lithuania. The events which happened afterwards changed the life of the whole country. Maidan – the initiative of Ukrainian activists – started from meetings on the central square in Kyiv (the capital of Ukraine), led to removal of the President, and change of the government, and, as it turned out, changed the whole situation and people's mood in Ukraine.

Since the Orange revolution Ukraine was conditionally divided into two parts, which for simplicity were called the West and the East, as different parties promoted different policy. People from different parts supported different political parties. The Western and the Central parts of the country mostly supported the so called Orange parties (with Orange flags and banners) with V. Yuschenko and Y. Timoshenko being the leaders of them. The policy of the parties were more radical than of their opponents, aiming at the Western (with respect to Ukraine) countries to become the main strategic partners of Ukraine. The Western countries themselves supported the Orange parties.

The East and the South mostly supported the Blue party (with Blue flags and banners) – the Party of Regions – with V. Yanukovitch as its head. The representatives of the party were more conservative and oriented to Russia and former USSR countries, and thus were supported by them on international scene. These parties respectively showed the interests and expectations of the population from different regions of Ukraine, and used them to move forward and get the political authority and power.

At present the majority of people from the West saved the mood and intentions for entry to the European Union and radical changes in the government policy, the East remained conservative despite some changes in people's mood. Besides a part of population does not support any direction and prefers staying indifferent and independent.

Maidan is considered to be organized by people mostly from central and western regions of Ukraine. However a lot of people from the eastern parts of Ukraine participated in the meetings and fights as well.

Some people from different parts of Ukraine did not support Maidan. The reasons were different: passiveness, lack of faith that anything could be changed, satisfaction with their present way of life, un-support of radical mood of some of the participants of Maidan, and disbelief in activists' leaders.

Other movements – which were sometimes named AntiMaidan movements – were organized in the South-Eastern parts of Ukraine. They did not have such an obvious state – like constant

meetings in the center of the cities. But there were certain demonstrations, which met resistance from other radical groups (like the tragic events in Kharkiv and Odessa).

Crimea had a "special" scenario, which resulted in joining its territory to Russian Federation and acceptance of Russian citizenship by people who remained living on the peninsula. Those, who opposed the annexing of Crimea, left the peninsula for other Ukrainian cities.

Certain movements were organized in Luhansk and Donetsk regions (not without help of non-residents of those regions). Their representatives, claiming that they stand out on behalf of all people from these regions, asked for a referendum, which concerned the issue of federalization of the country and making Luhansk and Donetsk regions federalized parts of Ukraine. As the request was organized not according to the law of Ukraine, and thus was not supported and/or had any reaction from the government of Ukraine, the new demands were set up. The referendum question in Luhansk was the following: "Do you support the Act of State Independence of Luhansk People's Republic?" with possible answers "Yes" and "No". The organizers of the referendum said that 81% of the population attended the elections, and 96.2% of voters chose "Yes". However the official government of Ukraine stated that the referendum was not legitimate, the real attendance was significantly less than mentioned above, and there were rough violations, which cannot prove the real choice of the people from Luhansk.

The referendum, concerning the fortune of the eastern regions, even being non-legitimate, had many supporters among population, who belong to different age groups, with different incomes and ways of life. However people from the East of Ukraine chose not only the name of the country they want to live in, but the style of life and the direction they are eager to move to. They actually were choosing between pro-European and pro-Russian ways of further development.

In April 2014 Kiev International Institute of Sociology performed a research in different regions of Ukraine, with main attention to the South-Eastern parts of the country. According to the research only 30% of population in Luhansk region thought that the region should be separated from Ukraine and joined to Russian Federation.

47.6% of Luhansk population were saying that Opposition of the V. Yanukovitch government was responsible for death of people in Kiev during Maidan. A significant part of Luhansk population (about 70%) thought that the new Government (the one after V. Yanukovitch, formed by the Opposition) was not legitimate (even though they did not support V. Yanukovitch at that time as well, and especially taken into account that most parts of Luhansk region did not take part in Presidents elections, that happened later in May 2014). The majority (57.8%) believed that the new Government was to blame in Annexing of Crimea by Russian Federation. (*Thoughts and views of residents from south-eastern regions of Ukraine: April 2014*)

Almost 23% of population in Luhansk region said that they were troubled with inattention of the new government to the problems of the South-East of Ukraine. 26.6% of Luhansk population were afraid of boost of radicalism and nationalism in Ukraine, and about 30% thought that Russian- speaking population interests were infringed. However more than 40% of population did not support the armed occupation of administrative buildings by separatists in their region, though certain part believed that it could be justified, as people were trying to attract attention to their problems, and Maidan activists did the same for the same purposes in Kiev. More than half

of the population in Luhansk did not believe that Russia was organizing separatist meetings in Ukraine, that there was a war between Russia and Ukraine, and they also did not support possible Russian troops intrusion into Ukraine. (*Thoughts and views of residents from south-eastern regions of Ukraine: April 2014*)

If Luhansk population had been suggested to chose the future of Ukraine on a referendum, 11.2% would have chosen the association with the European Union, and 64.3% would have chosen the association with the Custom Union (with Russia, Belarus, and Kazakhstan). (*Thoughts and views of residents from south-eastern regions of Ukraine: April 2014*) Choosing a certain direction in country's development does not mean that people are not going to negotiate with each other or support opinion of others. It was just a try for some of them to express their own feelings and thoughts with hope that they will be heard and respected, even if their opinion differs from others.

Unfortunately the unknown forces used the differences between people and tried to aggravate the situation and strengthen the confrontation between them, which actually was a success. The first step towards it was the language issue. The majority of population from the East of Ukraine speaks Russian, while people from the West of Ukraine mostly speak Ukrainian. The attempt to abolish the Law on Languages, which gave a special status to Russian language, which in fact was rather nominal than real, played a great role in conflict initiation. Rumors and information war started in the Eastern regions, which made them think a lot about the possible changes and support of the new power, and led to partial population support of the referendum. This resulted in opposition of population towards each other: those who supported different points of views tried to prove their rightness to opposition, and the discussions were endless.

It turned out that one of the biggest problems was "fanaticism" of people from different sides, who were so committed to their opinion that became intolerant to each other. This statement not at all identifies all Ukrainians as intolerant, as on the whole the Ukrainian nation (no matter from what part of Ukraine people come) is very friendly and helpful. But sometimes it happens so, that just a few people is enough to start a conflict.

The examination and analysis of young people's mood and desires was conducted in order to find out the reasons of people's choice, their level of tolerance towards each other, and the possibility of change of their opinions. Young people with different educational background, interests and believes answered certain questions, the answers to which are presented in the paper. Thus the paper reveals the factors in detail and their relative significance and shows the mood and views of people towards this situation.

As the power and the government in Ukraine changed, everyone was expecting the country's policy and course to change as well. The results of the questionnaire show that a big part of Ukrainian population supports Pro-European way of development and the integration of Ukraine into the European Union. They approve the association of Ukraine and the European Union and wait for the new changes to come. However there is a significant part of population, who does not think that it is worth to enter the European Union at present, because either people do not support this development course, or they believe that it is too early for our country to enter the European Union, as Ukraine is not ready economically and/or socially. Some of them want Ukraine to enter the Eurasian Custom Union (with Russia, Belarus, and Kazakhstan). And some

people believe that Ukraine should have its own way of development without any help from other countries or associations with them.

74% of respondents think that it is necessary to hold referendums to take into account preferences of population. And even if the result of the referendum is not the one, which is preferred by a certain person, people will still be glad that their opinion is taken into account, and that they can take part in life of their country and the decisions, made by the government.

71% see Russia as the main strategic partner of Ukraine. And the words of one of the respondents were the following: "to be realistic, and taking into account development of industry and state standards of Ukraine, the main partners of Ukraine are Commonwealth of Independent States countries (former USSR republics)". 14% believe that Ukraine has to have more than one strategic partners. The rest opinions chose European countries or China.

Geographically Ukraine is situated in the middle of Europe (as the part of the world). But a significant territory of Russian Federation is also European (though it is less than Asian). However when one starts speaking about Europe, he/she mostly refers to the countries, which are western related towards Ukraine. Politically Ukraine belongs to the East of Europe, and is considered to be Eastern European country. Despite these facts, 70% of the respondents state that culturally and morally (not geographically) Ukraine is not a part of Europe, and only 30% agree that Ukraine is a part of Europe.

The percentage of people, who consider themselves Europeans, slightly differs from the previous answers. Thus, 37% of the respondents consider themselves to be Europeans, while 63% say that they are not.

It is interesting to note, that 67% of the respondents consider Ukrainians and Russians to be the one nation. Only 33% of the respondents consider these two nations to be different. First of all, Ukrainians and Russians belong to Slavic ethnic group (along with Polish, Czech, Bulgarians etc.), and the languages are very much alike. Such distribution of answers may be also explained by the long period, when two countries were united together during the Tsar Russia and Soviet times. People easily traveled from one place to another within the country, married each other, had the same holidays. The values of people were the same, which could have differed from other nations.

Speaking about values, 89% of respondents say that there is a difference between Russian and European values, while only 11% think that the values are the same. The question about values assumed an optional answer as well. 50% of all people, who answered this question, named family as the main value in their lives. Human life, human rights, health, respect to people, humanism were abundant among the answers (by the way, almost 93% did not agree with the statement that human victims are tolerable losses during a war). Only 1% of the respondents stressed on personal goals, however half of them mentioned personal goals together with moral values.

While asked what good can be named in the Western way of life, people mostly referred to the opportunities, that they personally can realize. Only 30% of respondents mentioned the things which relate to the values they treasure, like family, respect, and human rights. The rest was

speaking about the level of life, education, and personal opportunities in business, work, education etc. However people (81%) do not believe in so-called "American dream", which symbolizes the ability to become rich and get whatever a person deserves and is working for. The conclusion can be done that people do value the human life and family more than self and personal goals, but they rather see the Western way of life as the one where they can realize themselves, than sustain their values.

Despite the single demonstrations of fanaticism, most of the people remain tolerant, and respect each other's opinions and thoughts. Among the "main qualities of a person" the following were named: kindness and humanity (55%), honesty (35%), decency (30%), intellect (25%), sense of humor (15%). Young people also mentioned mercy, respect, willingness to help, tolerance, sympathy.

Tolerance of majority of Ukrainians can be proved by the following answers. 100% of respondents are sure that discussions and conversations can solve most of the problems. This means that they are eager to have a dialog in case of conflict situations. But it is necessary to admit, that some of the people cannot start this dialog. 48% can easily change their point of view, which can be interpreted as that young people are open for arguments and are ready to listen to their opponents. It is easy to negotiate and come to terms with 67% of young people. And 44% believe that even fascists have the right for their own point of view, which means that they respect the opinion of others even if they do not agree with it.

In 44% of the families, their members have different points of view (but they still get along together even having different opinions). By the way, members of 35% of families support different sides, concerning the present conflict situation in Ukraine.

The idea, that a person should be punished even for minor faults in order to prevent possible big crimes in future, was supported by 48% of respondents, while 52% were against the statement. From the other side, 70% of respondents do not think that every mistake of a person can be forgiven. The people should be punished for really bad crimes and awful deeds. Only 30% of respondents are eager to forgive anything in certain conditions. This again proves that on the whole youth population is kind and is eager to forgive, though there might be some cases which will influence people's relations.

Young people prefer to solve their problems by themselves or inside the group where the problem started. Thus 85% are sure that any problems inside a family should be solved by the family members themselves, without any interventions from other people. But only 63% believe that any problems inside a country should be solved by a country itself. So the more personal is a problem, the less strangers should take part in its resolving.

The main problems in human relations are mutual misunderstanding and inability to hold a dialog: 37% of respondents mentioned them in their answers. They said that the problems mostly arise when people do not listen to or try to understand each other, cannot reason and put themselves into other shoes. Other reasons, mentioned in the answers, were lack of trust or loss of trust, human foolishness, selfishness, self-interest, cheating. Some of the respondents mentioned that the problems in human relations might occur as a result of different values, moral legacy, and background.

Any relations and attitude of one person to another can be changed. 67% of respondents mentioned that deeds and acts (but not just words) of another person can change the attitude to this person (both ways – from good to bad, and vice-versa). 22% believe that additional information about the person, his values and goals (which actually can tell about his acts and life) can change the attitude. The rest speaks about begging forgiveness.

Thus there are different reasons why people chose a certain direction in their future. The main factors which influence the choice are psychological and emotional, cultural and those which deal with lifestyle, economic, social, political. Some people got used to their way of life and are comfortable with it, some people want radical changes and are eager to move at a different direction. Every person is a human being at first place, which means that he (she) has feelings and emotions, values and believes. Even if a person chooses Europe or not-Europe, it does not mean that he (she) will not change his opinion later. Most young people are open to dialog, and are eager to negotiate, but this should be done in peace and with respect to each other.

References:

Думки та погляди жителів південно-східних областей України: квітень 2014 (Thoughts and views of residents from south-eastern regions of Ukraine: April 2014). (2014). Kiev International Institute of Sociology. Retrieved from <http://www.kiis.com.ua/?lang=ukr&cat=reports&id=302&page=1>

ЦИК Луганской области обнародовал итоги референдума (Central Executive Committee of Luhansk region released the results of referendum). (2014). Interfax. Retrieved from <http://www.interfax.ru/world/375832>

Sevim Tahir (Bulgaria)

sevim.tahir@gmail.com

**The clash of integration, non-integration
narratives from minority – majority perspective:
The case of Bulgarian Muslims.**

Abstract

The aim of the paper is to reveal how the wide spread narrative of integration and non- integration connotes beliefs, which are accepted as self-evident in the society and as such escape any critical approach referring this issue. The discourse of non-integrated minority defines the limits of reality and leaves the position of the minority group unspoken. The paper investigates the clash between narratives, produced by the minority which accentuates the responsibility of the majority for the stability in the society and the opposing tale, brought forth by the majority. While the majority describes the problem, referring to particular elements such as modernization, education, labor market etc., the minority interprets the prescribed goals as nothing else but attempts to make them invisible. This is how the concept of “integration” by itself turns to be dividing point in the society.

Keywords: *narrative clash; narrative discourse; integration; recognition; Pomaks; Bulgarian Muslims;*

First of all, let me start by presenting several opposing messages found in the most “common stories” that were published in the media concerning Bulgarian Muslims or Pomaks⁵⁷. Recent developments⁵⁸ of the relations between both groups have given even greater impetus to the process of narrative production. In order to proceed with the analysis of the problem of narratives clash, I will first provide examples of such opposing stories which constitute the conflict on the communicational level.

⁵⁷ Pomaks are Muslim community which originally lives in some parts of Bulgaria, western Turkey, Republic of Macedonia, Greece (province of Thrace), Kosovo and Albania. The Pomaks are known as a borderline minority that declares variety of identities among which Bulgarian, Greek, Pomak or Muslim identity. According to official documents they are considered to be descendants of Bulgarians who converted to Islam during the Ottoman ruling.

⁵⁸ During a noisy campaign of the Bulgarian Agency for National Security in 2010 religious literature written in Arabic language has been confiscated by Muslim religious leaders who later were accused of spreading non democratic beliefs and “radical Islam”.

- o “Pomaks present themselves as discriminated in order to benefit from different projects. They did not change their life for decades [...]”, in: www.pressadaily.bg (2014)
- “Unwanted: What it means to be a Muslim in Bulgaria”, in: www.dw.de (2011)
- o “The problems of Pomaks are related to the education, labor market and their insufficient participation in the social life [...]”, in: www.summerimpressions.wordpress.com (2010)
- “Pomaks should be employed in top positions and positions in the security institutions in order to become integrated.”, in: www.plovdiv-online.com (2013)
- o “Pomaks realize their Bulgarian origins and try to integrate in the society. In this attempt they change their names choosing Bulgarian ones.”, in: www.novazora.net (2008)
- “Pomaks are Bulgarian citizens but this fact doesn’t mean that they are Bulgarian Christian or Turk [...]”, www.pomak.eu (2010)
- o “The revival Process carried the voluntary integration back and many Pomaks today wear their traditional clothes intentionally.”, in: www.actualno.com (2012)
- “Pomaks are part of the Bulgarian nation although they have their specifics and they should be accepted as such.”, in: www.pomaks.blogspot.com (2010)
- o “Understanding what the origins of the Pomaks are will only help them to integrate in the society.” In: www.zelas.blog.bg (2012)
- “Pomaks do not need to integrate, they just have their specifics but they are still Bulgarians.”, in: www.spodeli.net (2013)
- o “Pomaks are employed in agriculture. [...] The girls should be married by the age of 22. [...] They do not hurry to modernize. [...] External influences do not affect the life in the community. [...] Pomaks do not marry people who are not part of their community.”, in: www.e-vestnik.bg (2008)
- “Pomaks are modern and very good people. [...] They do everything that other people do. [...] They are not backwarded.”, in: www.spodeli.net (2013)

Why we create narratives?

The reason why we construct narratives is that this is a way to understand others, the meaning they inscribe in their actions and the actions themselves. Hence, the construction of narratives by emplotting different events is actually a construction of meaning. What narratives further do is to provide explanation regarding the relations that we have with others. Thus the narrative could be a “form of representation and a manner of speaking”.⁵⁹ Furthermore, they determine a criterion according which to judge as indicated by Jean-François Lyotard, who points out that the knowledge which is embedded in the narrative defines “what one must say in order to be heard,

what one must listen to in order to speak and what role one must play in order to be hero in it”⁶⁰. It follows that narratives incorporate narrator’s images and desires related to particular object and that is the reason why Ilan Kapoor claims that our representation of the others says much more about us than about the other⁶¹.

The struggle for the interpretation of reality

In contemporary societies the conflict of opposing narratives presents the struggle over the interpretation of the reality since they incorporate a system of images and representations which concern relation between different groups and support specific version of reality. This is the reason why different groups in the society try to impose their version of reality by applying particular narrative discourse. According to N. Fairclough relations of struggle are in their essence relations of power and “the language is the site in the struggle”.⁶²

As M. Foucault indicates the discourse could survive everything even when it is deconstructed to an absurdity. It shapes the power relations in the society and justifies their reproduction. Furthermore, discourse always appears with a set of rules concerning what is right, who can speak and what can say. It follows that system of beliefs and ideas that somehow idealize the image of one social group is embedded in the discourse. This is exactly how L. Althusser defines ideology at the same time stating that it provides basis for the reproduction of the already established social relations⁶³. In other words ideology supplies the justification of the established relations and lays reasonable grounds for the relations of subordination and domination i.e. power relations. Further, he claims that “man is an ideological animal” who incorporates his beliefs in the process of building representations of others. Even though the ideology is an illusion it has its “material existence” since its realization refers to practices that are real. It follows that the negative constitution of images embedded in the systems of representation makes the functioning of stereotypes possible. S. Hall indicates that the ideology is not about one single idea but chain of ideas and if individual intent to use one of them, the whole chain is coming later on⁶⁴.

The conflict from minority-majority perspective

I will adopt the model presented by D. Lockwood in “Solidarity and Schism” in order to elucidate the clash of narratives from minority-majority perspective. The model provides insight to the relations between two groups A and B that do not poses equal amount of resources⁶⁵. In our

59 White, H. (1980). The value of narrativity in the representation of reality. *Critical Inquiry*, 7, 5-27.

60 Lyotard, J.F. (1979). *The Postmodern Condition: A Report on Knowledge*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, pp. 21.

61 Kapoor, I. (2004). Hyper-self-reflexive development? Spivak on representing the Third World “Other”. *Third World Quarterly*, 25/4, 627-647.

62 Fairclough, N. (1989). *Language and power*. New York: Longman.

63 Althusser, L. (1971). Ideology and ideological state apparatuses. In: *Lenin and Philosophy and other essays*. London: New Left Books.

64 Hall, S. (1985). Signification, Representation, Ideology: Althusser and the Post-Structuralist Debates. *Critical Studies in Mass Communication*, 2, 91-114.

65 Lockwood, D. (1992). *Solidarity and Schism. The problem of disorder in Durkheimian and Marxist Sociology*. Oxford: Clarendon Press

particular case the group that poses more resources and claims right over the distribution of material resources and at the same time has higher position in the hierarchy in reference to the “sociocultural dispositive” in Axel Honneth’s terms, which determines the value of activities, is the one of the majority. While the other group B is the minority group which is situated lower in the hierarchy i.e. has lower social status and poses less material resources than group A. The turning point in the relation between the two groups is the moment when the minority group accumulates material resources which do not correspond to its subordinated status in society. At this moment it puts in action all the resources it has and concentrates all its efforts on the task to change the established relations while gaining recognition.

Axel Honneth claims that recognition provides conditions under which subjects “feel secure on the knowledge that the society stays behind their orientation” 66. This is at the same time struggle for the claim over the distribution of material goods in the society and the institutionalized hierarchy of values that lay on the basis of this distribution. In this line of reasoning when the B group of the minority has in its disposal resources that do not correspond to the status of the group, the group starts struggle in order to change its image, to change the imposed representation of the group which provides justification for the already established order. At this stage of the conflict the minority group B disseminates narratives that oppose to the narrative discourse imposed by the majority group A. Here the clash of competing narrative claim rights over the definition of the reality that concerns social relations between the both groups.

“The truth of the interaction in never entirely consisted in the interaction itself.”67

Since on focus is the production of narratives it is not possible to ignore the problem indicated by G. Spivak concerning the transmission of information coded in the stories. The contra narratives produced by the group B which represent its voice could become marginalized and transformed in “subjugated knowledge” in the sense that this knowledge is naïve. In Spivak’s terms the transmission of information is possible when there are speaker, hearer and the right infrastructure for the recognition which will enable the process. Individuals in their capacity of hearers receive and interpret the information in accordance with the system of dispositions that are already structured. P. Bourdieu claims that what precondition the practices in the context of group relations is the “habitus” which is a product of the history and functions as a matrix of perceptions⁶⁸. It follows that the dominating group imposes a kind of censorship, a version of reality which is self-evident. This is how the voice of the dominated group is marginalized and the information coded in the counter narratives circulates only as a “subjugated knowledge”⁶⁹.

The reaction of the minority group B to the misinterpretation of the knowledge coded in the narratives they produce and the rejection of the claims for recognition is silence. Silence is a strategy to avoid the interpellation⁷⁰ of the ideology incorporated in the narrative discourse. It is a form of refusing the labeling which is interpreted by the majority group A as a lack of competency to engage with public issues and to enter a debate in order to defend claims. It should be stressed however that silence is interpreted by many scholars as a form of agency and resistance.

66 Honneth, A. (2002). Recognition or Redistribution? Changing Perspectives on the Moral Order of Society, In: Recognition and Difference, ed. S. Lash and M. Featherstone. London: Sage Publications, 43-55.

- 67 Bourdieu, P. (1977). Outline of a Theory of Practice. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- 68 Bourdieu, P. (1977). Outline of a Theory of Practice. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- 69 M. Foucault determines the “subjugated knowledge” as a knowledge which is opposed to the established way of thinking or is outside the mainstream.
- 70 L. Althusser used the term to denote the process by which ideology refers to the individual and transforms the individual into a subject.

“The burden of the representation”⁷¹

As it was explicated narratives include system of representations that speak about somebody or something. In this particular case the minority group of Pomaks is usually represented as victims who are not aware of its own identity. So the group that poses the competency should help them by explaining who exactly they are. This reality sets the right conditions that enable an intervention in the private sphere of the individuals. This is how the private issue becomes part of the public commentary, monopolized by the majority group. Every attempt of the minority group to raise its voice is silenced by making suggestions that the group lacks the competence to argue about identity issues. This is a confirmation of the claim that the minority group has to obey the rules imposed by the more powerful group in the society.

In the case of Pomaks the slippery concept of “integration” is put into the service of the dominant discourse which insists that the minority group is that part of the society that needs to make more efforts in order to be “integrated” referring to concepts such as modernization, education, etc. without providing any further explanations. In other words what exactly is meant under “to be integrated” is not clear. It is one of those concepts which in P. Ricœur’s terms mean so many things that at the end it lacks any meaning at all. This is the reason why the minority understands the expectations of the majority as an attempt to make them invisible, to deprive them of their own culture and traditions as it was during the Communist regime. These “imagined communities” maintain the solidarity of the groups by instilling in the heads of their members the fear that comes from outside and threatens the groups. In the case of the majority the narratives represent the minority as a growing group which will take the control over the country and impose Islamic values. Regarding the case of the minority the narratives refer to the fear of homogenization and depersonalization of the group which faces constant disrespect and denial. It follows that the fear of the majority concerns the future state of affairs, while the fear of the minority is more related to the history, memory and tradition.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the relations between both groups are characterized by mistrust and mutual rejection. The minority places the responsibility for the state of affairs on the majority which violently wants to impose its interpretation of the history of the Pomaks, their identity and their future. On the other hand the imposed narrative discourse represents the minority group as the party which needs to walk its way and pay the price to be recognized and appreciated because of its qualities. These beliefs are wide spread and communicated in the society to the degree that they are taken for granted. The attempts to criticize the stereotypical representation of the group fails not because of the lack of examples and arguments but because the hearer in the communication process is deaf for the voice of the Pomaks. At the end I would like to share the words of Francis Ponge who states: “I speak so I am, I speak and you hear me, therefore we are”⁷². It follows that, to have “we are”, we need more to hear and less to speak.

Bibliography

Althusser, L. (1971). Ideology and ideological state apparatuses. In: Lenin and Philosophy and other essays. London: New Left Books.

Bourdieu, P. (1977). Outline of a Theory of Practice. New York: Cambridge University Press.

71 The heading is borrowed from John Tagg's book titled: "The burden of the representation. Essays on Photographies and Histories", published in 1988.

72 Moi, T. (1986). The Kristeva Reader. Julia Kristeva. New York: Columbia University Press, pp. 45.

Briggs, Ch. Ed. (1996). Disorderly Discourse. Narrative, Conflict, & Inequality. New York: Oxford University Press.

Dijk, T.A. (2000). Ideology and Discourse: A Multidisciplinary Introduction. Open University.

Ellis, D. (2014). Narrative as deliberative argument. *Dynamics of Asymmetric Conflict: Pathways toward terrorism and genocide*.

Fairclough, N. (1989). Language and power. New York: Longman. Foucault, M. (1989). Archeology of knowledge. New York: Routledge.

Hall, S. (1985). Signification, Representation, Ideology: Althusser and the Post-Structuralist Debates. *Critical Studies in Mass Communication*, 2, 91-114.

Honneth, A. (2002). Recognition or Redistribution? Changing Perspectives on the Moral Order of Society, In: Recognition and Difference, ed. S. Lash and M. Featherstone. London: Sage Publications, 43-55.

Kapoor, I. (2004). Hyper-self-reflexive development? Spivak on representing the Third World "Other". *Third World Quarterly*, 25/4, 627-647.

Lockwood, D. (1992). Solidarity and Schism. The problem of disorder in Durkheimian and Marxist Sociology. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Liotard, J.F. (1979). The Postmodern Condition: A Report on Knowledge. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Spivak, G. (1988). Can the Subaltern speak?, In: Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture, ed. C. Nelson and L. Grossberg, Basingstoke: Macmillan Education, 271-313.

White, H. (1987). The content of the form. Narrative Discourse and Historical Representation. Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press.

White, H. (1980). The value of narrativity in the representation of reality. *Critical Inquiry*, 7, 5- 27.

Рикъор, П. (2000). Конфликтът на интерпретациите. Херменевтични опити. София: Наука и изкуство.

Рикъор, П. (2000). От текста към действието. Херменевтични опити. София: Наука и изкуство.

Todhe Eneida Tottoni Oltjona

Table of contents

Abstract

Introduction

Albanian Road up to EU Candidate Status

Youth of Communism and EU

Youth of Democracy and EU

Conclusions

Methodology

Limitations of the paper

Abstract

There is a long way to go from one reality into another to realize a dream. Going through this transition it is needed time and efforts, vision and motivation, enthusiasm and vitality. Therefore, for a former communist country like Albania the youth represents the catalyst for this transition, the vitality and enthusiasm, the energy and the courage, the determination and the vision.

So, the objective of this paper is to demonstrate the youth role in changing a country's status. From the youth of communism to the youth of democracy, from the dictatorship to the democracy, from isolation to freedom, the target has been the same: to approach Europe. The struggle has been

harsh but not impossible and the desire has been still there until 1990. And then, it was the time to be unified to the rest of the world; it was the time to advance and turn the page. Inspiration, dreams and hopes of many citizens invaded the squares of many towns. It was the time for Albania to be part of world's democracy and adhere to European dream. It was the time of the youth to act, to say, to decide on their present and future. Therefore, this paper will pinpoint the pathways of the past, present up to the future.

Now, it is the time of the youth voice to speak loudly "Albania is like Europe".

Introduction

The youth in Albania has passed through different historical paths in which the European dream has been apparent. The period of the 1960s is a period in which the dictatorship was dominant and the perspectives of the Albanian youth were shaped according to this regime. Albania was isolated. We had a “bunker” society, the signs of which are so obvious currently. The country’s development was based on people’s devotion to their homeland, putting the country in an entire isolation from the rest of the world. European Albania existed secretly. The youth of that time listened discretely to Italian music, watched Yugoslavian TV and listened to the Greek radio. They were striving to follow the unknown. The so-called “the revolutionary youth” of that time, lived the European Dream in total isolation. They were not allowed even to speak about Europe. Today, the “youth of democracy” are enjoying the right to think and act Europe.

Do they feel empowered and self-confident about the European Future of Albania?

Do the Albanian youth of the 21st Century consider the European Integration of the country a strategy or a necessity?

Through the years of democracy the desire to be part of the European Family increased due to the openness to the world. The Albanian youth brought the wind of democracy through the first student’s movement in 1990s, inquiring democratic and free elections, freedom of speech, transparency and the establishment of a solid society. Being oppressed for such a long time, they turned their freedom into voice for all citizens of Albania and their aim was to approach Europe. Based on theoretical and practical analysis, the Albanian youth has played an important role in the historical flow of the country from 1960-2014. The Albanian youth has shown patience in the isolation period and determination in socio-economic crisis. The paper confronts the youth perception of European Albania and respectively that of 1960 up to 2014 and this confrontation will take into consideration how the mentality has changed with the breaking of isolation chains, youth efforts and sacrifices to guide the country toward democracy and the obstacles and the difficulties encountered during this process. Given the fact that, the majority of the Albanian population is young, it is their vision and perspective that will guide the country toward the European integration. Many youngsters collaborate and take part in the promotion of the Albanian tradition and values.

Albanian Road up to EU Candidate Status

It has been a long road until the Republic of Albania was awarded the EU Candidate Status. It all started in 1990s when the youth of that time overthrew Enver Hoxha’s statue and in the name of liberty and democracy demanded a new government deriving from the protesters. After long negotiations and sleepless nights, the most courageous ones founded a democratic government. The first phase (from 1992-1999), Albania signed trade agreements with EU so as to develop mutual economic relations and prepare Albania for the second phase. The second phase (from 2000-2006) Albania was seen as a potential candidate for a future European Membership and this was reflected in 2006 with the signature of the Stabilization and Association Agreement (SAA) at the General Affairs and External Relations council in Luxemburg. The signature of this agreement was followed by some concrete actions: entry into force of the new instrument for Pre-Accession Assistance (IPA), visa liberalization dialogue launched and entry into force of the

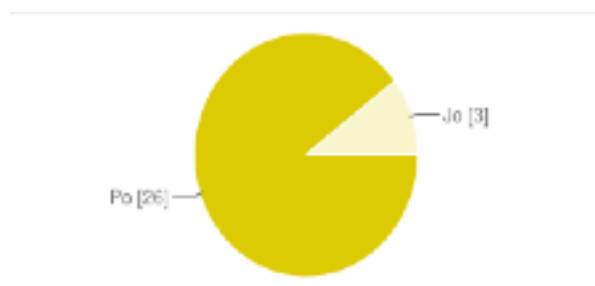
SAA. The climax is on 28th April 2009 when Albania submits its first application for EU Membership. Visa Liberalization enters into force in 2010. After four exhausting years of efforts, reforms and reports, Albania receives EU Candidate Status on 27th June 2014.

Youth of Communism and EU

In this paper, there were taken into consideration youngsters that experienced the period of the dictatorship and lived in that period and gave us a very clear image of the dictatorship. Through the interviews and the questionnaires, they gave us the perceptions related to the existence of the European Continent. The connections with Europe were a few and there were taken initiatives to be in touch with the old European continent which was presented as the “forbidden apple” that they were eager to know. They were embroidered with ideologies against the European countries. They were not allowed to touch Europe in reality and they created possibilities to see it virtually. The television was the only mean in order to discover the undiscovered. They got acquainted with Europe, different cultural aspects of living and European society secretly. They listened to Italian songs, they danced Charleston and they followed different programs that showed that the youngsters of that time were guided toward the European citizenship and European identity in spite of the “world box” that the dictatorship had created.

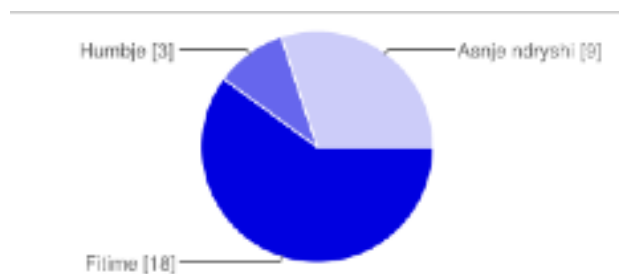
Even though the freedom was limited, under the fear of being sentenced, the freedom of thinking was not violated. The dictatorship awoke in the youngsters of that time the memories of the past which were conveyed to the youngest generation in order to make them aware of the difficulties of that time. One of the interviewees in a conversation with her daughter said: “How did you live in such a period? Why did you accept this reality in silence? Why didn’t you raise your voice?” Some of them had encouraged their children to study in the European countries in order to accomplish a dream that they have never fulfilled. Some of these “youngsters” were set free to experience Europe and create their own ideas about it. The youngsters of the dictatorship as individuals with a double experience (from 1960 up to our days in 2014) have had the possibility to visit and be in touch with the European countries and this was not possible before the ‘90-s. In their responses, the perception for Europe was totally different from what they saw in reality. One of the interviewees said “When I visited Greece for the first time, I was surprised that this country was more developed than Albania. We were told that Greece was a poor country that exported products from us.” The communist policies of that time could not suppress the desire to know Europe, on the contrary it increased the youngsters vigor which reached the peak in the ‘90-s with the exodus toward different European countries.

Fig. 2.1: Do you think that Albania should be part of the European Union?



The youngsters of the dictatorship think that Albania should be part of the EU. 76% of them think positively about the integration. This majority is a result of their desire to forget the dictatorship period in which they lived in and their hope to be connected with Europe. Only 9% is not in favor of Albania to join EU.

Fig. 2.2: What do you think the integration of Albania in EU will bring?



The youngsters of communism think that there will be more gains rather than losses. About 60 % of them see the European integration as a progress phase and improvement for Albania, whereas 30 % of them think of it as a stagnation phase that will not bring any change.

Youth of Democracy and EU

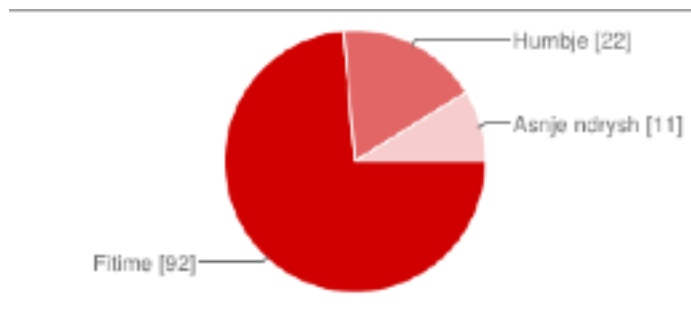
In this paper, the youngsters of democracy that were taken into consideration belonged to the age of 14 up to 33 years old. The selection was done randomly. 60 out of 125 were males and 65 out of 125 were females. Based on the education 19 out of 125 had studied in the high school. 106 out of 125 had attended the university. In a general overview, all the youngsters knew about the dictatorship period even though they have not lived in that period, and the knowledge came from different informative sources and the stories of their relatives and family members. They considered the dictatorship as a monopoly where every thought, every word and action was restricted.

The dictatorship is not only experienced in Albania. The totalitarian system has existed and still exists in the world. Some of these youngsters consider the dictatorship as a wound of the society. The Albanian youth considers it as slavery for the civilization, a torment but on the other side they think it was a period characterized by an institutional and economic stability. They consider it as an exploitation of the human resources and volunteer work but also as a revival of the country and mobilization of the population when it was needed in natural disasters. In the period of the dictatorship, the economy was centralized and the freedom of action was limited and the country was supported by its own industrial and edible products. The internal migration was limited because the policies of the development weighed on the rural development rather than urban one. The youngsters who were part of this paper were those youngsters of the '90-s. It was a period in which Albania was opened to Europe. Therefore, they can be called as the youngsters of Europe and this can be noticed on how they talk about it. Some of them consider Europe as a support for our country, development, integration, free movement and circulation, better possibilities for life, progress and democracy. Some of them consider it

simply a continent in which we are already geographically part and manifesting in this way indirectly the European identity of Albania.

The Europe of the Albanian youngsters is a union of ancient civilizations that convey values, knowledge, continuation and hope for the future.

Fig. 3.1: “What do you think the integration of Albania in EU will bring?”

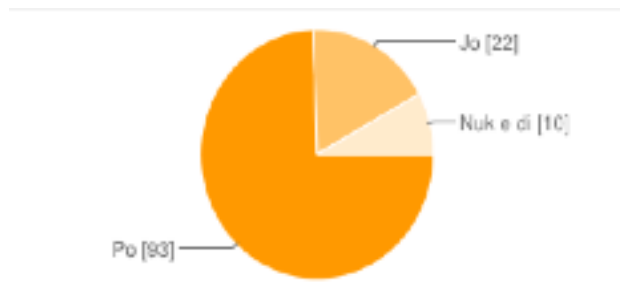


The youngsters were asked the question “What do you think the integration of Albania in EU will bring? Based on the answers to the questions they were divided into three groups.

The first group expressed that the membership of the European Union would bring benefits. They said that benefits would be especially in these fields: politics, education, economy, social policies, justice and environment. Relevantly, in education the Albanian youth mentions the exchange programs and getting the experience in the field of education. In economy, some of them think that there will be gains because of the membership which will bring growth of the investors in Albania as a result the growth of the employment. The membership in EU will bring a good marketing which will increase the tourism and the exposure of the Albanian culture based on the mechanism that EU can put into movement in this direction. Another benefit will also be the extension of the businesses and market toward the European trade in order to lead to the free trade and competition. As a continuation of the idea the EU brings benefits, they believe that the membership of Albania in EU will bring less corruption, more justice and equality and a strong rule of law. And as a consequence, they expect an effective policy-making and more responsibility. In the social aspects the gains are perceived essentially in the way of living but also they mentioned the preservation and evaluation of tradition and culture of Albania. Due to the increase of the standards of living there will be welfare and a decrease of the criminality. In the environment the focus is on the implementation of the Albanian legislation for the environment but under the surveillance of the EU and also the introduction of informing materials about the environmental stewardship. Besides the gains, the second group which consisted of a small number of youngsters thinks that the membership will bring losses especially with the euro introduction. They think that a possible financial crisis of one of the countries which is a member of the EU will influence directly in the countries of the region (domino effect). The third group was those youngsters that connect the membership of the EU with no change at all. They think that there will be not any change in all the respective fields.

Considering the percentage, 74 % of the Albanian youngsters think that the integration in EU will bring gains rather than losses. 18% think that the integration in EU will bring more losses rather than gains and 9 % of them think that the integration would not bring any change at all.

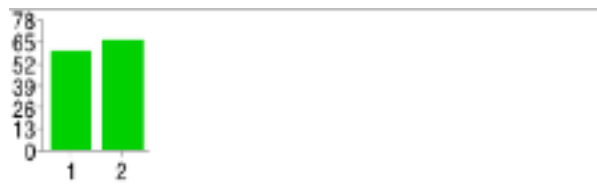
Fig.3.2: Do you think that Albania should be a member of EU?



Most of the Albanian youngsters (74%) think that Albania should be part of the European Union. 18 % show Euro-skepticism toward this membership. The percentage is relatively low compared with the desire for the integration.

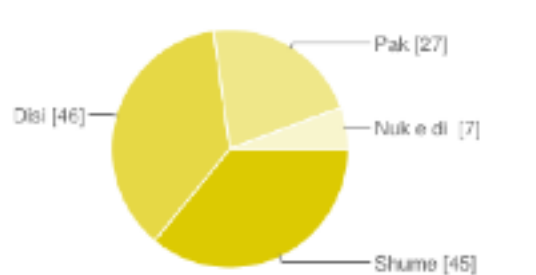
Fig. 3.3: The candidate status for Albania shows: (rank according to the importance)

- Political Strategy
- Necessity of the time



This shows that 53% of the Albanian youngsters consider the process of the integration as a necessity of the time bringing on focus the belief of belonging to the European Continent, whereas for 47 % of them, this process is a political strategy, showing that politics is a changing factor.

Fig.3.4: How much active/engaged are you in the Civil Society?



73% answered that they are active enough to contribute to a change, 27% answered that they are active occasionally or not at all. This demonstrates that the youth of democracy has the desire to change the situation in Albania. They are committed to contribute and determined to act.

Conclusions

Albania is a country which has undergone a very difficult period, that of the dictatorship. The Bunker society created, devastated the individual living in that period. The life of the individual him/herself was a "bunker". Having chains in their hands, the youth remained isolated and the isolation made them experience a very dark period. The bunker mentality surrounded Albania and the youth of that time were the ones who built one by one the bunkers of the time. These were the pillars in which the society was based: isolation, bunker mentality, lack of freedom and desire for Europe which was a taboo. The society was concentrated in communism and its ideologies and not because they wanted to do so but because they were obliged. The society was constructed through some very harsh laws and policy-making which influenced directly on the individual. Their lifestyles were transformed and their knowledge towards Europe was limited. The country tried to rise from its own ash and the youth were the ones who gave an important contribution in passing from the dictatorship to democracy. Even though they lived in the bunker society, the desire to transform the country into a modern and European one did not lose. Groups of the youth of the time tried to do the utmost in order to rebuild the country. Europe existed unconsciously inside the Albanians. Their strength came out of this desire to reach Europe and break the chains of the isolation. They did not know what democracy was. They did not know what political freedom meant. They did not know that besides dictatorship, there was a better option. No one told them and they had to find it out themselves. And they did! It all started in 1990 with the hugest youth movement to bring communism down and this was followed by the fall of the dictator's statue on Scanderbeg square. Considering the important role of the youth in guiding an entire nation toward its future, this paper shows how the youth is divided by periods of time but is united by future perspectives.

According to the paper, the Albanian youth (in time of communism and democracy) is optimistic for the European future of Albania. Based on another survey carried out in 2011 the result is the same, which reflects the early and the great wish not only of the youth but also of the Albanian society in general to be "European" or "be like Europe"⁷³. Albanian youth thinks that the integration of Albania in European Union will have positive effects in different fields but at the same time they are aware of the difficulties that this process can have (when they were asked "what is the period of time needed that Albania might join the EU?" the average of the years needed were from ten up to twenty years, and during this time Albania has to align its standard with the European ones).

The paper showed that the group of youngsters of democracy belonging to 25 years old considered the EU integration with high priority and optimism rather than the others youngsters of different ages surveyed. This reflects the fact that this group of youngsters is more informed and active in different political, social, economic, environmental institutions and organizations that are working in order to meet the standards to ease the EU integration process. It should be highlighted the fact that the activism of young Albanians is not only located within the country's border but also outside it⁷⁴. Another finding of the survey is that the percentage of youngsters surveyed that think that Albania should join EU corresponds to the percentage of those that think

that there will be benefits from EU integration of Albania. This means that Albanian youngsters are well-informed and provide arguments to support their points of view about their perception of European Albania.

As a conclusion, the entire paper shows that the Albanian Youth has reached the mature level of thinking, deciding and acting independently from the politics. They are deploying their freedom to contribute to their society in a way to be like Europe.

Facing the challenges of the 21st Century, the paper highlights the idea that integration of Albania into the European Union is a necessity by considering:

1. The level of engagement of the youth and Albanian citizens to support the decision-making process to meet the European standards.
2. Their aspiration to exchange values, knowledge and experience and contribute to the country's European future.

Therefore, this paper shows the important role of the Albanian youth in transforming the Non-European Nightmare into European Dream.

Methodology

73

Albanian Youth 2011 "Between present hopes and future insecurities!", Chapter VII: Albania and Europe, Enabled by "Friedrich Ebert": Foundation

74

Plan Balkans: Europolitan. Publication: Why can people from the Balkan Countries already be considered citizens of Europe?, 2013, funded by FutureLab Europe.

The paper is based on an intertwining of primary and secondary sources. The primary method used is the collection of the data by surveying a group of youngsters that belong to different ages. The first group consists of "youngsters" that lived in the dictatorship period and the second group is youngsters that belong to the democratic period and have never experienced the dictatorship years. The selection criteria used are: age, gender and education. Below you can find a table to the respondents' data:

	Gender	Age	Education
Youngsters of dictatorship	74.2% females 25.8% males	45-65 respectively 20-30 years in time of dictatorship	Undergraduate/Graduate/Postgraduate
Youngsters of democracy	65% females 60% males	14-33 years old	Undergraduate/Graduate/Postgraduate

The questionnaire was a blend of open and closed questions in order to get information in details. The language used is very simple to be assimilated by this target group. The open-ended questions aimed to collect information on the European integration perception of the youth and how they are contributing to European Albania, the perspectives of the youngsters of the

1960s and the youngsters of these days. So, every person asked provided a specific amount of information. The questionnaires and interviews are conducted in the city of Tirana. Interviews are mainly conducted with the “youngsters” of dictatorship which are totally independent from the questionnaires and they are done to get detailed information about the subject required and to expand the sources of information (qualitative method). The interviews’ objective was to give the respondents the possibility they could describe their experience in their own words. This paper is based on the contributions of many youngsters who share their personal experiences in the hopes that their voices would serve as a bridge that makes a connection between the perspectives of the youngsters of different ages for the European Integration and Albania. In constructing the interview guide, the questions are as neutral as possible to explore the local construction of the topic. This paper is supported also by different materials such as research works carried out in different time frames, brochures and leaflets, NGO’s reports about this issue.

Limitations of the paper

In order to gather as much information as possible in a certain period of time the questionnaire is published online to reach the target group. The difficulty in filling in the online survey showed a small number of participants of the youngsters of dictatorship. This is to explain the disproportion between the two groups (youngsters of democracy 126 participants, youngsters of dictatorship 30 participants). During our field work interviews, there have been hesitations to talk about the dictatorship and all issues related to it. They showed irritation due to their personal experiences of that time and refused to answer the questions. These situations limited the number of participants of the youngsters of dictatorship to 50.

References

- Albanian Institute for International Studies, “Albania and European Union: Perceptions and Realities”, supported by the Embassy of the United Kingdom in Albania and the Open Society Foundation, SOROS Albania.
- Albanian Institute for International Studies, “The European Perspective of Albania: Perceptions and Realities 2012”, Tirana 2012, , the project is funded by the European Union.
- “Friedrich Ebert Stiftung” Foundation, Albanian Youth 2011 “Between present hopes and future insecurities!”, Chapter VII “Albania and Europe” , 2011
- “FutureLab Europe”, Plan Balkans: Europolitan Publication: Why can people from the Balkan Countries already be considered citizens of Europe?, 2013
- http://eeas.europa.eu/delegations/albania/eu_albania/political_relations/index_en.htm

Segate Riccardo Vecellio

Bachelor's Degree in Piano performance, State Conservatory of Verona Master student in Law, State University of Verona

Diploma student in European Affairs, I.S.P.I. of Milan RomeMUN 2014 scholarship winner, LUISS "G. Carli" of Rome

Responsible for External Relations, Young European Federalists - section of Verona Fundraising Manager, "African Summer School / Business incubator 4 Africa" of Verona

Relazioni geopolitiche e socio-economiche tra le due sponde del Mediterraneo: l'esperienza formativa del progetto "African Summer School / business incubator 4 Africa"

[...] l'Europa, pur essendo il più grande donatore e pur avendo legami economici assolutamente unici nei confronti del suo gigante vicino, non sembra essere in grado di elaborare una politica capace di interpretarne il futuro. Questo tuttavia non è un problema africano ma solo il frutto della nostra incapacità di interpretare i segni dei tempi.
ROMANO PRODI

Introduzione

Prendendo in esame il desolante panorama economico che si prospetta agli europei nei prossimi anni e potenzialmente nei prossimi decenni, non si può che ritenere essenziale ampliare gli orizzonti alla ricerca di mercati nuovi, anche distanti dal proprio sentire imprenditoriale e dal proprio *network* di relazioni commerciali consolidate. In quest'ottica la riconsiderazione complessiva delle nostre strategie di approccio al continente africano, troppo spesso imbevute di etnocentrismo non solo culturale ma anche squisitamente giuridico-economico, è fattore imprescindibile e urgente, non più rinviabile alle generazioni future; quanto meno, se proclamiamo di tenere al benessere di queste ultime, cioè alle possibilità che i nostri figli avranno di mantenere uno standard di vita almeno comparabile a quello attuale. E se sempre più spesso si sente dire che "quando il lavoro non c'è, bisogna inventarlo", lo stesso può (e deve) valere per i mercati e per i territori in cui sviluppare la propria impresa e il proprio *business*.

Romano Prodi, già presidente della Commissione Europea e del Consiglio Europeo, tratteggia l'Africa come un «grande continente, potenziale protagonista del mondo che cambia»; proprio in quel termine, "potenziale", è racchiuso il nostro spazio vitale, il nostro compito: attraverso l'attuazione di politiche non più assistenzialiste, ma indirizzate a un reale sostegno alla crescita

africana, l'Occidente deve farsi promotore di un rilancio sostenibile e inclusivo, che apporti benefici nel medio termine direttamente al "gigante addormentato" quanto più indirettamente al Vecchio Continente; tutto questo, però - e proprio qui riposa la novità -, tralasciando quella patina di velata ipocrisia tradizionalmente incorporata nella cooperazione allo sviluppo, la quale troppo spesso risulta essere una mera vestizione umanitaria di processi volti più a "marcare il territorio" dando lavoro a qualche europeo o americano (o, ultimamente, cinese), che non a implementare assetti organici di supporto centralizzato utile ai cittadini africani. Sia chiaro, il discorso qui riportato è costruito sui massimi sistemi: per fortuna, alcune cooperative e qualche fondazione - mosse da profonda umanità e spirito critico piuttosto che dalla spartizione di fondi destinati alle aree disastrose del pianeta - ancora esistono e operano ogni giorno con dedizione e talvolta rischiando pure la vita di chi vi collabora.

Lo snodo concettuale risiede insomma nello svincolarsi dallo sterile e tutto sommato marginale spirito caritativo, per interfacciarsi a un sistema commerciale che tenga presente al contempo la necessità di coinvolgere gli strati più deboli della società nera e, per conseguenza naturale, di investire e ricercare in nuovi Paesi che possano trainare le nazioni occidentali fuori dal fango autoreferenziale in cui si sono impantanate. Interpretare, dunque, percepire le dietrologie, sondare le motivazioni, penetrare nei codici identitari e antropologici più reconditi, non più solamente giudicare dall'esterno, interfacciarsi all'altro in base al proprio stile di vita e alle proprie convinzioni. Questa politica culturalmente aggressiva, questo monologo prevaricante le possibilità di dialogo insite nella *cultural diplomacy*, hanno portato finora solo ulteriore povertà e diffidenza. È giunto il momento di cambiare!

ELEMENTI MINIMI DI CONTESTUALIZZAZIONE ECONOMICA, SOCIALE, CULTURALE E POLITICA DELL'AFRICA CONTEMPORANEA

Il quadro macroeconomico complessivo con cui il continente nero s'affaccia al terzo millennio non può essere pessimista, per la semplice ragione che gli elementi di rinnovamento sovrastano per quantità e qualità gli indici che dipingono una stagnazione tutta rinchiusa nel proprio friabile passato. È altrettanto vero, ad ogni modo, che benché la fermentazione africana duri ormai da svariati decenni e alcuni Paesi dell'Africa subsahariana mostrino i tassi di crescita del PIL più elevati nel globo, la percentuale di ricchezza prodotta in Africa in rapporto alla produzione mondiale è oggi allo stesso livello del 1980, ovvero di poco inferiore al 3% (scenario parzialmente attribuibile a fattori "costitutivi" quali la siccità, con la conseguente desertificazione in perenne incremento cui s'accoda uno "stress idrico" che rallenta l'alimentazione umana quanto lo sforzo industriale); a questa paura che l'Africa possa essere cronicamente (perché fisiologicamente) incapace di impostare sentieri di crescita duraturi, rimanendo spettatrice passiva delle tendenze globalizzanti in corso, s'accompagna la consapevolezza di disparità incredibili che fanno sì che, in un continente che supera il miliardo di abitanti, le centomila persone più doviziose posseggano un patrimonio pari al 60% di tutta l'Africa. Le diseguaglianze possono osservarsi ancor più da vicino comparando il reddito medio annuo *pro capite*, che dai 386 \$ della Repubblica Democratica del Congo s'innalza vertiginosamente fino ai 38mila \$ della Guinea Equatoriale, un risultato che supera quello italiano sfiorando quelli inglese e francese. Se conflitti etnico-tribali, guerriglie di quartiere, attriti civili, guerre regionali e terrorismo fondamentalista ancora insanguinano quotidianamente la Culla dell'umanità, assommando alla tragedia della perdita di vite umane quella forse ancor più grave e densa di conseguenze a medio-lungo termine dell'arretratezza economica e sociale, e rendendo il rischio per gli investitori

stranieri ancor più pericoloso da percorrere, è però altrettanto veritiero dichiarare a gran voce che l'Africa del futuro è una grande opportunità per tutto il mondo, oltre che (...si spera, finalmente!) per sé stessa. È necessario fare ricerca tenendo presente l'imprecisione delle statistiche demografiche ed economiche, per un triplice motivo: la scarsità o assenza di dati riferiti ad alcune zone, il mancato o incompleto aggiornamento delle zone già censite e l'utilizzo di metodologie superate o comunque tarate su un sistema di valori e parametri tipicamente occidentali (ad esempio: come si potrebbe rispondere definitivamente all'assillante quesito "cos'è il benessere"? Vedasi in proposito il celebre discorso di Robert Francis Kennedy...).

Proiettando l'attenzione sulle dinamiche sociali, davvero molteplici sono i segnali positivi di cui rendere testimonianza: tra gli altri, l'aumento di elezioni libere e democratiche, la dilagante urbanizzazione, il maggior interesse dell'opinione pubblica nel monitoraggio delle azioni di governo, la sempre più viva presenza di una classe media ambiziosa e consapevole, l'autentico *boom* degli abbonamenti di telefonia mobile e - pur se in misura minore - dell'accesso a Internet, il parziale scostamento da conflitti disarticolati e generalisti verso un più preciso sentimento rivoluzionario di matrice non violenta (almeno in partenza). Impossibile d'altro canto non notare come i segnali di riassetto delle comunità civili siano ancora troppo fragili e soprattutto discontinui sul territorio africano, come dimostrano le vicende della Primavera araba troppo facilmente posta a tacere, per eliminare alla radice il problema dei flussi migratori intracontinentali e verso l'Europa. Secondo l'ambasciatore Armando Sanguini, già Capo missione in Tunisia e Arabia Saudita e Rappresentante personale per l'Africa della Presidenza del Consiglio dei Ministri, «nel mondo arabo-islamico tira un'aria viziata ben diversa da quella che nel 2011 sembrava destinata a spazzare via i dominanti regimi autoritari. Le bandiere della libertà e della giustizia che sembravano salutare l'alba di una nuova era fondata sui principi della democrazia appaiono ripiegarsi attorno alla propria asta. Anche le istanze di giustizia sociale e di lotta alla corruzione parrebbero inchinarsi di fronte al ritorno dei poteri forti, militari ed economici. In debito di ossigeno anche l'innovativo respiro identitario che sembrava destinato ad affermarsi a prescindere da un'autocrazia di riferimento. [...] Complice la crisi, l'Europa si rifugia in una distratta ambiguità che nasconde l'incapacità di dare una risposta strategicamente degna di questo nome a una delle conseguenze di questa realtà: la disperata ondata migratoria di cui siamo quotidiani testimoni». A *latere* di queste autorevoli sentenze, sorgono spontanee almeno tre considerazioni: ad una migrazione subsahariana quasi esclusivamente interna al continente dovuta alla fame e alla povertà, s'è aggiunta una ben più ingestibile ondata migratoria verso l'Europa e l'Asia causata da nuovi focolai di guerre regionali a composizione prevalentemente religiosa; il terrorismo di Al-Qaeda prima e dell'IS poi, travasando armi e mercenari dai Paesi a nord dell'Africa fino ai confini del Medio Oriente, sembra restituire l'immagine d'un islamismo belligerante non solo fondamentalista ma anche vetusto nei proclami e nei metodi, ricostruito sulla scia di quell'impero vigente più di un millennio fa, votato all'annientamento del "diverso" e all'istituzione di un "glorioso califfato" arabo; la nuova dirigenza della diplomazia europea, incarnata dalla figura della neoeletta Federica Mogherini, si caricherà sulle spalle un triplice fronte emergenziale: quello ucraino a est, quello siriano-iracheno e quello situato alla sponda opposta del Mediterraneo. Senza poteri pieni in materia di politica estera, le istituzioni comunitarie difficilmente potranno fronteggiare dignitosamente un tale problematico e composito accerchiamento.

Tutto ciò spiega forse il pensiero del noto politologo Lucio Caracciolo, secondo cui nell'asse nord-sud l'Italia sarebbe la penultima nazione davvero sovrana prima del Sudafrica. Estremizzazioni e semplificazioni a parte, rimane la certezza che - almeno per la porzione di Unione Europea direttamente affacciata sul Mediterraneo - stabilire una corretta relazione di *partnership* con i

maggiori Stati africani sia un'azione da fissare in agenda per i prossimi mesi, senza dilazioni. Le motivazioni sono talmente esplicite da risultare quasi banali: la vicinanza geografica, e dunque la possibilità di trarre benefici economici ed energetici facilmente accessibili ma anche di sperimentare ricadute e rischi derivanti dall'instabilità politica di tali confini; il contributo al rilancio della crescita dell'eurozona che potrebbe verificarsi agganciandosi al traino dell'espansione commerciale e produttiva in corso in Africa; l'aspettativa di esercitare una funzione di *leadership* nell'implementazione e identificazione di strategie di sviluppo sostenibili e permeate di valori tipicamente europei (quali il rispetto per l'ambiente, i diritti dei lavoratori o la visione di una sussidiarietà multilivello propria del *welfare state*). Tra gli interlocutori al momento più interessanti (e interessati) si possono elencare almeno l'Angola, l'Egitto, l'Etiopia, il Gabon, il Ghana, il Kenya, il Mozambico, la Nigeria, il Senegal e la Repubblica Sudafricana.

LA PECULIARE ESPERIENZA FORMATIVA DEL PROGETTO SOCIO-IMPRENDITORIALE
"AFRICAN SUMMER SCHOOL / BUSINESS INCUBATOR 4 AFRICA" DI VERONA 2014

Al fine di delineare un esempio di concretizzazione delle precedenti considerazioni, e nell'intento di condivisione delle *best practices* soprattutto giovanili che contraddistinguono questo consesso, ho ritenuto fosse interessante veicolare alcune informazioni relative a un'iniziativa tutta veronese proiettata sulle relazioni tra i due continenti, nel cui *staff* direttivo ho ricoperto il ruolo di Responsabile finanziamenti per la seconda edizione (estate-autunno 2014).

African Summer School, caratterizzata da una didattica interculturale incentrata sulla storia e sull'economia del continente nero, è la prima *training school* nel suo genere in Europa; ideata (nel 2013) e diretta dall'economista congolese Fortuna Ekutsu Mambululu in seno all'Associazione di promozione sociale "Africasfriends" di Verona, si propone d'offrire un'occasione di confronto equilibrato, profondo e sincero, libero dalla schiavitù dell'informazione di massa, intorno a un continente che sta tornando al centro del dibattito sociale e politico internazionale.

Risvegliandosi da un torpore plurisecolare, l'Africa sta sempre più divenendo terra di scoperta intellettuale e conquista imprenditoriale, allontanandosi da quella pellicola di soffocante e autoreferenziale assistenzialismo occidentale che, da solo, non si è dimostrato capace di restituire la speranza nel futuro a una regione certo martoriata e sofferente, ma al contempo fiera e dinamica, che attrae investimenti e in cui è possibile proiettare oggi idee concrete di *business*.

E proprio il *business* è al centro di questa proposta formativa, edificata appunto sui due grandi temi della *storia generale del continente africano* e dell'*afro-business*. La *Summer School*, giunta alla sua seconda edizione e patrocinata dal Comune e dall'Università di Verona (dipartimento TeSIS e dipartimento Scienze della vita e della riproduzione), è articolata in un'intensa settimana di lezioni frontali che si svolgono a Villa Buri (nobile contesto architettonico alle porte della città scaligera) in agosto, seguita da tre mesi in cui gli studenti possono redigere una tesina umanistica o concepire il proprio progetto di microimprenditoria, affiancati a distanza da un *team* di esperti con la funzione di fornire bibliografie, suggerire metodi e modelli, rendere omogenee le scelte redazionali. Al termine di tale percorso, gli elaborati migliori vengono premiati con una simbolica borsa di studio in denaro, ma soprattutto con un accompagnamento all'accesso al microcredito (grazie al sostegno del Banco Popolare, nostro *sponsor*).

La nostra iniziativa è confezionata da e per i giovani, con una particolare attenzione ai figli della diaspora (le cosiddette "seconde generazioni"): gli allievi sono quasi tutti neolaureati, dottorandi, ricercatori, operatori della cooperazione internazionale e in generale giovani con il desiderio di maturare una coscienza equilibrata su quanto accade sull'altra sponda del Mediterraneo, portando poi proprio lì - perché no? - la propria attitudine all'autoimprenditorialità, con la

stesura di *business-plans* che fungano da traccia essenziale per la successiva incubazione di una *spin-off* o di una *start-up*.

La prima edizione ha ospitato come docente principale Jean Paul Pougala, saggista pluripremiato e docente alla scuola diplomatica di Ginevra. Quest'anno, oltre a varie testimonianze e lezioni offerte da rinomati docenti italiani e stranieri, abbiamo ospitato gli interventi di due autorevoli docenti africani: José Do Nascimento (accademico dell'ateneo di Parigi-Sud) e Mawuna Koutonin (*blogger* influente ed esperto di *marketing*). Tali interventi si sono svolti in lingua francese, con traduzione simultanea verso l'italiano effettuata da due stagiste provenienti da Bruxelles.

African Summer School, oltre a beneficiare del supporto di alcune aziende (tra cui Ria Italia, divisione italiana del celebre *money transfer* internazionale), è resa possibile dalla collaborazione con - tra gli altri - sindacato Uil Verona, patronato Ital nazionale e Mag Verona; inoltre, alcune occasioni ad essa correlate (come il lancio della campagna d'iscrizioni, la presentazione ufficiale dell'iniziativa, la cerimonia d'inaugurazione ecc.) si svolgono alla presenza di numerose autorità e di eminenti esponenti del panorama istituzionale e politico nazionale. Ad esempio, la conferenza stampa di apertura delle iscrizioni per questa seconda edizione, ha avuto luogo il 13 maggio presso la Camera dei Deputati con l'eccezionale presenza dell'Ambasciatrice del Sudafrica a Roma, Nomatamba Tambo. E ancora, la cerimonia d'apertura della scorsa edizione, ha registrato gli interventi del Sindaco veronese Flavio Tosi e dell'ex Ministro per l'Integrazione con delega alle Politiche giovanili Cécile Kyenge, ora parlamentare a Strasburgo.

CONCLUSIONI

L'apprezzamento di imprese, istituzioni e "semplici cittadini" attorno all'idea che ha dato genesi all'*African Summer School*, e la soddisfazione espressa pressoché unanimemente dagli studenti di entrambe le prime edizioni, dimostrano come un nuovo approccio multidisciplinare e una nuova didattica focalizzati sul continente nero vengano percepiti non solo con curiosità, ma anche come necessità impellente. Non è sempre facile mantenere elevata la qualità scientifica di una scuola senza far percorrere agli studenti la letteratura accademica già consolidata nella prassi, cercando di spaziare tra voci emergenti e nomi già noti ma quasi sconosciuti agli istituti di ricerca e ai principali atenei del Belpaese. Il sogno è di contribuire alla rivalutazione della dignità storica e sociologica di cui l'Africa è portatrice da millenni, senza per questo rinunciare a evidenziare rischi e contraddizioni riscontrabili nelle istituzioni africane di oggi, e senza risparmiarsi di porre l'accento sul *deficit* di partecipazione africana alla *governance* del mondo globalizzato. Il problema non si situa nel fotocopiare la realtà per descriverla o tramandarla, ma nel chiedersi se davvero la fotocopiatrice a propria disposizione colga tutti i particolari dell'oggetto in questione, e nel domandarsi *perché* la fotocopia risulti eventualmente così sbiadita. In ogni caso, bisogna ben guardarsi dal divenire partigiani di un afropessimismo mediatico quanto di un'afroeuforia ad oggi purtroppo ancora ingiustificata e ingiustificabile; la difficoltà è riconducibile all'esaminare l'Africa nella sua complessa eterogeneità, distanziandosi da quella visione omologante che la considera ugualmente sottosviluppata da un capo all'altro, tralasciando forse solo la fascia a nord del Sahara. Giusto per citare qualche numero, il continente africano conta 54 nazioni indipendenti e sovrane (di cui la più recente è il Sud Sudan, fondato nel 2011), rappresenta circa il 20% delle terre emerse con un territorio pari a 4 volte l'estensione degli USA, annovera la presenza di almeno 2mila lingue e dialetti, registra una varietà impressionante di prodotti agricoli e risorse minerarie (quasi interamente destinati all'esportazione) e nel 2050 con più di 1,8 miliardi di abitanti conterà il 25% della popolazione planetaria; questo basti ad avvalorare le parole di Ryszard Kapuściński (scrittore polacco del secondo Novecento): «L'Africa è un

continente troppo grande per poterlo descrivere. È un oceano, un pianeta a sé stante, un cosmo vario e ricchissimo. È solo per semplificare che lo chiamiamo Africa. A parte la sua denominazione geografica, in realtà l'Africa non esiste». E se questo affresco può essere vero a grandi linee per ogni continente, risulta ancor più realistico se edificato su un macrocosmo naturale e antropico in cui alcune popolazioni non si sono mai reciprocamente conosciute.

Un serbatoio enorme di popoli e culture, di risorse e di terre, che è essenziale collocare in un orizzonte distante, cui avvicinarsi per gradi e con sguardo acuto, attrezzati di rispetto e umiltà; a mio avviso non sbaglia chi ravvisa nella compresenza di multinazionali al limite della legalità e d'invasivi interventi di "sostegno allo sviluppo" un neocolonialismo mascherato neanche troppo furbescamente. In definitiva, si sta verificando sul piano economico quanto già sperimentato sul piano istituzionale durante il colonialismo europeo: la produzione di strutture "estrattive" anziché "inclusive", le cui decisioni in termini di finanza pubblica non operano nell'interesse generale della cittadinanza, ma mirano al soddisfacimento delle priorità di pochi gruppi armati cui è affidata la vittoria elettorale. Insomma, riassumendo e concludendo questi fugaci spunti di riflessione, affido all'esperienza diretta di Barack Obama l'ultima citazione: nel giugno 2013, effettuando un viaggio in Tanzania, dichiarò che «*Ultimately, the goal here is for Africa to build Africa for Africans. And our job is to be a partner in that process*». Come un buon padre di famiglia che segue i propri figli fino a far spiccare loro il volo, con le loro ali, verso i loro lidi, senza distrattive e assuefacenti ingerenze. Anche perché, come assicura un proverbio africano, "puoi svegliarti anche molto presto all'alba, ma il tuo destino s'è svegliato mezz'ora prima di te".

RIFERIMENTI BIBLIOGRAFICI E SITOGRAFICI ESSENZIALI

- sulla geostrategia africana e sulle politiche economiche internazionali inerenti l'Africa

Aminata Dramane Traoré, *La morsa. L'Africa in un mondo senza frontiere*, Ibis, Como-Pavia, 2003

Federico Bonaglia - Lucia Wegner, *Africa. Un continente in movimento*, il Mulino, Bologna, 2014

Franco Zallio (a cura di), *L'Europa e il Mediterraneo. Partner o vicini scomodi?*, ISPI-Egea, Milano, 2004

Giovanni Marco Carbone - Gian Paolo Calchi Novati - Gianpaolo Bruno - Marta Montanini, *Scommettere sull'Africa emergente. Opportunità e scenari della presenza italiana nell'Africa subsahariana*, rapporto ISPI per il Ministero degli Affari Esteri, Milano, 2013

José Do-Nascimento (sous la direction de), *La renaissance africaine comme alternative au développement. Les termes du choix politique en Afrique*, L'Harmattan, Paris, 2008

Leonardo Franceschini, *Decolonizzare la cultura. Razza, sapere e potere: genealogie e resistenze*, Ombre Corte, Verona, 2013

Ulrich Beck, *Conditio humana. Il rischio nell'età globale*, Editori Laterza, Roma-Bari, 2011

- sul progetto veronese "African Summer School / Business incubator 4 Africa"

Angiola Petronio, *Kyenge, dopo la mozione il presidio. Il Comune l'accoglie, la Lega contesta*, corrieredelveneto.corriere.it/veneto/notizie/politica/2013/27-luglio-2013/kyenge-la-mozione-presidio-comune-l'accoglie-lega-contesta-2222360695593.shtml, consultato in data 28 luglio 2014

Elisa Innocenti, *Kyenge contro Tavecchio: "Troppo razzismo nel calcio"*,

www.larena.it/stories/Home/817952_kyenge_contro_tavecchio_troppo_razzismo_nel_calcio, consultato in data 22 agosto 2014

Maria Pozzato, *Inaugurata African Summer School 2014, Kyenge: «Bisogna aprire gli occhi»*, ilreferendum.it/2014/08/04/inaugurata-african-summer-school-2014-kyenge-bisogna-aprire-gli-occhi, consultato in data 26 agosto 2014

Michele Luppi, *"African Summer School", per imparare a fare impresa con l'Africa*, africaeuropa.it/2014/08/01/african-summer-school-per-imparare-a-fare-impresa-con-lafrica/#more-642, consultato in data 25 agosto 2014

Riccardo Vecellio Segate, *African Summer School 2014*, www.corrieredellemigrazioni.it/2014/05/11/african-summer-school-2014, consultato in data 30 agosto 2014

Riccardo Venturi, *African Summer School 2014: accompagna il know-how e il lavoro italiano in Africa*, ilreferendum.it/2014/05/14/african-summer-school-2014-accompagna-il-know-how-e-il-lavoro-italiano-in-africa, consultato in data 29 agosto 2014

Serena Santoro, *Nomatemba Tambo, ambasciatrice del Sudafrica, inaugurerà African Summer School 2014*, ilreferendum.it/2014/07/25/nomatemba-tambo-ambasciatrice-del-sudafrica-inaugurera-african-summer-school-2014, consultato in data 28 agosto 2014

Stefania Basanisi, *African Summer School: l'Africa come terra di opportunità*, www.all-tv.tv/african-summer-school-lafrica-come-terra-opportunita, consultato in data 27 agosto 2014

Dr. Riccardo Vecellio Segate
(Verona, Italy)

musician, writer, Law university student, promoter of European projects on human rights and intercultural diplomacy

Tel. +39 340 68 93 363

riccardo.vecelliosegate@yahoo.it

FB: Riccardo Vecellio Segate Oltrecinquemila

www.linkedin.com/pub/riccardo-vecellio-segate/5b/478/641

www.africansummerschool.org/staff

Vizdoaga Maria

MA Leiden University, the Netherlands

European union values and principles versus surviving needs: the case of Moldova

Republic of Moldova – endless struggle over identity

The Republic of Moldova, a small country geographically located between Romania and Ukraine became independent in 1991, after the dissolution of the Soviet Union. Since then, the young country has faced serious problems in terms of poverty, high level of corruption in almost all sectors, poor economic development, an unstable political situation, absence of democratic institutions, etc. Some of these problems were inherited from the soviet system, while others were consequences of the old system's collapse. Even though, Moldova is considered the success story of the Eastern Partnership (EaP) of the European Union (EU), nevertheless, there are still important clauses in the Association Agenda which need a more rigorous implementation.

Unlike the Central and Eastern European countries (CEECs) that were part of the big enlargement in 2004, the case of Moldova is more complicated, since it has been characterized by deep division over identity since the early 1990's. During this period there were the pro-Romanians on one side that saw the reunification with Romania as the only way out from the permanent political crisis. On the other hand, there was a strong movement for a return to the Soviet Union. Starting in 1998, these extremes loosened their ideals, and the trust in Russia diminished, as well as reunification with Romania became less attractive.

At the moment, Moldova is in between "two stools" (Korosteleva, 2010). The two options are: continuing following the European path, by adopting EU values and implementing democratic reforms; or, on the other hand, joining the Eurasian Customs Union, established by the Russian Federation, which would offer some fiscal and customs privileges.

As a result of these distinctive political interests, Moldova has not managed to create a unique political culture which would "speak with one voice", due to its deep division over identity (Lupu 2010, 10). Among other problems which hinder democratic development in Moldova are the high level of corruption, the Transnistrian conflict and the poor juridical system which are the most serious threats which hinder the progress of democratic reforms in Moldova.

European Integration idea at risk of losing popularity in Moldova

In spite of EU significant technical and financial assistance to Moldova, a huge amount of Moldovan population are very reluctant when it comes to European integration and European values. In a Barometer of Public Opinion which was held in April 2014, on a large national sample representative for the adult population of the Republic of Moldova, excluding Transnistria, 21.000 Moldovans were asked to answer the question: "What would you opt for, if a referendum on the accession of the Republic of Moldova to either the European Union or to the Customs Union (Russia-Belarus-Kazakhstan) was held", 41% of those interviewed gave their answer in favor of accession to the EU and 41 % for the Customs Union.

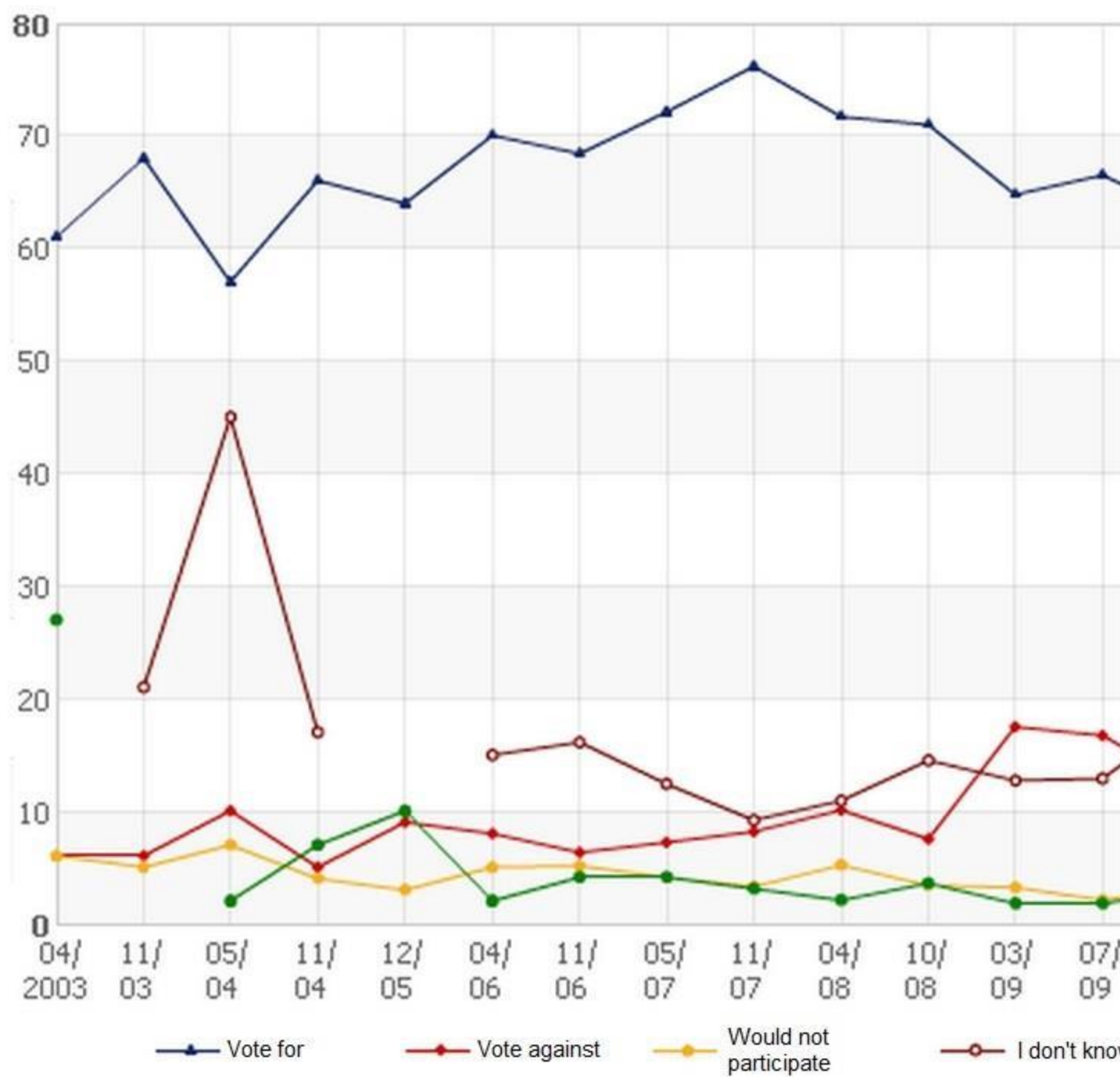
The current chapter intends to make an analysis and answer the question “Why is half of Moldovan people resisting adopting European values and instead perceive them as “imported” or “too liberal”. We identified 4 main explanations when answering this question: 1. Moldovan politicians’ lack of commitment to keep their promises; 2. Values Incompatibility; 3. Russian propaganda; 4. EU economic crisis.

1. Moldovan politicians’ lack of commitment in keeping their promises

In recent years, the Moldovan political elite decided to choose the European integration for the future of the country, arguing that it is the only way to deal with some serious obstacles on the way to country’s development and prosperity. Moreover, in their political discourse the Moldovan officials refer very often to the necessity of adopting European values and standards if Moldova wants to become an EU member (Statement of Moldovan prime-minister Leanca, 2014). In other words, the Moldovan government has decided that the European values are the right ones for the Moldovans.

In the period of 2001-2008, the Communist Party held the majority in the Parliament. In 2009, the Alliance for European Integration came to power with a totally different agenda and priorities and the main promise was to bring Moldova into the European Union family. Moreover, the leaders of these pro EU integration parties forming this alliance were referring very often to European values and principles in their public discourses.

Paradoxically, if we take a look at the graph presented below, we can easily observe that the European integration idea has been losing popularity in Moldova in recent years since the new ruling force came to power. The so called Alliance for European Integration is supposed by its definition to promote European integration. Unfortunately, as this graph shows, the citizens’ support for integration into the European Union was much higher in the time of Communist rule, the maximum support being achieved in 2007.



The evolution of European integration concept reflected in the Barometer of Moldova during 2001 - 2012, Igor Botan, ADEPT, 2012

After almost 5 years since the European Integration Alliance has been in power, the social optimism and trust in state institutions has decreased significantly (Botan, 2014). Most of Moldovan citizens were disillusioned due to political scandals and disputes among the Alliance's leaders and most probably the elections which will take place in November 2014 will objectively reflect this general citizens' disappointment.

2. Values Incompatibility

At this moment, in the society there is a despicable gap in terms of mentality which forms two main categories. The first category is represented by nostalgic people who still remember the soviet times and who see having very tight relations with the successor country of the Soviet Union as a perfect solution for ending poverty and for creating a better life. The second category is formed by pro European people who believe in European integration and who strive for becoming part of the European Union family. These people are predominantly Moldovan citizens who have travelled to Europe for different purposes: study, exchange, visiting relatives, tourism, work, etc. They personally felt the "European atmosphere" and therefore believe that being part of the European Union is the best option for the country's prosperity and stability.

For the purpose of this paper, the first category of people is more interesting to analyze, due to the fact that it involves deep cultural transformation in an era which ended more than 20 years ago. For these people, accepting change is a great challenge which cannot be solved easily.

In their World Values Survey analysis, the political scientists [Ronald Inglehart](#) and [Christian Welzel](#) assert that there are two major dimensions of cross cultural variation in the world:

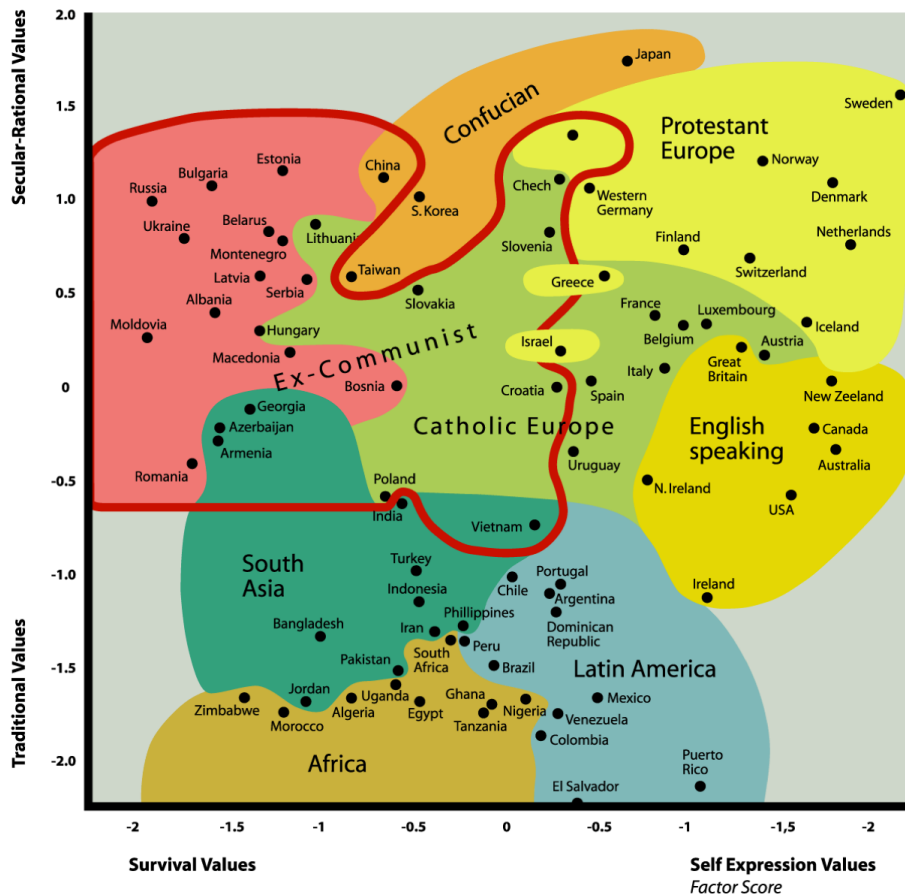
1. **Traditional values** versus **Secular-rational values** and

2. **Survival values** versus **Self-expression values**.

The World Values Survey WVS has over the years demonstrated that people's beliefs play a key role in economic development, the emergence and flourishing of democratic institutions, the rise of gender equality, and the extent to which societies have effective government.

The global cultural map which is presented below shows how scores of societies are located on these two dimensions. Moving upward on this map reflects the shift from Traditional values to Secular-rational and moving rightward reflects the shift from Survival values to Self-expression values (World Values Survey, official website).

The Inglehart-Welzel Cultural Map of the World



Inglehart–Welzel Cultural Map of the World based on the World Values Survey, 2010

According to this graph, Moldova belongs to the group of countries which are characterized by Secular-rational and Survival values. This means that Moldovan people place a lot of importance to economic and physical security and less importance to environmental protection, growing tolerance of foreigners or rising demands for participation in decision-making in economic and political life. When we compare the needs of a country like Moldova with some EU western countries such as Germany or the Netherlands we can clearly notice the huge cultural gap between these two categories. For example, the Dutch and the German societies are characterized by self-expression values and secular-rational values which means that these societies place less emphasis on religion, traditional family values and authority and give high priority to tolerance towards minorities and gender equality. Also, unlike Moldovan people, the citizens from these western countries have rising demands for participation in decision-making in economic and political life.

The World Values Survey, Aspirations for Democracy:

“The desire for free choice and autonomy is a universal human aspiration, but it is not top priority when people grow up feeling that survival is uncertain. As long as physical survival remains uncertain, the desire for physical and economic security tends to take higher priority than

democracy. When basic physiological and safety needs are fulfilled there is a growing emphasis on self-expression values”.

Moldova is the poorest country in Europe and many Moldovan citizens cannot “afford” being concerned with such principles as democracy, since they are concerned with basic surviving needs. It is no wonder that Moldovans do not have rising demands for participation in decision-making in economic and political life. Obviously and undoubtedly, the surviving needs come first. This explains, at least partially, why 41% of Moldovan people show such resistance towards accepting European values and live their lives according to these values. The cultural background of Moldovans is very different and therefore it becomes extremely difficult to accept some values that do not fit into the existing mindsets and cultural stereotypes.

3. Russian propaganda

Another explanation for the complex phenomenon of Moldovans resisting European integration is Russian propaganda. In a survey, 69% of respondents stated that their main source of information is the TV channels (Barometer of Public Opinion, 2013). The most watched TV channels in Moldova are controlled by Russian Federation, a country which has repeatedly emphasized its authoritarian position over the former soviet countries, even on those that made it clear that they chose for European integration. The most popular TV channel is “Pervii canal” which broadcasts Russian news, TV shows with strong soviet content, concerts, etc. The most watched TV show of this channel by Moldovans is “Pole ciudes” (an imitation of the American TV show “The wheel of fortune”) which strongly promotes the unification idea of the ex-soviet countries.

On the other hand, the pro EU integration idea is not publicly supported by Moldovan politicians since they did not manifest any interest in promoting local channels and restrict the foreign ones. There are a number of European TV channels (Euronews, BBC, TV5, etc.), but most of them are broadcasted in Russian language.

According to Bunce (2003, 167-192), democratization had the most positive results in those countries that were able to make a clean and fast break with their communist past. In countries like Poland, the end of communism offered the chance to the new elites to re-shape political institutions without paying too much attention on preserving the elements of the old system (Lupu 2010, 10). Moldova did not succeed to break up with its soviet past and this can be explained through tight cultural bonds between many Moldovans who work in Russian Federation (472.000 people according to the last data).

4. EU economic crisis

In the last period, in the light of the financial crisis, most of the EU policies were oriented towards finding a way out from the economic crisis, and less attention was paid to the development of programs directed to produce democratic changes in the EU’s immediate neighborhood. At the

same time, this topic is still a very controversial issue discussed in most of the European media channels.

In spite of the crisis, in August 2012, the German Chancellor paid a visit to the Moldovan Government, in which she declared that Moldova implemented concrete reforms, that the country has a European perspective, and that the small republic is the leading pylon of the Eastern Partnership. Surprisingly, the German National daily newspaper Die Welt had a publication regarding the visit of Angela Merkel to Moldova, in which it was stated that 'instead of saving Europe from the crisis, Angela Merkel decides to visit an obscure post-soviet state'. This shows that there are different opinions within the EU concerning the priorities that EU should focus on. However, in spite of the crisis, the EU's financial assistance to Moldova was not reduced for the upcoming years, as one could expect. On the contrary, for the 2011-2013 periods, the EU's allocations to Moldova through the ENPI constitute EUR 273,1m, while for the 2007-2011 period the EU's assistance was EUR 209,9m. This means the EU's financial crisis did not affect the financial assistance to Moldova and the visits of two very important EU officials to Moldova, Angela Merkel and Jose Manuel Barroso prove that 'Moldova is on the right way' (interview, Dirk Schuebel, Head of the Delegation of the European Union to Moldova).

On the other hand, when compared to the contribution of US, the EU's contribution is quite modest. Moldova was included as a beneficiary of assistance from the Community of Democracies within the „Democracy Partnership Challenge” Project, financed by the USA, involving assistance to the Republic of Moldova in reforming the justice sector and the decentralization of governance. Moreover, in accordance with the funding agreement of the Millennium Challenge Corporation funds, in 2010, Moldova has obtained financial assistance in the amount of USD 262 million over a period of 5 years (US Embassy in Moldova official website).

Because majority of Moldovans watch Russian TV channels, where the EU has been portrayed as a very unstable, superficial region using the Euro zone crisis excuse, the Moldovans perception about the EU as a whole becomes more and more negative.

The achievement of obtaining the free visa regime was a significant one, but it concerns a small part of the Moldovan population – those who can afford to travel. In the same Barometer of Public Opinion, 83 % of respondents stated that in the last 5 years, they have never travelled to the EU countries for any purposes. This might explain to a certain extent why these people do not associate themselves with being Europeans or they do not find familiar the European values. The answer is simply because they have never seen with their own eyes what Europe means.

Conclusions and recommendations

For economic and political reasons, it is appropriate for Moldova to become part of the big European family, but the Moldovan government must first persuade the majority of Moldovans that this is the best option for the future country's development and prosperity. Moldova must continue its European “pilgrimage” but with a strongly united voice pro integration. The only way to convince Moldovan citizens to support the European idea integration is to offer them concrete policies and plans of actions, to give them assurance that once Moldova becomes part of the EU, they will benefit from more and better paid jobs in their own country without having the desperate need of leaving the country to find a better life. The “European values and principles” must be transformed into concrete practical tangible things for the regular citizens.

Politicians should take into account what the Moldovan population truly desires and develop appropriate policies. On its way to democracy, Moldova needs radical reforms. Corruption is

present in all sectors: universities, government institutions, medical care institutions, etc. The reforms should come from within the country. Foreign assistance can be useless if the funds are mismanaged. In order for Moldovan people to trust their politicians, concrete results must be achieved. European values and principles are nice words, but not enough for the ordinary Moldovan. As long as the main concern is how to survive, it will be extremely difficult to talk about nice concepts such as democracy, justice and reform.

How will the Moldovan government convince the 472.000 of Moldovans living and working in Russia that the European integration path is the right one for their country? These people and their families depend on the income earned on the Russian market; they send money to their families and relatives who live in Moldova.

The EU has provided substantial assistance to Moldova. A better monitoring of these resources is needed, which will prove the transparency of how they were utilized.

Also, the Union has to become more committed to its democracy-promotion endeavors in the neighborhood and be more responsible when designing its strategies for encouraging Moldovan political elite to be more responsible and committed to effective reform-implementation. Better mechanisms are needed in order to monitor the process of implementing reforms in Moldova and measure the effectiveness of these policies.

Both the EU and the Republic of Moldova must work on becoming more attractive to each other. The EU has to be aware of the loss of the Moldovan's population support regarding the European integration and offer the Moldovan citizens tangible incentives. Also, the Union must formulate more clear demands directed to the Moldovan authorities regarding the Association Agenda provisions. At the same time, Moldova has to be a better performer in terms of implementing internal reforms and show more enthusiasm and commitment to implementing democratic changes according to the EU values and principles of democracy, good governance and the rule of law.

Bibliography

Bosse, G. (2010), *The EU's relations with Moldova: Governance, Partnership or Ignorance?*

University of Maastricht, *Europe-Asia Studies*

Bunce, V. (2003), Rethinking Recent Democratization: Lessons from the Post-communist Experience, *World Politics*, Volume 55, Number 2, p.167-192

Buşcaneanu, S. (2006), *How far is the European Neighborhood Policy a substantial offer for Moldova?*, Leeds.

Euroactiv website "East Ukraine crisis eclipses celebration of EU pacts"

<http://www.euractiv.com/sections/global-europe/east-ukraine-crisis-eclipses-celebration-eu-pacts-303134>

European Commission official website, Development and Cooperation – Europe Aid,

http://ec.europa.eu/europeaid/where/neighbourhood/country-cooperation/moldova/moldova_en.htm

European Commission (2012), *Progress Report Moldova on the Implementation of the European Neighborhood Policy in 2011*, Brussels, SWD (2012) 118

Freedom House (2012), *Freedom in the World 2012, The Arab Uprisings and Their Global Repercussions*, Annual survey of political rights and civil liberties

Freedom House (2014), *Democratic Leadership Gap*, Annual survey of political rights and civil liberties

Korosteleva, E-A. (2010), *Moldova's European Choice: Between Two Stools*, Aberystwyth University, *Europe-Asia Studies*

Kubicek P-J., (2003), *The European Union and Democratization*, London: Routledge.

Kubicek, P., (2009), *The Commonwealth of Independent States: an example of failed regionalism?* Review of International Studies, 35, pp 237-256
Interview conducted with Dirk Schuebel, the former Head of EU Delegation in Moldova, 2013.
Leanca I., (2014) prime minister of Moldova, official statement,
<http://unimedia.info/stiri/videodiscursul-lui-leanca-la-bruxelles-va-promit-ca-vom-merge-pana-la-capat-pe-acest-drum-si-ca-vom-reveni-acasa--in-europa-78553.html>
Lupu, M-R. (2010), *External democracy promotion in Ukraine and Moldova: the impact of the European Union*, Danish Institute for International Studies
Schimmelfennig, F. and Scholtz, H. (2010), *Legacies and Leverage: EU Political Conditionality and Democracy Promotion in Historical Perspective*, Europe-Asia Studies, University of Glasgow, Vol. 62, No. 3, 443–460, Taylors & Francis Group.
Social Political Barometer, (March 2014), Magenta consulting, www.consulting.md
Smith, K.E. (2005), *The outsiders: The European Neighborhood Policy*, International Affairs, 81(4)
Raik, K. (2008), *Promoting Democracy in the Eastern Neighborhood-The limits and Potential of the ENP*, The International Spectator: Italian Journal of International Affairs, 41:3, 31-45. United States Embassy in Moldova, Official website, <http://moldova.usembassy.gov/>

Petya Yankova, Bulgaria,

petya.n.yankova@gmail.com

What is shared history?

Abstract:

A strange encounter in a refugee centre in Sofia last autumn offered me a new perspective on what is commonly understood under 'shared European history'. A Syrian teenager told me his story – a story about his home city of Aleppo, about Rome, and about a village on the border

between Turkey and Bulgaria. It was a story told partly in English, partly in Spanish. For him, Aleppo's history resembled Rome's.

For me the languages we communicated in, the aspirations we shared, and the view on Europe resembled each other much more. What is in fact 'shared history'? Is it the one that happened centuries ago or the one we shape today? What binds young people more? The past we never lived in or the future we dream for? The Syrian boy showed me that, although both matter, it is the bonds we build today that will take us a long way ahead in the future.

November is usually a snowy month in Bulgaria. That November morning I found myself standing outside the refugee reception centre in the suburbs of Sofia. I had recently attended training for reporters and I thought I was ready for a challenge. I had been following the social attitudes towards Syrian refugees in Bulgaria in the last couple of months. I wanted to hear some first-hand stories.

After chatting for a while with the porter to make myself comfortable in the unknown location, I made my way to the entrance surrounded by a group of very young children talking loudly, laughing and running around in the puddles of melting snow. I had been warned I should find and pay in advance for a translator as hardly any of the refugees spoke Bulgarian, English or German

– the languages in which I can make myself understood. Entering the building I easily found the room of the translators who happened to be all busy at the moment, so I seated myself on a bench just outside the closed white door. Stooped over the benches lined along the long walls were several middle-aged men, their faces hidden in jacket collars, woollen scarfs or cupped in palms. A young girl was sitting across from me. She smiled pensively and I approached her, addressing her in English. The slight nod made me understand that she couldn't reply. A figure rose from the shadowed corner and came closer to us. He sat down next to her and said something to her. She replied and he turned to me: "She doesn't speak English, but I can translate for you."

I was extremely grateful and quickly began asking her question after question, but this didn't last long as she was summoned in one of the rooms to have her documents checked. I turned to the boy as I didn't know what kind of documents she was waiting for. "Residence permit, so she can go back to school."

How did he know all that? He only spoke to her for a few seconds. And who was he anyway? I looked at him more closely. He was young, perhaps my age. It was only now I noticed his clothes were different from the blankets and shabby woollen pullovers everyone else had on. He wore bright clothes and had a clean sports backpack near the leg of the bench.

It turned out Adele was 18 and had visited several countries. He had done a summer school at the States, just like I had. He was studying the subject my sister was studying at university – mechanical engineering. My cousin plays the guitar in a small band and so did Adele.

He spoke Italian and the Spanish, the languages I had taken up that year. I greeted him with "Ciao" and he responded with a wide smile.

I moved to the bench next to him and he began telling me his story, interspersed with explanations about the complex political situation in Syria and the Middle East. He spoke English with an American accent and when he couldn't remember a word he would try with its Spanish

or Turkish translation. I wondered how he knew phrases in Turkish and he immediately informed me he spent the last few months in Turkey fleeing from Syria and trying to enter the EU.

A tiny village and a forest were the first things he saw of my country. He had to cross the border at night and walk several kilometres to the nearest village. In the autumn this is not an easy task, because the temperatures could easily fall below zero at night. Yet, his first impressions of Bulgaria were that it was a beautiful place. He admired the nature.

After that he came to Sofia and was met with hostility. He moved to the outskirts of the capital and lived with a friend of him and his Bulgarian girlfriend. When I asked him how he found living in the shared suburban apartment, he assured me he was comfortable. The only things that he missed in this place to call it home were his family and his guitar. It was not the place that he didn't like; it

was the people's reactions he detested. "Before when travelling abroad I used to be proud to say I'm Syrian. It's different now. I can see on their faces they don't want me here." That same month when I met Adele several attacks involving refugees had happened in the suburbs of Sofia.

I was getting more and more curious to hear about this strange boy who had travelled around the world and spoke more languages than were taught in my high school and who I had so much in common with. He enlightened me that the dialect of Aleppo, his home city, one of the most famous centres of the Ottoman Empire, was very similar to the Turkish language. With pride in his eyes, Adele told me his city was more than 8000 years old. That was one of the reasons he began reading about ancient empires. That was why he wanted to see Rome and learn Italian - that and his passion for football.

Then, remembering the present, he compared Aleppo to Berlin of a few decades ago. The same division between East and West was tearing apart his beloved home, except on a larger scale and much more violent. His family had to move several times after the conflict erupted with such a destructive force. His older sister who had finished her degree in Economics and was just starting her first job in a bank had to stay at home instead. Adele, who had done very well in school and had skipped a year, starting university at 17, had to flee the country or he risked being recruited or rather kidnapped and forced to join the army or the rebels. His best friend got killed.

Adele didn't have much choice. His parents gave him money and instructed him to try to get to Spain where his uncle lives. Although his family was clearly large and international - in the course of our conversation he mentioned an aunt in Belgium, a Greek grandfather, and another uncle who had lived in Rome for many years - he identified himself as Syrian and had a very strong emotional connection with his immediate family in Aleppo. "You should be happy to be living with your family", he told me.

I never saw Adele again. I don't know if he is still in Bulgaria, if he had reached Spain or if he is somewhere on the way between the two countries. I don't know if he managed to start university again. He wanted to transfer from mechanical engineering to mechatronics. I don't know if he succeeded. I don't know if he bought a guitar to continue playing, if he started Italian classes or if he is still passionate to see Rome. Perhaps he doesn't want to see it anymore because it might remind him of his Aleppo.

I met more Syrians after him. I met Syrian-Armenians in Yerevan. I met Syrians living in the Netherlands and in the UK. I couldn't find a difference between us. The only thing that distinguished me from one of them was that they all spoke more languages than I ever would.

We have all left our home towns to work abroad, study abroad or flee from a conflict. This is the only difference – the reason why we were in a country different from the one we call 'home'. The love for ancient history, languages, travelling, football and guitars, the will to do well in a difficult and prestigious university subject, even the inclination to impress girls with a bit of Spanish – this is our shared present. The history we have already shared many, many years ago.

I wish I could have done something for Adele. I cannot reunite him with his family, I cannot bring back his best friend, and I cannot help him get to his uncle in Spain. What I could do now is tell his story – the extraordinary tale of an ordinary boy from Aleppo.