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FEMINIST INTERPRETATIONS OF THE MOSUO SOCIETY OF CHINA

Abstract. The unique Mosuo society of China has long fascinated anthropologists and academics. In my paper I will give an overview of the institutions and customs of the Mosuo society. Thereafter I will explore recent feminist interpretations of the Mosuo and compare their social institutions (labeled 'Matriarchal' by feminist scholars) to contemporary feminist criteria for achieving a matriarchal and fully feminist society. Examining the 'matriarchal' Mosuo society against the background of the four waves of modern feminism can show how, despite claims to the contrary, Mosuo society is not feminist in the sense that modern academic feminism advocates. From the perspective of achieving perfect equality in areas such as employment, social status and gender roles between men and women, the Mosuo can be shown to diverge from feminist ideals. This opens up the problem of the definition of 'matriarchy' as understood by anthropologists versus how the term is used by modern feminists. It can be shown how, using the Mosuo as an example, there are problems in achieving gender equality even in a so-called matriarchal societies. The case of the Mosuo therefore, upends notions-held by some feminists- that moving towards a matriarchal social ideal can, all on its own, achieve gender equality.

Keywords: Mosuo society of China, social institutions, customs of society, feminism, gender relations, matriarchal society.

Mosuo, the mysterious people of China
Basic Overview and History of the Mosuo

To begin we need to know more about the Mosuo and their history. The unique Mosuo people are situated in Southwest China, at the foot of the Himalayas. The earliest known written records about the Mosuo date back to 111 AD, giving the Mosuo people a history of over 1.900 years. The current consensus on the origins of the Mosuo is that the Qiang people, who had settled in the Kunlun Mountains along the Yalong River, eventually reached Lugu Lake and settled there for a long time eventually

becaming today's Mosuo [1]. The current population of the Mosuo is around 50.000 [2]

Maternal extended household

The Mosuo honor their mothers and live in maternally centered extended families [1]. Family members include the grandmother, the grandmother's siblings, all of the grandmother's children (mother and maternal uncle) and all children of the mothers'. Fathers are usually absent from the extended maternal family structure and they often live in other extended maternal families where they are maternal uncles that help to educate their sisters' children [2]. The maternal uncle of the children of a household is responsible for taking care of their sisters' children and teaching them agricultural work, etiquette, and so on [2].

The Mosuo people have a saying: "the uncle is in charge of the etiquette and the mother is in charge of the money" [3], which means that the uncle is responsible for the education of the children and the mother is in charge of the property. But even if the Mosuo seems to be matriarchal, i.e. a society where women dominate the economic life of the extended family, that doesn't mean the Mosuo society is a place where women were honored and valued above men.

Another saying of the Mosuo people is, "The eagle in the sky is the biggest, and the uncle on earth is the biggest" [4], reflecting the high status of the uncle as central male figure in a Mosuo household.

Because the Mosuo live in extended matrilineal families with populations ranging from a few to a dozen, their dwellings, known as' wooden houses', are relatively large and contain many rooms [5]. The most important of the wooden house is the maternal room. The low roof and high threshold of the maternal room means that young people had to bend their knees to meet their grandmothers and other elders before entering the maternal room [6]. The design reflects Mosuo people's respect for the elderly. There are two pillars in the house, called the male and female pillar. Both pillars are taken from the same tree, implying that men and women have the same roots, but also implying that men and women help each other and contribute to the family together, which is indispensable [6].

Next to the hostess is the fire pond ('*huotang*' in Mandarin), where the Mosuo people gather together to eat and discuss issues. Huotang rules are abundant, one of which is not to mention marriage and sex in front of the huotang. This phenomenon is known as the 'shy culture' and refers to the fact that the Mosuo will walk away in embarrassment if they mention sex, marriage and other issues in front of their relatives, especially relatives of the opposite sex. Some scholars have speculated that it may have something to do with the incest taboo, which prevents siblings from discussing sex in front of opposite sex relatives [6].

Mosuo Major Festivals

The Mosuo do not celebrate birthdays because they believe that a child's day of birth is a day that brought suffering to the mother [7]. One of the most important festivals for the Mosuo people is instead the coming-of-age ceremony. Parents will hold coming-of-age ceremonies when both boys and girls reach 13 years of age. Boys should stand beside the male column of the mother house, and girls beside the female column. They proceed to step on the '*zhubiaorou*' (a storage locker for drying pig meat) and grain bag, and finally they kowtow to gods, ancestors and elders to show their respect [1]. At this time, these children are permitted to discuss family matters by the fire pond and henceforth enjoy the same treatment and responsibilities of adults [6].

Religious beliefs

The indigenous religion of the Mosuo is Daba. Due to a lack of writing, Daba consists mainly of 113 oral sutras, covering many aspects such as sacrifice, funeral, production, planting and medicine [8]. A central Daba belief is that everything has a spirit. Daba subsequently respects natural phenomena such as mountains, water, thunder and electricity, often giving them the status of 'gods' [9]. The Daba religion is therefore characterized by the worship of nature, with the pursuit of harmony between people and nature, respect for women, and veneration for mothers as part

of its content. The Mosuo eventually embraced Buddhism soon after it was introduced into China in the 13th century. This allowed Daba to achieve a harmonious coexistence with Buddhist beliefs.

The Mosuo also developed rituals based on their beliefs. For example, when someone dies, for example, the Mosuo use hemp rope to bind the corpse in a fetal position: knees bent together, hands folded across the chest, because this allows the corpse to be reincarnated. This peculiar sacrificial ritual also satisfies Heide's description of matriarchal society, because she thinks matriarchy had a goddess religion, that is "Every dead person returns directly as a small child to the same clan" [10].

Walking marriage

Finally, and almost unique among the Mosuo, we can mention the practice that has attracted the most attention among scholars and anthropologists, i.e. the unique marriage system of the Mosuo the so-called "walking marriage". Walking marriage is called *'tisese'* in the Mosuo language since *'sese'* means to walk [1]. As the name implies, the practice of walking marriage occurs when a male walks from his household to the female's household and stays together with her for an entire night. The male will then leave before sunrise. According to the description in "Yunnan Zhilue" by Li Jing of the Yuan Dynasty, "since marriage is easy, there is no taboo for sexual immorality" [1]. We know that the 'walking marriage' system appeared among the Mosuo people as early as 1303 AD. Walking couples do not form small families or basic economic or labor units, but live separately in their respective mothers' homes [6]. Because there is no unique intimate connection between men and women, and because offspring always remain in the maternal household, the foundation of walking marriage is pure love [2]. What this means is that so-called walking couples can be relatively free to separate once they lose affection for one another. For this reason, the Mosuo people have a relatively free and tolerant attitude towards marriage. Couples get along when there is affection, separating by mutual consent when that affection disappears. Also, because there is no financial dependence of women on men, if and when discord occurs, walking couples do not continue to dwell together but simply separate in a straightforward way and cease to interact. Because of these factors, walking marriage confers a very high degree of freedom on couples but is also marked by poor stability perhaps because it offers relatively little in the way of restrictions of desire [6].

There are three stages to walking marriage. The early walking couples were called "*A xia*", referring to the natural love between two people who hit it off. If either one of the two people is not satisfied with the other party at this time, they don't have to pay any responsibility or bear any consequences, but just need to tell the other one and end the walking marriage relationship [6]. Annunciation is the dividing line between the first and second stages. If a man and a woman want to maintain a stable relationship, the man needs to '*Jing Guozhuang*', which refers to undertaking a visit to the woman's mother and uncle [6]. After this, the walking marriage is binding to a certain extent, that is, the two cannot casually marry other people, and they cannot disconnect from each other at any time. 'Procreation' is used to separate the second and third stages. The man has to provide clothing, food and expenses for the baby while the woman is giving birth. The man will also help prepare '*manyuejiu*', which is the celebration after the baby is one month old. Besides celebrating the arrival of a new baby, the '*manyuejiu*' celebration is also the most important moment for walking couples. After this grand and large-scale announcement, the walking marriage partners change from '*A xia*' to '*Chumi* (wife) and '*Chuhanba*' (husband) [6].

There are some extant misconceptions about the Mosuo practice of walking marriage. These must be clarified here before we go on to give a feminist interpretation of Mosuo social life. According to this intepretation, the Mosuo are fully polygamous and have little to no relationship structure between males and females [1]. This is incorrect. For one thing, the

Mosuo know who their father's are and do in fact maintain a degree of interaction with their biological fathers. This is so, even if the relationship with the father is less intimate than that with their mothers and uncles. Fathers, moreover, also take care of their children by hosting celebrations and giving gifts on holidays [6]. Secondly, walking marriage takes steps to avoid incest.

Matriliny, Patriliny, Matriarchal and Patriarchal Societies

Before we describe the relevance of Mosuo society to modern feminism and the changing feminist agenda it will be useful to first clarify the commonly accepted definitions of terms such as: matrilineal, patrilineal, patriarchal, and matriarchal so as to help more accurately define the social system of the Mosuo and better understand their culture in relation to feminist ideals.

Matrilineal society basically means that the females provide the principle of descent or rule [11]. The individual's initial Relationship is to one's mother and through her to other kinsmen, both male and female, is stressed and measures of descent continue only through the female line. The Mosuo live with their mothers, maternal uncles and grandmothers in an extended family. There is no role for the biological father in the maternal home. Children in the mother's house inherit property from their mother. Thus, by the above definition, Mosuo society is clearly matrilineal.

Correspondingly, **Patrilineal Society** refers to male of the family as the distinguishing members who control property and propagate family descent [11]. From the point of view of the observer, a patrilineal descent would consist in consanguine kinsmen related through the male line.

Measuring the functioning of a society requires not just recording bloodlines, but also gender roles and allocation of political power. Once again, when we examine how political power is distributed, we find that most of the world is patriarchal. This means, rule is frequently by the male head of a social unit (a family or tribe, for example). The **patriarch**, typically a societal elder, therefore has legitimate power over other people, including children, women and young men [12]. In a patriarchy the father is the head of the family, controlling family finances, property and other important matters. At the same time, men generally have a higher social status and will often have more opportunities and earn more money than women.

A **matriarchy,** by contrast, is somewhat more difficult to identify today. Based on feminist Heide Göttner-Abendroth's criteria on matriarchal societies, Mosuo is in fact a matriarchal society. Here are all theories and the match customs of Mosuo society. From the perspective of economics, a matriarchal society should have self-sufficient agricultural base. The Mosuo people mainly grow potatoes, corn, green beans and radishes and are self-sufficient because of the abundant water resources and relatively mild climate around Lugu Lake [2]. Meanwhile, Mosuo people also develop animal husbandry, raising pigs, sheep, chickens, ducks and geese [2]. Because the Mosuo live in female run families, we can call their social set up matriarchal. For example, all land and money are owned by the matriarch and her family. In Mosuo society, however, there is no personal property. Everything is owned in common which accords to some feminist definitions of matriarchal society [10]. In the case of the Mosuo, every matriarchal extended family is headed by a '*Naboo*', the most industrious and respected female of the family. It is she who arranges labor, distributes property, cooks and cares for all members of the extended family. The Mosuo society fulfills the economic requirements of matriarchy by meeting the criterion that 'women have the power of disposition over the source of nourishment is matriarchal society' [10]. From a social point of view, the extended matrilineal families of the village are also effectively equal to each other. There are no distinctions between the ruling class and the serving/working class for example. There was a time in Mosuo history when there was a ruling class called '*tusi*'. The way the position of chief

was passed down was that the father passed the title (and property) to his son. At this time, the Mosuo embraced a patrilineal system of descent [Source]. 'Tusi' came into being in 1405 AD because the Yongning's Mosuo people submitted themselves to the Ming Dynasty. To be consistent with the Ming's social system, the Mosuo learned to be a patriarchal society. 'Tusi' policy was abolished in 1956 [6].

Therefore, since Mosuo society offers equal rights to everyone, it conforms to definitions of matriarchal societies. Politically speaking, however, the Mosuo's maternal household does not have a single decision-maker. Instead, when problems arise, representatives are sent to gather people together to discuss solutions. A very typical example is the fire pond in the mosuo wooden house. The adults of the family will have a family meeting organized by the Naboo to discuss the division of labor, property, etc. One definition of Matriarchal society, is that it also requires several representatives to make decisions but not one person [10]. Finally, from a cultural perspective, the Mosuo religion of Daba respects women, worships ancestors, worships goddesses, and gives nature the status of a god.

All of these Mosuo characteristics outlined above conform to many of the criteria for what defines a Matriarchal society, according to Heide, a feminist.

First, second, third, and fourth waves of feminism

Feminism is a complex field with a wide variety of types, theories and movements. Nevertheless, there is only one basic premise of feminism and it is that women are oppressed and discriminated and this injustice must be addressed. This has been referred to as the "second sex" phenomenon in Simone De Beauvoir's words. Feminism is concerned with women's rights and the sole goal of women's rights is to achieve equality between men and women [11]. In order to realize this ideal, women have launched four large-scale movements of feminist thought described through the metaphor of a succession of waves. Each feminist movement has its own focus and attempted

to gain new rights for women that were missing or ignored before.

First wave of Feminism

The first wave of feminism was developed from the 1840s to the 1920s. Its main purpose was to win the right to vote, education and voting rights for women, so that women could obtain the same political rights as men. In 1915, during world War I, the feminist movement reached its first climax. Women began to destroy their family 'jail', fought for their own legitimate rights and interests in society, cried for a certain social status and freedom. Through the efforts of people, in 1920, the U.S. constitution made 19th amendment to offer women the right to vote.

The severe problem faced by women at that time was that many women were attached to men and could not speak out in the society. Based on the misconceptions, feminists requested people to see women to be 'people' first and 'women' later. As free 'human beings,' it makes sense for women to have access to the vote. In addition to the right to vote, the feminist movement also focused on equal educational qualifications for women, resulting in the creation of a large number of girls' schools. Equal pay for equal work was another concern of the first wave of feminism.

Therefore, the first wave of feminist movement gave women the right to vote, developed women's education, and increased women's employment [14]. Although women gained more political right, but gender role norms and how women face trade-offs between family and career are not mentioned or discussed.

Second wave of Feminism

The second wave of feminism was developed in the 1960s and 1970s with the main purpose of eliminating discrimination between gender roles and achieving gender convergence.

After the first wave of feminism, women had the most basic rights, but they were still discriminated against in terms of income and type of employment. For example, the professions in which women are employed, such as teaching and babysitting, have very low professional value. Therefore, feminists

began to analyze the causes of discrimination and solutions of male domination. Among them, The Second Sex written by Simone de Beauvoir, a French feminist, became the representative work of the second wave of feminism. She is best known for her view that a person is not born a woman, she becomes one. Beauvoir found that when women reduced their burden by choosing work over family, society sneered at women and made career-oriented women anxious about losing their so-called 'femininity'. Therefore, Beauvoir believed that women should overcome their femininity and develop men's qualities such as aggression, ambition and independence in order to gain the same rights as men.

The second wave of feminism also focused on women's sexual desires and rights, as well as sexual violence and domestic violence. The attention paid to private issues such as the 'family' was another feature of the second wave of feminism, when it was famously said that personal issues were political. To be more specific, feminists believe that personal experiences such as sexual violence and rape are not only due to a person's moral deficiency, but also have a strong relationship with the hegemonic male-centered social system. Many feminists began to reexamine the issue of sex, sexual harassment, sexual violence, concern about the gender inequality that women encounter in the private sphere. These campaigns won big: the Equal Pay Act of 1963 theoretically outlawed the gender wage gap; In 1973, Roe v. Wade guaranteed women reproductive freedom.

Third wave of Feminism

The beginning of **The Third of Wave of feminism** is believed to be Rebecca Walker's article Becoming The Third Wave published in Ms. Magazine in 1992. The main purpose is to give voice to women of different classes (especially people of color) and deconstruct gender-solidified identities. Feminists began to realize the complexity and contradiction of women, and believed that there were many factors that might contribute to the oppression of women, such as race, religion, class. In particular, transgender feminism has

been brought more into the mainstream in the third wave. With new interpretations and definitions of gender, body image, and sexuality, the third wave of feminism is more inclusive for transgender feminists, seeking to develop more radical political views and more inclusive sexual cultures and communities designed to support transgender and gender noncompliant people and people of color [10]. However, since there is not a uniform opinion, controversy among transgender has been popular. J.k.Rowling case is famous on examining this field. The controversy is about whether or not transgender people should enjoy the same welfare of being the opposite gender as they have been born with.

Fourth wave of Feminism

Finally, **The Fourth Wave of feminism** began in 2012, focusing on social media to solve problems such as stereotyping of women. The word 'Intersectionality' is emphasized in a special cavity, which refers to that people's race, class, gender, sex, age, ability, identity and other aspects are considered to be involved and affect each other.

Comparisons between Mosuo and the Waves of Feminism

While Mosuo society can be viewed as matriarchal from an economic, social, political, and even religious point of view, it differs somewhat from what Heide describes as a society having the 'absence of dualistic world view and egotism' [10]. Mosuo people are gender essentialists, because they will connect a person's gender through their biologically determined sex identity (that is, men have penises but women do not). Viewing males and females as born with distinctively different natures and keeping them apart based on their biology seems to be in tension with the Matriarchal ideal of perfect egalitarianism for people [10]. There are several Mosuo expressions that confirm their distinction of genders, such as' woman born and man die ' [Source]. Mosuo people believe that women create new life and that women are the beginning of all living things in the world. In traditional Mosuo culture, childbirth is a 'woman's affair' and has little to do with men, so men

are not allowed to visit women (even the father) during the birth of the child, under penalty of violating an ancient taboo [14]. Death, by contrast, is entirely male dominated. Women were not allowed much involvement in funerals, nor were they allowed to kill animals (not even livestock), because they represented the birth of life and needed to be kept away from death. So it's a strong piece of evidence that the Mosuo judge a person's sex by their biological structure, and Mosuo people are gender essentialism. Therefore, even in feminists' perspectives on judgments, Mosuo society is not a 'pure' matriarchal society because they are gender essentialists, which is the first not-fitting point of a 'matriarchal society' as Heide described.

The compare between Mosuo and the four waves of feminism is also convincing to show Mosuo society is not a feminism society as feminists desired.

If the Mosuo society is brought into the pursuit of **the first wave of feminism**, it is not difficult to find that the Mosuo people did not fully meet the social requirements of the first wave of feminism. First of all, even though the Mosuo is a matriarchal society, women are not in charge of the family affairs, only responsible for the distribution of labor, property, etc. On the other hand, the maternal uncle usually make decisions on larger family events, including buying a house, building a hotel, sending the children to school, and planning major festivals. A Mosuo people believed that women should be in charge at home because they handle things quickly and carefully without leaving anything to chance, but he also thinks women don't have broad horizons, limitations, and the ability to see the big picture. It's not just Mosuo men who feel this way, but even some Naboo – the most senior female leader in the family – feel the same way. This negative interpretation of women's abilities has led to the position of 'village chief' in the Mosuo villages of Yongning district being almost entirely held by men. In 2001, for example, the village committee of Yongning Township in Ninglang County, Yunnan's Mosuo settlement, had 25 cadres, but only one was female. [12] That is to say, women's status in the family is high, but women's social status is lower than men's. The reason why women have lower social status is that strong women stay at home but not go out to find highly-paid work or high status. And the reason why some Mosuo women are not allowed to leave the matriarchal family is because they have to learn from their mothers and grandmothers to manage the matriarchal family and become good Naboo. One of the Mosuo granddaughters mentioned that she had to listen to her grandmother and quit school after middle school because she was afraid that she would not return home after experiencing the outside world, and hoped that she would inherit her grandmother's Naboo identity and manage the family in the future. Some Mosuo people believe men are more knowledgeable and far-sighted, so they are in charge of bigger household affairs, and the reason why they firmly hold the opinions is because man have more access to the outside world. For example, the emergence of horse gangs (where men travel in small groups with their horses to transport Mosuo products and trade necessities with India, Myanmar, and other regions) has given men the opportunity to explore the outside world, increase their 'knowledge', and finally gain enough 'sight' to make decisions for important events. 'Women stay and men leave', this cognition is very similar to that of Mill, an aforementioned scholar in the first wave of feminism. In addition, to think girls should be in politics, education, employment, etc, and men have equal rights, Mill thinking mode of thinking that women have more reality, and men look more in the long run, and he thinks that men and women should take different roles in society, the men and women respectively according to the division of the public domain and private domain exercise their duties and obligations. This view was criticized because Mill still did not liberate women from the family, and women were still regarded as a synonym for 'bearing and taking care of the family.

In Mosuo society, access to education and employment is not a very fair thing for different gender. Mosuo women, who have to help with farm work or inherit matriarch status, do not have the equal access to education expected by the first wave of feminism. But I need to admit that some Mosuo women leave their extended maternal family to work outside, only if there have already been a sister in the family who assumes the 'Naboo' status, and if she or her sister have had children who can carry on the Mosuo bloodline and work for the family. Therefore, even though some Mosuo women can get education and employment, there are still a large number of Mosuo women who need to stay at home and take on their duties as group leaders, mothers and so on. Women's opportunities for outward development are limited by their commitment to the family. At the same time, when Mosuo women go into modern cities, they feel very troubled, because they come from backward and poor places, they are not educated, and they are restricted by gender. As a result, these Mosuo women find it difficult to integrate into modern patrilineal cities and remain at their maternal household. Therefore, from the perspective of education, employment, and social status, Mosuo society has not met the gender equality pursued by the first feminist wave. In conclusion, Mosuo women are economically independent (they do not depend on males) and have a high family status, but they do not meet the expectations of the first wave of feminism in terms of education, employment, and social status.

But I wants to make it clear that although Mosuo women have a lower social status than men and take on more responsibilities in home, they are still exceptionally respected. The Mosuo considers the reputation of the matriarchal extended family to be greater than the reputation and prestige of the individual in the public sphere since the former represents the derivation of the individual's life and worth, while the latter is an individual's subordinate condition [15]. Therefore, although "men take care of the outside, women take care of the inside", the Mosuo people seem to attach more importance to the 'inside', but do not have a particularly high pursuit of the 'outside'. In modern patrilineal societies, women are being considered 'lose' when taking care of the family because they waste their energy on unrewarding tasks and people consider it for granted; But for Mosuo society, it is a glorious and great thing to take care of the family, and working outside do not bring man more prestige in family. Men work outside and earn a lot of money, but they will give all their income to their mothers or the Naboo, and they don't think it is unfair, because they respect and trust their mothers, and they hope their money will not be squandered, but to give to people who know how to manage their money, and to make contributions to the family. To sum up, Mosuo people do not think that "women take care of the family and men take care of the family" is an oppression of women, but that it is a reasonable gender division of labor, which can better maintain the stability and harmony of the matriarchal extended family. However, from the perspective of the first wave of feminism, such division of labor imprisoned women and prevented women from going out to develop, which was very unfair.

As for the problems in **second waves of feminism,** including the dilemma between going to work and raising their children, Mosuo people can solve the case. The children of all the Mosuo sisters live in matriarchal extended families, and all the children call their female elders' ami '(' mama' in Mosuo). Because they live in the same big family and their mother and maternal aunt treat them well, some children don't even know who their biological mother is. It also reflects the harmony and intimacy of the Mosuo's extended maternal family. And if their sisters already have sons and daughters, mosuo women can choose not to have children, because the work of increasing the labor force and passing on the blood line has been accomplished. Mosuo women are also happy to leave their children with non-pregnant sisters to keep their childless sisters happy and promote extended family harmony. In other words, having large families relieved some of the pressure on women to produce and care for children, and seemed to

be an effective solution to the second wave of feminism, which also echoed Shulamish Firestone's ideas: women decide whether to have children themselves.

In fact, The Mosuo society did not meet the social requirements expected by the **Third wave of Feminism**. As mentioned earlier, Mosuo are gender essentialists, meaning they judge a person's gender based on his or her physical characteristics. The Mosuo respect mothers, as evidenced by their belief in a goddess (gum goddess). So Mosuo society does not distinguish between 'sex' and 'gender', which does not fit the requirements of the third wave feminism.

Although I am not sure about the whole development trend of the **Fourth Wave feminism**, I am sure that there is no strong connection between the fourth wave feminism, which focuses on the impact of Internet on women, and the Mosuo nationality. Therefore, I will not compare the fourth wave feminism with the Mosuo feminism here.

Conclusion:

Judged from economic, social, political and cultural perspectives, the Mosuo people of China living at the foot of the Himalayas have been described as one of the few matriarchal societies on Earth by feminists. Mosuo women have a highly respected role in village life and very high status is granted to females throughout Mosuo society. The Mosuo women also enjoy a relatively high degree of autonomy (especially as regards sexual relationships). Moreover, as a strongly matrilineal society, all children born to Mosuo women take on their mothers' surnames and pass down property through the mothers' bloodline. The Mosuo people retain many customs and traditions that seem to fulfil the criteria for what feminist scholars, such as Heide Göttner-Abendroth, call 'matriarchal' society. Many documentaries and studies have been made showing how women's status in Mosuo society is higher than that of women in many modern patriarchal cultures.

However, although women have an elevated status in Mosuo society they do not consider themselves superior to, or more important than, men. The men in Mosuo society also play an important role in village life, and in some cases women seem to remain passive and weak in relation to Mosuo men. This complex dynamic of gender relations in Mosuo society will become apparent after we interpret Mosuo social norms against modern feminist frameworks, as these have been developed within the multiple waves of modern feminism.

Although in some areas, Mosuo women enjoy just as much or more freedom than men, Mosuo women still cannot be claimed to have achieved perfect equality with men regarding things like opportunity for employment, educational outcome and even social status. The custom referred to as "women stay and men leave" is central to Mosuo society and helps explain the dynamic of gender relations.

In Mosuo society women regularly stay home to manage the family business, while men go out to seek new opportunities, which does not meet the first wave of feminism's wish. Moreover, unlike many modern feminists (especially many third and fourth wave feminists who reject gender essentialism) the Mosuo seem to believe that men and women are essentially different. Women and men, although equally respected, are often relegated to the tasks of running the household if female and going out to seek food, jobs, etc. for males.

To sum up, It is fine for feminist to appreciate Mosuo, but wrong to impose categorization like matriarchal society or feminism society. Also, Mosuo society corrected a misconception: a so-called matriarchal society is not a feminism society.

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Section 2. Study of art

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A HISTORY OF JINGDEZHEN PORCELAIN AND THE IMPACT OF CHINESE PRODUCTION ON WESTERN AESTHETIC

Abstract. Today China's manufacturing and economic influence on the Western world is commonly associated with cheap utilitarian wares, plastic toys, and technology, but that wasn't always the case. We see that it's not necessarily the case that all Chinese exports today are cheap, utilitarian, and inferior. And if they are then perhaps that's because that is, in fact, what the average consumer wants or needs. Like the plain or lightly decorated, everyday-use, "commoner's" porcelain that was seen as nearly worthless to their Enlightenment-era counterparts until they'd succeeded in replicating the artform in their own European kilns, these contemporary Chinese products may continue to be disdained by Europeans until they feel they have more choice in their decisions to purchase them. And, similarly to the massive popularity of the "oriental" blue and white decorated "china" that those European kilns produced, some American tech companies take so much inspiration from the design aesthetic and trends popular among the Chinese with regards to laptops, smart phones, and other small electronic devices that it may be difficult for the average European today to know where one begins and the other ends. Perhaps, instead, these phenomena are simply new manifestations of the influence that Chinese aesthetic is able to hold on Western culture, and the uneasy alliance between Western tastes and Chinese production and design that this influence has provoked since the very beginning of the porcelain trade.

Keywords: China, manufacturing and economic influence, Western world, Europe, technology, trade.

Today China's manufacturing and economic influence on the Western world is commonly associated with cheap utilitarian wares, plastic toys, and technology, but that wasn't always the case. In fact, in the earliest days of mass-scale Chinese-global trade the products most coveted by wealthy Europeans were pieces of finely-wrought Eastern art – more specifically, the intricately designed porcelain then created in Jingdezhen and first brought to the West by explorers like Marco Polo (1254–1324) and Andrea Corsali (1487–1520?). As we will see, the trade of this very special type of pottery not only heavily influenced European culture and art but also foreshadowed the West's currently complicated relationship with Eastern design and manufacture. How did these porcelain pieces first make their way to Europe, though, and what was so special about Chinese ceramics that they so quickly became a proverbial "million-dollar" trade?

Though Europeans had used pottery extensively from ancient Greece and Rome until the early Middle Ages, porcelain itself was an extremely rare treasure in Europe. But although Marco Polo is credited with not only bringing the first pieces of porcelain to the West in the early 14th century, but also naming it ("*porcellana* – a nickname in Italian for the cowry shell, whose shiny, white surface porcelain resembles,") [4] the trade did not begin in earnest until 1514 when Corsali bought 100.000 pieces of colorful porcelain from Jingdezhen and shipped them back to Portugal [7].

A few years later when, delighted by these intricately designed ceramic pieces that Corsali had sent home *en masse,* the king of Portugal ordered that one third of the cargo carried by all merchant ships returning from East India must consist of porcelain, a trend was born [7]. Why import at such high volume, though? Surely domestic manufacturing would have been cheaper and easier at the time. And what made porcelain so special compared to other types of pottery? To really understand this phenomenon, and the lasting effect it had on the West's relationship to Chinese exports, we must first understand how porcelain production developed within China – as both an artform and a commodity.

Jingdezhen was, by the time Corsali himself "discovered" it, the official porcelain manufacturer of the Chinese court, equally famous for its production of the finest porcelain ever made and its almost unbelievable claims that its factories could produce hundreds of thousands of pieces per day. It turns out, though, that the area had been known for its production of fine ceramics as far back as the Han dynasty (206–220 BC), as even then the people there, it was said, made "blue pottery with glaze." At this time the city was called Xinping and, geographically speaking, it was "made" for the art of porcelain. From the Gaoling mountains to the north the villagers gathered both kaolin – the silicate that gives the pottery its smooth translucence – and pine wood for the kiln. Nearby cities Dongliu, Nankang, and Sanbaopeng

provided the other necessary ingredient, the 'China stone,' or *petunse,* which combines to create the glass-like hardness [5].

It wasn't until the Jin dynasty (265–420), though, that a craftsman named Zhao Kai (who would later be called the "the master of porcelain making") is said to have perfected the recipe into the high-quality material we know today, a ware tough enough to be distributed and "Changnan porcelain," (as the city was then known) began to be exported to surrounding areas.

The addition of kaolin clay to the original *petunse*-based pottery is the basis of porcelain's simple beauty and defines it today, but its original purpose served a much more utilitarian purpose; it allowed potters to raise the firing temperature on their crumbly rice bowls and reduced the deformation rate of their product. It also created a longer-lasting product more suitable for large-scale production. These three things, then: beauty, practicality, and trading conditions, have literally been baked into the bodies of porcelain creations from its very beginning. Within several hundred years kilns in that area would be making the jade-like translucent-green pottery known as celadon porcelain. In addition to celadon, Changnan was the birthplace of the type of fine, white, "china" that we recognize today – and perhaps the country's name "China," itself, as some believe it to be a mispronunciation of "Changnan" made popular by the Western porcelain traders who would have visited it more often than anywhere else on the continent [12]. At this time Guangzhou, in southern China, was home to a large Arab population, and the pottery grew especially popular there, as the people enjoyed decorating their homes, mosques, and trading houses with the greenish wares that so well offset the copper they used extensively in their own designs, a phenomenon we'll see echoed later, when trade to these areas becomes more common.

Tradition tells us that porcelain production during the North Song Dynasty (960–1127) was heavily sustained by the five "famous" kilns of the North:

Ru, Guan, Jun, Ding and Ge, each known for its own "brand," or style, of fine porcelain. Historically, much archaeological research has gone into trying to prove the importance of each of these kilns, and to distinguish the original pottery created at each site from the inevitable imitations, but more recent studies show that this story may be more myth than fact [8]. What we do know, though, is that the blueish ceramics of Changnan, in the south, had by this time also become famous nationwide. So much so, in fact, that during the emperor Zhenzong's Jingde era the city of Changnan was ordered to begin producing large amounts of porcelain for the imperial family. Rather than creating new kilns to focus exclusively on these imperial wares, however, the kiln-masters directed the best of the already-established kilns to simply add this work into their production schedules. This created an interesting conundrum: now the kilns were simultaneously producing the highest-quality pieces for the imperial court side-by-side with plain, simple, domestic pieces. In an attempt to set these two disparate wares apart some kilns began to stamp the bottoms of those pieces created for the court with characters that could be roughly translated to, "made in the Jing De era." According to some it was this custom that led to the city being commonly known as Jingdezhen, and before long the court officially changed its name to match. This sealed its reputation as "the town of porcelain," and its fame spread throughout the nation [10].

Due to the warring between North and South in the 11th and 12th centuries the (more or less) famous Northern kilns were all but decimated by the time the Song dynasty moved its capital South [8]. As official business shifted that direction all of the major political and economic centers followed. During this exodus many expert craftsmen from the Northern kilns came to Jingdezhen, and this influx of talent led to huge increases in both the scale of production and level of technical workmanship that its kilns were able to produce. It's no accident that this period saw the creative innovations that led to the creation of the *Qingbai* technique, or "blueish-white" ware. This glassy, transparent, porcelain with a blueish-white glaze was decorated with delicate carvings and was long-considered the pinnacle of porcelain-making in China. It was so exquisite that it may have been the first style of porcelain to catch the Western gaze in any meaningful way. The earliest piece of porcelain known for certain to have reached Europe was, in fact, the "Fonthill" vase: an ornate porcelain bottle created in the *Qingbai* style that was collected by Louis the Great of Hungary in the early 1300s [10].

From this point on Jingdezhen's fate was sealed, and over the next few hundred years the amount of creativity and innovation in the porcelain industry was unmatched as potters achieved accomplishment after accomplishment in both formal and decorative techniques. During this time Jingdezhen saw the creation the most delicate thin-bodied porcelain imaginable, a cheap process for creating imitation porcelains, and even innovation in glazing techniques and color – each one a milestone that would eventually make it more and more difficult for Western alchemists and potters to recreate the artform. One technique utilized a coppery-red underglaze that created a stunning effect unlike anything that had ever been seen, and soon afterwards Jingdezhen artists were using similar techniques to produce colored effects of all kinds–greens, yellows, and blues, tricolored (*sancai*) glazes, eggshell-type glazes, and more. The level of innovation that Jingdezhen was able to reach during this time was also directly related to the fact that they continued in their unique tradition of allowing mingling between "official" and "pedestrian" work. When a request would be received from the court, for example, the kiln-masters would summon all of the best potters together to deliberate, and in this way they would ensure that the best designs and techniques possible were always achieved.

The next huge innovation occurred during the Yuan rule (1271–1368), with the creation of what is now known as the signature "blue and white" – decorated porcelain. This was truly a game-changer.

Before this time porcelain decoration was quite simplistic, consisting mostly of the bluish or green glazes being blown over the pieces in such a way that the likeness of natural scenes were created. People had been delighted by these patterns, which were often reminiscent of foggy mountaintops, overgrown fields, and oceanic views, but the blue and white decorations were something wholly new.

The Imperial court itself was not immune to the appeal of this brand-new technique, and demand rose exponentially. Not only were pieces needed for daily use by the imperial family, but now also for diplomatic purposes, gift-giving, and dowries. In around 1278 the Imperial court established the Fuliang Porcelain Bureau in Jingdezhen order to oversee the fulfillment of these rising demands [7]. The Bureau performed under the direct authority of the emperor and brought untold amounts of new money to the region. Porcelain, which had always been a big business in Jingdezhen, morphed overnight into a massive industry. It was even rumored that the finest Jingdezhen porcelain was kept safe among the other national treasures, in the Mongol storehouses. Drawn by stories like these–and promises of accessing the best materials and finest kiln technology available–even more talented craftsmen and porcelain artists migrated to the region.

It's worth noting that, though porcelain hadn't yet made its way West on any mass scale, during this time large quantities of Jingdezhen porcelain began to be exported for sale to Southeast Asia, India and the Middle East. To keep up with this new market–and increased demand, new kilns *and* new techniques were needed. According to one book written contemporaneously to this time-period (the earliest known book on the Jingdezhen porcelain trade, to be exact, the *Tao Ji* or *Porcelain Memoir*, written by Jiang Qi) the number of kilns in the area rose to around 300, and craftsmen introduced many new forms. (Wenkuan) This is also the earliest known use of decorative elements other than the traditional Chinese motifs, as kilns produced high-quality porcelain for foreign dignitaries. Porcelain customized to suit the Middle Eastern market, for instance, included huge serving plates decorated with Islamic motifs–suitable for use by the large families, often including multiple wives and dozens of children, that the wealthiest men in that region could afford to sustain. Later, when Western Europeans would adopt many Chinese models of artwork into their own culture these earlier pieces would serve as a type of inspiration, and it would become quite popular for "oriental" designs to appear on contemporary furniture, tableware, and clothing. These Oriental patterns would be characterized by the blue and white, colors, though, instead of whatever they traditionally might have been.

This brings us back, then, to the Ming dynasty. Though, as we've seen, it had been claimed many times before that porcelain as an artform had reached its peak, it was during this period that Jingdezhen porcelain truly reached something akin to perfection. "…Multiple cities combined couldn't beat Jingdezhen in the area of porcelain production," a book contemporary to this time bragged, and it was true. (Degenhardt) In all aspects–quality, quantity, design, variety, thickness, and color, Jingdezhen's work was unprecedented. And this is the answer, really, to the question of why, suddenly faced with a massive cultural desire to replace their own inelegant tableware with these beautiful, exotic, pieces that so perfectly married form and function, Europeans didn't just set up factories of their own and begin production: *they simply couldn't figure out how to make porcelain at home*. Several hundred years earlier Marco Polo had written, "the dishes are made of a crumbly earth or clay which is dug as though from a mine and stacked in huge mounds and then left for thirty or forty years exposed to wind, rain, and sun. By this time the earth is so refined that dishes made of it are of an azure tint with a very brilliant sheen" [4]. When one considers that by the mid-16th century this was still the reigning theory in the Western world for how to achieve porcelain's unique look, it's easy to see why the porcelain trade became so highly valued. It wasn't just pottery,

it was an artform that China had had thousands of years to perfect.

That being said, and despite King John of Portugal's willingness to pay a premium price for the product, the common European didn't really understand or appreciate how much work actually went into creating the delicately arched beauty of "blue and white" or colored-glaze Jingdezhen porcelain. They could, of course, appreciate the excellence of the enamel, but there was, metaphorically speaking, something lost in translation. They didn't know, for instance, that the most intricately decorated and utilitarian pieces would have been created side-by-side, on identical kilns, and perhaps even by the same craftsman, so they tended to undervalue the less flamboyant pieces. On the other hand, they definitely understood the value of those pieces inlayed with precious metals or covered in intricate designs. This caused the more flamboyant pieces to become highly coveted, and instead of porcelain finding fame as an everyday item for use by anyone, as it had been in China for hundreds of years, porcelain quickly became a vanity item, more akin to decorative ceramic vases than tableware. A symbol of wealth and nobility. They became, in short, exotic art. This trend was reflected in the collection of porcelain by the actual nobility, as well: King Louis XIV of France would have a "Chinese hall" specially decorated with porcelain, and the empress of Germany stored hers in a "porcelain palace" in Dresden [6].

By the 18th century, however, European porcelain finally emerged, and so porcelain began to be seen as a daily commodity yet Chinese porcelain, in stark contrast to the products most commonly exported by China today, still made up for the bulk of European imports. People were attracted to its simple elegance, and a romanticized version of Chinese culture overall seemed to be reflected its soft curves, distinctive coloring, and fresh patterns, creating a sort of "Chinese fever" that was immortalized in a poem published in the early 18th century:

come on, look at this porcelain.
What attracts me is its brilliance.

It comes from a new world
and has never seen such beautiful art.
How tempting, exquisite and vulgar,
from China, its hometown [3].

For the average European of the Enlightenment era porcelain *was* China, and it was something to be desired, lusted for, and colonized. Chinese textiles, furniture, and dress came next, slowly infiltrating aesthetic standards until the porcelain-reminiscent French Rococo style replaced luxe, grand, Baroque in painting, architecture, gardening, and design. Rococo's natural, elegant craftsmanship fully encompasses the essence of Ming and Qing -era artwork, as Jingdezhen ceramics were hard, white and elegant, delicate and smooth, regular in shape, clear in turning point, and clear in detail. They had a bright, beautiful, rigorous, delicate and bright artistic style, which brought a cool east wind to the dull European art. (Cheang) This trend of Western artists and inspiration-seekers to find a template and source of enlightenment in the Far East, especially in Chinese cultural relics, is sometimes called "orientalism," and is generally integrated more or less incongruously with the other prevailing styles of the time place in which its practitioners find themselves [2].

This desire to make Chinese design and aesthetic sensibilities "match" their own may also explain why porcelain didn't really "catch on" in popularity earlier than the Baroque period, as much of the Jingdezhen porcelain being created at that time was quite in line with the magnificent colors and exaggerated lines that had so captured European sensibilities. This seems like another contradiction in terms: Baroque art is heavy and dignified feeling, which may not at first seem compatible with delicate porcelain designs. The colors are luxurious and magnificent, the lines are tortuous and exaggerated, and chiaroscuro is emphasized. The 16th and 17th century Baroque-loving merchants and collectors who so despised simple monochromatic porcelain found themselves drawn in, though, by the eye-catching painted products that exploded in popularity during the Ming and Qing Dynasties, and these pieces

were in harmony with the big, almost "glorious" aesthetic that the Baroque era lent to architecture, design, and fashion. In the Ming and Qing Dynasties potters worked in pursuit of the beauty of artistic effect and were constantly exploring the natural: their designs featuring exaggeration, generalization, and abstract renditions of animals, plants, and even the human body itself to create porcelain that stood on its own as an artistic achievement.

Scholar Edward Said slates this "Orientalism" as an intellectual colonialism, defined as a viewing of Eastern culture wholly through the Western lens. In *Orientalism* Said writes that, in the US in particular these days, attitudes:

include a healthy interest in the Orient … if the world has become immediately accessible to a Western citizen living in the electronic age, the Orient too has drawn nearer to him, and is now less a myth than a place crisscrossed by Western interests [9].

These "crisscrossed interests" are apparent nowhere more so than in the diverse European opinions on Chinese manufacturing practices and exports. Often considered cheap substitutions for "the real thing" – namely, domestically-made products made by companies which either no longer exist or long ago shipped their means of production overseas – the cheaper Chinese products are often bought begrudgingly by Europeans who know they can't afford to spend more on the few products still made domestically but wish they could.

So we see that it's not necessarily the case that all Chinese exports today are cheap, utilitarian, and inferior. And if they are then perhaps that's because that is, in fact, what the average consumer wants or needs. Like the plain or lightly decorated, everyday-use, "commoner's" porcelain that was seen as nearly worthless to their Enlightenment-era counterparts until they'd succeeded in replicating the artform in their own European kilns, these contemporary Chinese products may continue to be disdained by Europeans until they feel they have more choice in their decisions to purchase them. And, similarly to the massive popularity of the "oriental" blue and white decorated "china" that those European kilns produced, some American tech companies take so much inspiration from the design aesthetic and trends popular among the Chinese with regards to laptops, smart phones, and other small electronic devices that it may be difficult for the average European today to know where one begins and the other ends. Perhaps, instead, these phenomena are simply new manifestations of the influence that Chinese aesthetic is able to hold on "Western culture, and the uneasy alliance between Western tastes and Chinese production and design that this influence has provoked since the very beginning of the porcelain trade".

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Section 3. History and archaeologyt

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ALYMKUL LASHKER BASHI AS AN OUTSTANDING STATESMAN OF THE KYRGYZ PEOPLE IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE 19TH CENTURY

Abstract. In this article, in the context of the brief history of the Kokand Khanate, we are talking about the outstanding representative of the Kyrgyz people, Alymkul lashker bashi, who played an important role in it. It is emphasized that many well-known Kyrgyz leaders, occupying high positions, actively participated in the social and political life of the khanate.

Keywords: Kokand Khanate, crises, Alymkul lashker bashi, military leader, regent, political and military activities, expansion, Russian troops, battle.

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АЛЫМКУЛ ЛАШКЕР БАШИ КАК ВЫДАЮЩИЙСЯ ГОСУДАРСТВЕННЫЙ ДЕЯТЕЛЬ КЫРГЫЗСКОГО НАРОДА ВО ВТОРОЙ ПОЛОВИНЕ XIX В.

Аннотация. В данной статье речь идет о выдающемся представителе кыргызского народа Алымкуле лашкер баши, сыгравшем немаловажную роль в Кокандском ханстве. Подчеркивается, что многие известные кыргызские предводители, занимая высокие должности, активно участвовали в общественно-политической жизни ханства.

Ключевые слова: Кокандское ханство, кризисы, Алымкул лашкер баши, военачальник, регент, политическая и военная деятельность, экспансия, русские войска, сражение.

Во второй половине XIX в. в общественно-политической жизни Кокандского ханства важную роль играл один из видных представителей правящей верхушки Алымкул аталык, происходивший из племени кыпчак ичкиликских кыргызов. О его плодотворной политической и военной деятельности свидетельствуют исторические сочинения его современников, которые служат для нас ценным источником. Среди них работы Муллы Юнусжана, Муллы Халбека Ибн Мусы Андижани, Муллы Нияза, широко отражающие жизнь и деятельность Алымкула [4].

Помимо вышеперечисленных работ об Алымкуле аталыке важные сведения можно почерпнуть из трудов русских ученых и путешественников, изучавших историю и культуру народов Центральной Азии еще до начала российской экспансии. Являясь одновременно своего рода "агентами", они старались подробно описать ситуацию, сложившуюся в регионе, в том числе военно-политическую деятельность Алымкула и русско-кокандские войны.

Как известно, в советское время в исторической науке игнорировались проблема и роль личности в историческом процессе. Диктат Коммунистической партии, советская идеология и классовый подход извратили историческое прошлое многих народов, что привело к тенденциозности в исследованиях в гуманитарных науках в целом, и исторической науке, в частности. Историческая наука находилась под давлением навязываемой властями идеологии, поэтому ученые не могли выйти за рамки шаблонного, стереотипного мышления. Это, в свою очередь, способствовало однобокому пониманию истории, ее фальсификации, закостенелости мышления.

Перемены стали происходить после того, как в середине 1980-х гг. в стране Советов началась "перестройка". Постепенно изменилась политическая конъюнктура в государстве. Началась демократизация общества, появилась свобода слова. Таким образом, ученые получили возможность объективно исследовать историческое прошлое, в том числе и проблему личности в истории. С этого времени в средствах массовой информации начали появляться фрагментарные сведения о выдающихся личностях прошлого, в числе которых был Алымкул лашкер баши.

События, происходившие в Кокандском ханстве, жизнь и деятельность исторических личностей того времени, в том числе Алымкула, отражены в исторических трудах и художественных произведениях Анвара Байтура, Ж. Таабалдиева, Т. Касымбекова, К. Бакиева, А. Мусабекова и др. [5].

Следует отметить, что в политической жизни Кокандского ханства кыргызские деятели играли большую роль. Они участвовали в государственных делах, в дворцовых переворотах, а также задавали тон в процессе избрания правителей. Видные представители кыргызского народа, такие как Нусупбий, Алымбек-датка, Алымкул лашкер баши и др., занимали важные должности при ханском дворе.

В данной статье речь пойдет о политической и военной деятельности Алымкула лашкер баши, который родился в селе Таштак Курган-Тюбинского района Андижанской области нынешнего Узбекистана. Точная дата его рождения неизвестна. Так, по мнению узбекских ученых Р. Шамсутдинова и П. Равшанова, он родился в 1831 г. А по сведениям российского востоковеда Н. Веселовского, когда Алымкул пришел к власти в 1863 г., ему было 34 года [6], т.е. он родился в 1829 г.

Сведения об Алымкуле аталыке, приведенные в книге Зиябиддина Максыма "История ферганских ханов", существенно отличаются от других источников. Согласно его данным, Алымкул был выходцем из очень бедной семьи, сиротой. Его мать в трудных условиях вырастила сына,

выполняя различные работы по найму. Когда Малля-хан собирал войска среди кыргызов, Алымкул оказался в числе его воинов. Он был доверенным человеком и любимцем хана.

Но, сравнивая разные источники, можно констатировать, что данные в книге Зиябиддина Максыма не вполне соответствуют истине, так как она была написана по приказу и под личным контролем самого Худояр-хана. Поэтому вполне возможно, что некоторые сведения из жизни Алымкула были сознательно фальсифицированы автором с целью принизить его социальный статус, то есть происхождение. Субъективизм в указанной книге не способствует восстановлению реальной картины о жизни Алымкула. Многие ученые единогласны в мнении о том, что он на самом деле происходил из знатной семьи.

Его отец Асанбай (Хасанбай) был правителем (бием) Курган-Тюбинского вилайета, а мать Шаарбан была родом из оседлого нойгутского племени Бужум-Баткенского региона. Когда ему исполнилось два года, умер отец, и он до семи лет воспитывался и обучался у дяди (по материнской линии) Молдо Дос Акуна. Затем вместе с матерью он вернулся в Курган-Тюбе, после чего два года обучался в медресе "Акмечит" в городе Андижане. Позже он продолжил учебу в Коканде у дамылы (муллы) Махмуда Ажы.

Освоив военное искусство, Алымкул уже в 16 лет нес службу в качестве кавалериста-сарбаза при Малля-беке. Через два года он дослужился до сотника. Несмотря на юный возраст, он стал известным и опытным военным предводителем [7].

Алымкул сыграл важную роль в приходе Малля-бека к власти в Кокандском ханстве в 1858 г. В 1863 г. после убийства Малля-хана заговорщиками он взял инициативу в свои руки, и все тяготы государственных дел легли на него.

Пик политической и военной деятельности Алымкула пришелся на 1863–1865 гг. Именно в этот период он как глава государства и военачальник определял основные направления развития государства и возглавлял борьбу с чужеземными захватчиками.

В процессе политических катаклизмов, происходивших в Кокандском ханстве в 1862–1863 гг., Алымкул проявил себя дальновидным политиком и талантливым военачальником, который отстоял независимость государства от Бухарского эмирата. После освобождения ханства от чужеземных захватчиков 9 июля 1863 года в окрестностях Маргелана был созван народный курултай с участием 5–10 тыс. человек, в том числе известных государственных деятелей и правителей многих вилайетов. Алымкул в своем обращении к присутствующим акцентировал внимание на том, что ввиду отсутствия единой власти в государстве происходят частые беспорядки и смуты, и в связи с этим назрела острая необходимость избрать хана.

Участники курултая избрали ханом Султана Сейита, малолетнего сына Малля-хана, а Алымкул стал его регентом (аталыком) [8, 213]. После этого Алымкул раздал ценные подарки (среди них и дорогие шубы) свыше пяти тысячам своих подданных и получил их благословение.

В 1863–1865 гг. он официально считался военачальником – лашкер баши (амир лашкер) или амирул умаро (эмир эмиров), **но реальная власть в государстве сосредоточилась в его руках.**

Как известно, в системе управления Кокандского ханства такой должности, как "аталык" не было, но она существовала в Бухарском эмирате, как высший государственный пост после хана или эмира. Аталык считался вторым человеком в государстве и выполнял роль главы правительства [3, 310].

Сообщая по просьбе начальника Алатавского округа Г. А. Колпаковского сведения о кокандских правителях, кыргызский манап Байтык Канаев в одном из писем в декабре 1863 г. информировал, что на престоле находится 12-летний Султан-Сейит, хотя вместо него фактически управляет ханством Мулла Алымкул – кыргыз [13, 169].

Следует подчеркнуть, что Алымкул, занимая высокую должность в полиэтническом Коканд-

ском ханстве, выражал интересы всех народов, населяющих страну. В то время существовало такое общее понятие как «мусульманская умма» (община), которое **доминировало** над понятием «нация». Только, признавая его как яркого представителя единой мусульманской общины, можно поставить точку в споре, который разгорелся в постсоветский период, о принадлежности Алымкула к тому или иному народу Центральной Азии. **Бесспорным является тот факт, что он был выходцем из тюркского народа в целом, и кыргызского, в частности.**

Когда Алымкул пришел к власти, общественно-политическая ситуация в Кокандском ханстве была напряженной, ухудшилось экономическое положение, что привело к массовым народным волнениям. Он укреплял единство народов в государстве, упорядочил финансовую сферу, занимался градостроительством, проводил дальновидную внешнюю политику, направленную на сохранение независимости государства.

В этот период на территориальную целостность и суверенитет ханства стали посягать внешние силы в лице Цинской и Российской империй. Захватническая политика царской России представляла реальную опасность для страны. Одновременно деструктивную политику проводила Англия, которая планировала расширить зону своего влияния в Центральной Азии. Таким образом, регион стал объектом экспансии со стороны сильных государств. Сложившаяся геополитическая ситуация существенным образом повлияла на будущее ханства.

В такой сложной обстановке Алымкул аталык провел ряд мероприятий для укрепления государства. В это время русские войска, захватив земли казахских племен, вплотную подошли к границам ханства. Алымкул начал укреплять военные крепости Сузак, Чолок-Коргон, Ташкент, Туркестан, повысил их обороноспособность и усилил пограничные войска [10, 194].

Во внешней политике Алымкул, учитывая, что ханство оказалось в центре внимания мировых империй, считаясь с их мощью, реально и трезво оценивая создавшееся положение, пытался хотя бы временно сохранять с ними (Россией, Османской империей и Англией) дружественные отношения. Одновременно он старался стабилизировать внутриполитическую ситуацию в стране, погасить внутренние раздоры.

Чтобы минимизировать угрозы со стороны Цинской империи, Алымкул в Восточном Туркестане сделал попытку под знаменем ислама создать новое государство. Для этого он отправил туда 6-тысячную армию во главе с Жакыпбеком и Бузрук кожо. Намеченная операция прошла успешно: кокандские войска в 1865 г. нанесли поражение правителю Сыдыкбеку, и власть в Восточном Туркестане перешла в руки сторонников Алымкула.

Об этом свидетельствует сообщение гонца Жакыпбека, прибывшего с дарами к Алымбеку, о том, что в Восточном Туркестане под протекцией Кокандского ханства образовалось **новое** государство.

Алымкул в свою очередь отправил Жакыпбеку тюбетейку, кинжал и другие ценные подарки и объявил, что управление Кашгаром, или "Государством Семи городов" передает в его руки. 10 мая 1865 г. ему было присвоено звание **«аталык казы» (регент-судья) и объявлено де-юре о создании "Государства Семи городов"** [1, 138].

Алымкул аталык был не только выдающимся политическим, военным деятелем, но и обладал качествами искусного дипломата. Чтобы сплотить разные этносы, проживающие в ханстве, направить и мобилизовать их силы против общих врагов требовались незаурядные способности.

Ради сохранения государственности народов Центральной Азии, Алымкул раздал все нажитое имущество людям, улучшил материальное положение военнослужащих, воодушевил их на защиту родины и государства.

Равнодушие к богатству, стремление выражать интересы и чаяния простых людей, попытка сохранить единство и дружбу народов –

в этом заключалась его внутренняя политика, которая созвучна нравам времен четырех халифов в исламском халифате после пророка Мухаммада (с.а.с).

Высшие военные чиновники Российской империи тоже высоко оценивали Алымкула как выдающегося военачальника, военного стратега и видного дипломата. Он показал себя талантливым полководцем в войне против русских захватчиков. В отличие от своих предшественников Алымкул лично **возглавлял войска при защите границ от внешних врагов. Молодой, но опытный военачальник во время сражений использовал тактические приемы, воодушевлявшие воинов**. При его активном участии 4–6 декабря 1864 г. в Ыканском сражении кокандские войска одержали победу и оттеснили врагов [12, 194].

Как уже отмечалось, Алымкул особое внимание уделял перевооружению армии, повышению боеспособности войск и подготовке их к войне. **Но за столь короткое время укрепить ханство, находившееся в тот период в состоянии стагнации, и повысить его обороноспособность было практически невозможно.**

К этому времени русские войска уже заняли многие стратегически важные пункты региона, такие как Туркестан, Аулие-Ата, Чимкент и др., и были на подступах к Ташкенту. Но Алымкул подготовился к его обороне. По сведениям русского востоковеда В. Наливкина, он успел отлить около 60 орудий и изготовить несколько тысяч ружей [11, 408]. Так как этот город имел важное стратегическое значение, там были сосредоточены основные военные силы ханства. Потеря Ташкента означала бы и потерю северной части территории ханства, т.е. нынешнего Южного Казахстана, Семиречья, включая Северный Кыргызстан.

Военную операцию по захвату Ташкента русскими войсками провел генерал Черняев. Оборону города возглавил сам Алымкул. На время ему удалось оттеснить вражеские силы. Несмотря на мужество защитников города, силы были не равны, не хватало оружия. 9 мая 1865 года в битве с русскими войсками под Ташкентом 34-летний Алымкул героически погиб. Его похоронили на кладбище Шейхантаур в Ташкенте.

О подробностях его гибели существует ряд версий, иногда даже противоречивых. Некоторые источники утверждают, что он погиб в ходе сражения от вражеских пуль, а другие считают, что его предали и убили свои приближенные. Так, Н. Веселовский пишет, что его застрелил свой военнослужащий, подойдя сзади [9. 138]. Эта версия подтверждается и в исторической литературе. **Но насколько российские исследователи были объективны в своих работах и какие намерения они преследовали, не повлияла ли на них тогдашняя политическая конъюнктура в российском обществе? Эти вопросы дают пищу для дальнейших размышлений. Исторические факты свидетельствуют о том, что в тот момент среди ближайшего окружения Алымкула были предатели, диверсанты, которые информировали врагов о его боеготовности, планах. Но нельзя забывать и тот факт, что с древних времен существовал апробированный на практике прием, суть которого заключается в том, что любой враг перед нападением на то или иное государство ищет для себя сторонников в стане противника путем подкупа. По нашему мнению, подобная история произошла и с Алымкулом, если верить источникам, утверждающим, что его застрелили свои же соратники.**

Гибель Алымкула аталыка деморализовала кокандские войска, и они стали отступать. После этих событий хан Султан Сейит и жена Алымкула с двумя детьми сбежали в Кашгар и нашли там временное пристанище. В это время у власти считанные дни находился сын Шады-бия Кудайкул. После него при поддержке бухарского эмира Музаффара Худояр-хан в третий (и последний) раз взошел на кокандский престол.

С падением Ташкента и гибелью Алымкула в кокандской системе управления начался очеред-

ной хаос и бесконечная смена власти. Развитие событий в подобном русле было на руку Российской империи, влияние которой в регионе стало усиливаться. Благодаря внутренним распрям и борьбе за власть в Кокандском ханстве, она поэтапно захватила всю территорию этого некогда мощного государства в Центральной Азии.

Подытоживая вышесказанное, можно сделать вывод о том, что Алымкул аталык придя к власти, стремился сплотить народы, входившие в состав полиэтнического Кокандского ханства, а также сохранить и укрепить государственность. Он был патриотом, крупным государственным, политическим и военным деятелем, боровшимся за независимость центральноазиатских народов от иноземных захватчиков. Его государственная деятельность, мужество и патриотизм навсегда остались в народной памяти.

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LEGACY OF THE SIX-DAY WAR

Abstract. The Middle East and especially the region surrounding Israel has been caught in a continuous conflict with far-reaching consequences for nearly a century now. Although the international conflict there has mostly ceased, violence still occurs, and its impacts are very much tangible for the residents of the Palestine, East Jerusalem, and Israel itself. Therefore, the following will examine one of the most determining wars in the 20th Century, the Six-Day War, and how it has shaped the region. To maintain a more objective perspective, sources from Israel, Palestine, and international organisations such as the UN have been employed. Having examined the evidence, the conclusion has been reached that the most significant and detrimental impacts of the Six-Day War have been felt by the Palestinians, specifically in the realms of economics, politics, and human rights. However, the impacts of the war on other groups, including the Bedouin and Jews, which are often overlooked, have also been examined.

Keywords: Arab-Israeli conflict, Middle East, United Nations, territorial partition, Jerusalem.

In May 2021, the otherwise tranquil night sky over Israel was once again torn apart by rockets from Hamas, which aimed to maim as many Israelis as possible. This was directly in response to the introduction of Jewish settlers in Sheikh Jarrah in East Jerusalem, but other factors contributing to the violence can be traced back to centuries ago. The international community was taken aback by the violence, which, although was already incessant, was unprecedented since the war of 2014. To most people who are unfamiliar with the situation in this region, the conflict might seem eternal and pointless, but the reality is far from this. In fact, the goals of both the Israelis and Palestinians are clear and have been since the very beginning of their conflict: to claim the region for themselves. In addition, the impact of the conflict can be felt in many more nations than just Israel and its neighbours. The Israeli-Palestinian conflict transpired against the backdrop of the Cold War, thus naturally the United States and the Soviet Union, as well as their allies, were all involved or affected to some extent. Although the Cold War has ended and foreign nations are no longer as involved with said conflict as they were in the 20th century, the impacts in those nations have been lasting and are tangible even today. However, to understand the conflict of today, we must first return to the Six-Day War of 1967.

If the most recent tensions of 2021 show us anything, it is that the legacies of the Six-Day war continue to haunt any possible resolution. This is because the Six-Day War was one of the most defining moments of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. The repeated conflicts of the past twenty years show that this event had enormous impacts on the borders of Israel and its neighbours, as well as the inhabitants themselves. The following paper will therefore examine the effects that the war had on the Israelis, the Palestinians, and the attitudes of the members of the United Nations, specifically the US. While many people hear about the military aspects of the conflict in the major news media, the present paper will focus upon how the legacies of the Six-Day War affect the daily lives of both Palestinians and Israelis with a focus upon water rights, agriculture, transportation, and their bearing upon

economic development. In addition, while it might be easier to view the conflict as only having negative ramifications for Palestinians, the following will also show that there are also significant challenges for Israelis in the area of economics and international relations. After offering a brief description of the Six Day War, the following will analyze these effects by grounding them in recent data that shows how the war continues to plague people on both sides of the conflict.

The Background of the Six-Day War

It is important to understand the background of this long-lasting conflict, thus we shall first begin with the history of Israel, Palestine and some of their neighbouring states. The area that would become Israel had been under Islamic rule for over 1.300 years when the British conquered it following World War I. Therefore, it is unsurprising that 83% of the population was composed of Muslims in 1915 [20]. During the First World War, the local Arab leaders negotiated with the British and reached the agreement that the local population would revolt against the Ottoman Empire and in return, the British would recognise Arab independence. The British occupied the region in 1920, and established it as a mandate until 1948. During this period, the Jewish population of the region increased extraordinarily quickly, due to the Zionist ideology that was fuelled by anti-Semitic sentiments throughout Europe. Pressure from the United States meant that the British were forced to allow a significant number of Jewish refugees into the mandate, although they understood the unrest that this would cause. Despite the White Paper of 1939, which limited Jewish immigration to 75.000 per year between 1939 and 1945, the Jewish population in Palestine amounted to 31.6% by 1946. This created significant tension between the Jews and Arabs, which became manifest in the shape of terrorism from both sides. For instance, the Nebi Musa riot of 1920 killed 5 Jews and 4 Arabs, and injured hundreds (The Government Printer [13]).

The incessant riots and attacks were costly for the British both in terms of finances and human lives. As a result, they decided to fully withdraw by August 1948

and allow the UN to take control of the region. The UN proposed Resolution 181 in November 1947 in order to satisfy both parties. This plan stipulated that roughly half of the land would be allocated to each independent state. The land allocated to the Jews stretched from Haifa to Gaza, namely the coastline, the Negev desert, and the area around Lake Tiberias (see figure 1).

Figure 1. The United Nations Partition for Palestine (United Nations [31])

According to the plan, the city of Jerusalem would remain outside of each independent state and would be run by the United Nations. However, the plan was rejected by the Arabs, because they viewed it as unfair since only roughly a third of the Palestinian population was Jewish, yet they were given half of the land. Moreover, they referenced the UN charter, which granted people the right to self-determination, which was not applied in this case as the international community was deciding on behalf of the local population.

Shortly thereafter, a civil war broke out, with the much more organised and better equipped Israelis prevailing. Out of fear of Israeli atrocities like the Deir Yassin massacre, which killed over 100 Palestinian villagers (Hogan [15]), there was a mass Arab exodus into neighbouring countries including Syria and Transjordan. With the Arab resistance decimated and the British having withdrawn, David Ben-Gurion, the head of the Jewish Agency, declared the creation of the new state of Israel on May 14, 1948. There was, however, no calm after the storm, as over the next few days, the armies of Egypt, Transjordan, Syria, and Iraq invaded the newly established Israel, transforming this conflict from a civil war to the Arab-Israeli War. The UN intervened by brokering a truce that lasted between June and July 1948, but neither side respected it and even the British were sceptical that it would secure long-term peace.

When the peace ended in early July, the Israelis immediately executed an offensive, which yielded great results for the Israelis. The UN again brokered a truce on July 18 and proposed the UN Partition Plan, but this was rejected by both sides, thus the war continued. Several months of intense fighting followed, with Israel gradually gaining the initiative with its strategic offensives and Egypt finally agreed to enter armistice negotiations on January 6, 1949; the other Arab states followed suit shortly thereafter. Both the geographic and demographic impacts of this war were significant: Israel now controlled around 78% of mandatory Palestine. This caused deep dissatisfaction with the Arabs and paved the way for subsequent conflicts. Additionally, over 700.000 Arabs had been expelled from Israel into Gaza, Syria, and Jordan, where they were often recruited into terrorist organisations like the Fatah and the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (United Nations Conciliation Commission for Palestine [29]).

The period between 1949 and 1956 was not particularly remarkable, but the Suez crisis of 1956 did have long-lasting implications. After Nasser decided to nationalise the Suez Canal, Britain and France hatched a plan with Israel to retake it. Although the plan was executed successfully, pressure from the UN, and notably from the US, halted the British and French invasion. The subsequent international condemnation damaged their reputation in the UN, which meant that their influence in the Middle East was replaced by the US and the USSR.

After this crisis, terrorism and skirmishes continued to occur along the Israeli borders, but these sometimes escalated remarkably. One notable example was the Samu incident in 1965, where Israeli troops invaded Jordan after they suspected terrorist activity in the village of Es Samu, Jordan. The following invasion killed 3 and wounded many more Jordanian civilians (United Nations Truce Supervision Organization [30]). This prompted King Hussein to mobilise and he urged the other Arab states to do so too. As a result of strengthening bonds between the Arab nations and the Soviet Union after the Suez Crisis, Egypt and Syria wholeheartedly believed the Soviets when they warned of a mass build-up of Israeli forces along the borders; the allegations of Israeli mobilisation would eventually be revealed to be false. In response, both Egypt and Syria decided to mobilise, and Nasser ordered the United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF), which was peacekeeping in the Sinai. Because this force was established by the UN after the Suez Crisis, it essentially accomplished nothing in terms of preventing war. Following this action, Nasser then closed the Straits of Tiran to Israeli shipping, which was seen as an act of war by the

Israelis, but because the UNEF had withdrawn, the UN could not intervene anymore.

As a result of the lack of international intervention and spurred on by the imminent, disastrous economic consequences of the closure of the Straits, Israel decided to strike first on June 5, 1967, officially initiating the Six-Day War. As indicated by the name, the Six-Day War was incredibly brief, partly due to the lack of coordination and cooperation between the Arab countries and the devastating effect of the Israeli air strikes. However, the geographical changes were immense. Israel had successfully driven off the Syrians from the Golan Heights, the Egyptians from Gaza, and the Jordanians from the Old City of Jerusalem and the West Bank. However, the UN unanimously adopted Resolution 242 in November 1967, which demanded that Israel withdraw from and return 'territories occupied' in the recent conflict. This was in spite of the fact that both Egypt and Jordan had promised no recognition of, no peace with, and no negotiation with Israel, illustrating their wavering support for the Palestinian cause when offered territorial reclamation. This proved that the concept of 'Land for Peace' was a success for the UN and Israel. However, the wording of Resolution 242 was vague, for it did not specify which territories Israel was obliged to return, nor did it imply that all the territories should be returned, thus Israel managed to retain some of the conquered land, namely the Old City, the Gaza Strip, and the West Bank up to this day. In addition, the Israeli construction of Jewish settlements deep inside designated Palestinian territories contradicts Israel's adoption of the resolution. Critics of the Israeli interpretation of the wording of Resolution 242 point to the French version, which demands Israeli withdrawal from 'des territoires', which translates to 'of the territories' in English. The PLO, on the other hand, rejected the resolution in 1967 because it recognised Israel as a legitimate state and it also did not mention the humanitarian aspect of the Palestinian refugees beyond 'a just settlement of the refugee problem' (United Nations, n.d.). This reinforced the fact that both the na-

tions involved in the war and those in the UN were beginning to treat the conflict as a dispute between Arab nations and Israel, instead of one between the Palestinian people and Israel.

The issue of East Jerusalem was particularly controversial, as it is still not recognised as belonging to Israel today by the United Nations. Lord Caradon, who drafted Resolution 242, said retrospectively that 'if we had attempted to raise or settle the question of Jerusalem as a separate issue at that time our task in attempting to find a unanimous decision would have been far greater if not impossible' (Foot [12]). The issue was that the capture of East Jerusalem and thus the ability to pray at the Western Wall was so important to Jews that they would not relinquish it without a fight: while East Jerusalem was governed by Jordan, Israelis were forbidden from visiting the Western Wall, despite the 1949 armistice agreement. The Western Wall was particularly important for Jews, because it is one of the last remaining walls of the Temple Mount, which was the site of both ancient Jewish Temples, and is thus a place of pilgrimage. Therefore, the issue of Jerusalem was avoided time and time again in various discussions and treaties; in fact, even in 1982 Ronald Reagen said 'its [Jerusalem's] final status should be decided through negotiations' (The New York Times [24]). However, Moshe Dayan, former Israeli minister of defence, insisted that Israel allow Muslims to access their holy sites in contrast to the behaviour of the Jordanians. Despite fierce resistance from some Jewish groups, Muslims were allowed to control the Haram, which is the Temple Mount and includes the Al-Aqsa Mosque and the Dome of the Rock, both incredibly sacred locations for Muslims. Jews were barred from praying there, which illustrates that the Palestinians were still at least somewhat respected and taken into consideration.

However, the other effects of the Six-Day War on Palestinians were significantly worse: they faced many social and economic issues, with most of these stemming from the construction of Jewish settlements. It should also me noted that the term 'Palestinian' includes the indigenous population like Bedouin,

Druze, and other ethnic peoples too, who have been equally affected. It As a result of continued debate over ownership of East Jerusalem, West Bank, and the Golan Heights, the Israeli government began building Jewish Settlements in what was legally Palestinian land (see figure 2). The government provided incentives for Israeli citizens to move to these newly constructed settlements in order to strengthen Israel's claim of the land, for both the government and conservative Israelis saw the West Bank as historically Jewish territory.

The increase in Jewish settlements has largely come at the cost of local Palestinians in the West Bank in a variety of ways. The Jewish settlements must be supported by roads and other infrastructure, which are exclusively available for the Jewish population, as well as military establishments like bases and checkpoints. The remaining Palestinian settlements have been arranged so that they are separated into 'islands'. By islands, we mean small Palestinian communities that have been artificially separated from each other by roads, barriers, and Jewish settlements. Thus, although the 'built-up' areas of the Jewish settlements amount to only 1% of the land of the West Bank, the total area under Jewish jurisdiction amounted to 42%, according to state documents (CBS News [7]).

The demolition of Palestinian settlements in the West Bank and other occupied territories is an obvious direct effect. This process of dismantling settlements not only includes Palestinians in the region but also minority communities that have lived in the territory of the West Bank for generations. An example would be the Beduoin communities that have inhabited regions of the Judean Wilderness, which sits in close proximity to many of the Palestinian cities in the mountainous regions of the West Bank. As recently as July 2021, a Bedouin community north of Ramallah was demolished by the Israeli forces (Daily Sabah with AA [9]). This issue hinges upon the problems involved in showing legal ownership of land in Israeli courts. A major part of the issue then also relates to the number of times this land has changed hands from the Ottoman period to the period of Israel's occupation

of the West Bank. Israel claimed that the Palestinians there did not hold building permits, and thus Israel had the right to dismantle the buildings. As this example shows, part of the larger problem that stands at the root of these claims is the relationship between UN determinations about building in the West Bank and Israeli legal decisions, which often result in contradictory claims. For instance, the UN has repeatedly found that Jewish settlements in the West Bank are illegal under international law. Such actions then leave people such as the Bedouin communities homeless until they rebuild their homes by themselves and as a result, stable employment and access to services are compromised.

The separation of Palestinian communities, too, has resulted in many issues for the local inhabitants, including great difficulties in accessing healthcare, travel restrictions, and as a result declining economic conditions. Due to the prevalence of checkpoints and barriers for Palestinians, their daily commute is heavily delayed by 'a permanent system of roadblocks, gates, checkpoints, the Wall and other obstacles to movement in the West Bank (including East Jerusalem) and the Gaza blockade.' (American Friends Service Committee [2]) The number of obstacles to movement within the West Bank was 542 in 2013, according to the United Nations Office for the Coordination of Human Affairs. The UNOCHA also notes that the travel barriers decrease private sector investment, access for humanitarian aid, and Palestinians' access to health, education, and other services. The UN identified that the main challenges to private sector investment were the physical travel barriers established by Israel, and the lack of stability and safety in the West Bank and Gaza. Between 1994 and 1998, when security somewhat improved, private sector investment could increase, resulting in an 8% growth in GDP during this period for the West Bank and Gaza. Conversely, as a result of the tighter restrictions implemented in response to the Second Intifada of 2000–2005, the economy overall witnessed a GDP per capita decrease by 23% in 2006 than in 1999 (United Nations [32]).

The negative effect of the travel barriers on access to healthcare is particularly notable and even more so for those who live far from East Jerusalem or other major cities because they must travel even further for treatment. Additionally, those who used to live in territories that belonged to Palestine but, following the Six-Day War, now belong to Israel, face an additional problem. This is because some were accustomed to accessing Israeli healthcare in Jerusalem, but they could have lost their permits to enter Jerusalem if they relocated too far away. It should be noted, however, that 90% of Palestinians who were living in East Jerusalem were granted permanent residence status, which allows them to travel and access services in Israel (Robinson [26]). Hundreds of thousands of these people were also offered Israeli citizenship, again encapsulating that the Israeli government did not completely disregard the Palestinians.

Access to water has also been one of the more significant economic challenges that the occupation has posed to Palestinian in the West Bank. The West Bank This meant that over 90% of Palestinians faced water scarcity, according to the WHO's recommended minimum. The agricultural sector was once considered the 'cornerstone of Palestinian economic development', thus access to water is essential to the growth of the economy. The problem is not that the West Bank lacks water necessarily. By contrast, the inhabitants of Jewish settlements in Palestine are allocated a plentiful supply of water. A United Nations Human Rights Council mission in 2012 discovered that Israeli citizens in the West Bank consumed 80% of the total water supply, despite constituting only around 13% of the population. (Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights [17] [OHCHR] [25]).
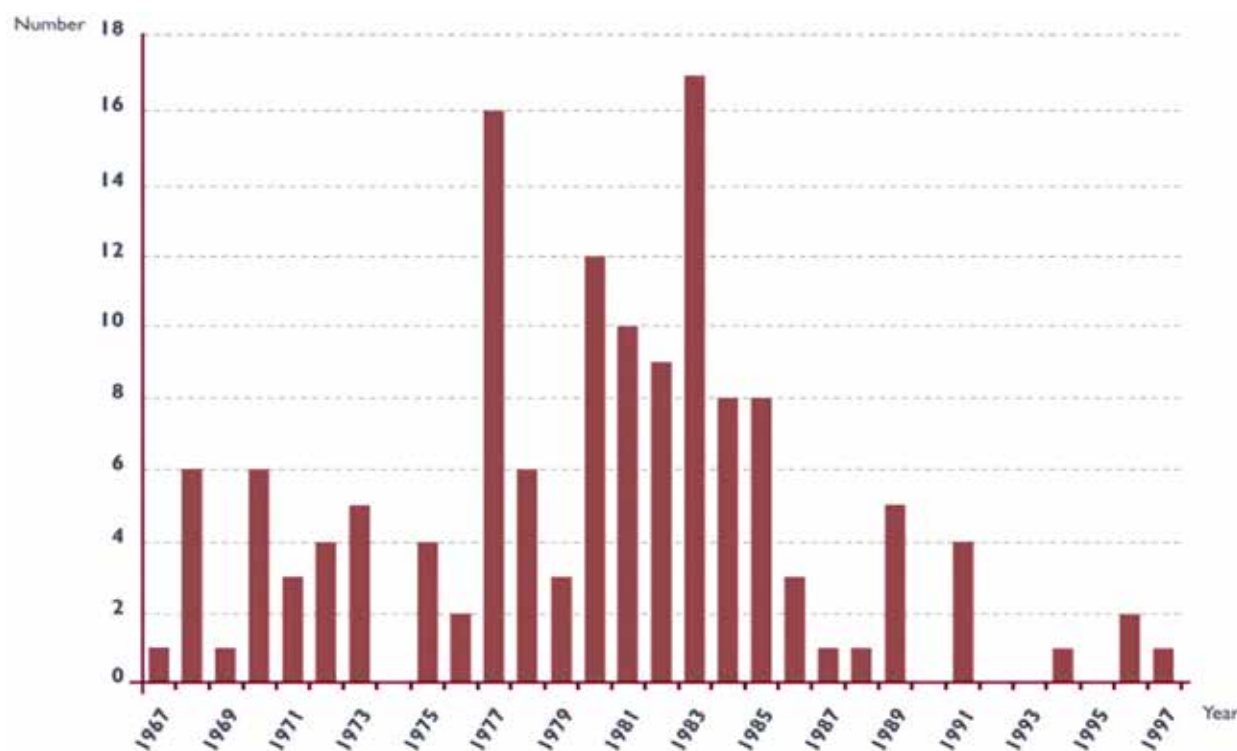
Figure 2. Number of new Jewish settlements in the West Bank by year. (Fahoum and Abuelaish [11])

The impacts of the Six-Day War on Palestinian agriculture and, by extension, the economy overall, are equally negative. The same UN mission found that, since 1967, the share of Palestinian GDP that can be attributed to agriculture has been steadily declining. This is mostly due to 'dispossession of land and the denial of access for farmers to agricultural areas, water resources and domestic and

external markets' (OHCHR [25]). Due to Palestinian farmers' poor access to water resources as aforementioned, many Palestinians have either outright relinquished agriculture, or have had to cultivate rain-dependent crops, which are less profitable than irrigated ones.

Furthermore, the challenges that are posed by transportation have a dramatic effect upon the economy: difficulty of transportation in Palestine has culminated in the increase of the prices of products, which makes them uncompetitive in the market; this, again, illustrates that the social and economic issues Palestinians face are interconnected and stem from the presence of Israeli settlements. Moreover, the construction of settlements themselves has directly augmented the negative effect on Palestinian agriculture, because 'many Israeli cultivated areas correspond to lands that were cul-

tivated by Palestinians until the Second Intifada' (OHCHR [25]). The construction of the 'border' wall in 2002 has only exacerbated the effect on transportation for agricultural workers. We put the word 'border' in inverted commas because it does not actually mark the border between Israel and Palestine (see figure 3). Between the wall and the border lies over 18.400 hectares of land, which is known as the Seam Zone. Palestinian farmers must obtain and present special permits that theoretically allow them to access their farmland in this area, but in reality, this is only permitted for brief periods on certain days. The Human Rights Watch found that in a group of eight villages known as the Biddu enclave, 50% of the farmland and 70% of the grazing land was cut off from farmers. Additionally, they were barred from accessing their land for 328 days in 2011 (Human Rights Watch [HRW] [16]).
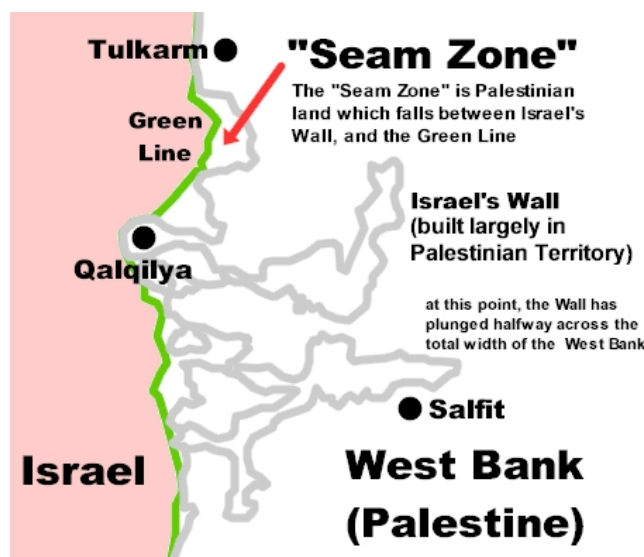

Figure 3. Map depicting the border wall in Palestine (Chehbouni [8])

The problems that face Palestinians in the West Bank are also part of a broader challenge that the State of Israel has related to the efforts to integrate a diverse ethnic and cultural population within the idea of a Jewish State. As aforementioned, East Jerusalem was captured by Israel during the Six-Day War, and Israel has retained control over it ever since. Although many Palestinians fled from East Jerusalem, many also stayed: the Arab population there is 37%

today (Human Rights Watch [HRW] [17]). Therefore, it is also important to examine the lasting effects of the war on the Palestinians who remained in East Jerusalem. Although these people are considered citizens, they have been weakened by the Israeli government through separation and denial of political rights. Following the Six-Day War, Israel incorporated East Jerusalem into the already Israeli West Jerusalem, to much criticism from the international

community. The Israeli government justified this by promising that this would mean equal access to services to all residents of East and West Jerusalem.

Despite this, Palestinians living in East Jerusalem have distinctly worse access to education, healthcare, employment, as well as other administrative services.

Figure 4. Photo depicting the differences between the original Palestinian textbook and version distorted by the Isreali governemnt (Alian [1]

One of the effects that the challenge of integrating a diverse population in Israel has had upon minority communities is perhaps felt most intensely in the realm of education. Palestinians who reside in East Jerusalem receive worse education because there is less funding and hence resources. There are three options for these people: the official-municipal, private, and unofficial recognised schools. The official-municipal schools are managed by Israeli ministry of education and cost significantly less than the other two types, but are considered low-quality by the locals. However, the one advantage, or drawback depending on perspective, it holds over the other two types of schools, is that Hebrew is mandatory. This is because some Arabs may not wish to study Hebrew for moral or religious reasons, but in fact, the ability to speak Hebrew is beneficial towards a graduate's job prospects, which will be later explored. The unofficial recognised schools are largely funded by Israeli authorities and are affiliated with various associations or churches (Alian [1]). Overall, though, there is a shortage of space in the secondary education system. This means that the schools have the advantage of being more selective by raising the cost of education. This means that many families will have to choose whether they can afford to send their kids to school after a certain age. As a result, around 33% of Palestinians in East Jerusalem do not complete 12 years of schooling (Tatarsky and Maimon [28]). Between 1967 and 1994, schools in East Jerusalem followed the Jordanian schooling track, Tawjihi, which is a general secondary education certificate

examination. It is thus similar to GCSEs in the UK, and a candidate's scores are used to determine their admission to universities. During this period, the Israeli government also tried to implement their own syllabus, but this faced heavy criticism and was rescinded. Since 1994, schools in East Jerusalem began using the Palestinian schooling track instead, to the frustration of the Israeli government. The government has therefore censored and adjusted the curriculum where necessary to change historical narratives (see figure 4) so that children feel less nationalistic towards Palestine. The municipal schools, being funded by the Israeli government, have embraced this new altered curriculum, whereas the other two types of schools are being encouraged to also change through financial incentives.

The nature of work for most residents of East Jerusalem is poor quality, even though participation in the labour force is high. This helps to explain the poor state of the economy of East Jerusalem. For instance, 77% of Arab families in East Jerusalem live under the poverty line (Halon [14]). Those who have newly graduated can either continue the arduous yet unrewarding work of their parents, try to seek higher education, or seek employment elsewhere. The fact that the Tawjihi is not recognised by Israel means that students of East Jerusalem must seek higher education in either the West Bank or other Arab countries, which is financially demanding and unrealistic for most. Some young people of East Jerusalem therefore turn to the Israeli labour market as a last resort, but there are barriers to this too. The fact that most schools in East Jerusalem do not teach Hebrew as a mandatory subject means that graduates can only apply for low-skilled jobs. Not only is this prospect not much of an improvement over employment in East Jerusalem itself, but these people also have to compete with Palestinians from the West Bank. As a result, this limits employment opportunities further and drives down wages. These conditions result in a cycle of poverty and violence that often resembles what we see in many poorer communities. Lack of accessible education leads to difficulties with employment and then unemployment leads to worse opportunities for future generations. As a result of this vicious cycle, some residents of East Jerusalem feel that they have nothing to lose, and therefore resort to violence to express their discontent. For example, all of the perpetrators of major attacks in East Jerusalem since September 2015 received no higher education (Efrati [10]).

Additionally, although these people are indeed Israeli citizens, their rights and political power are incomplete. This is because in this polity political power is very closely related to cultural values. Officially, Arab citizens have the same rights as their Jewish counterparts, they face discrimination on a social level due to Israel's ethnocratic structure. 'Judaisation' is the process of assimilation where another ethnic population is forced to accept Jewish cultural values, which strongly contradicts the Israeli narrative of democracy for everyone. An example which illustrates this is the 'Nation-State Law', which was passed in 2018. This law removed Arabic as an official language and declared that 'the right to exercise self-determination' in Israel is 'unique to the Jewish people', sidelining the Arab population within Israel (Berger [6]).

In terms of political authority, an Arab party has never been part of a ruling coalition and only two Arabs have ever been appointed government ministers out of 648 ministerial appointments. All citizens of Israel can vote, but being the minority, the Arab parties have found it incredibly difficult, and currently collectively hold only 10 of the 120 seats of the Knesset, the legislative body of Israel. Many Arab political parties have also been banned from the Knesset in the past. These political dynamics as a result make it very difficult for Palestinians to effect changes to the laws that govern education, transportation, etc., rounding out the great challenges that permeate all aspects (Robinson [26]).

One often overlooked aspect of the Six-Day War is its impact on Israel and its Jewish citizens. Unsurprisingly, the effects are more ideological than physi-

cal, but it is important to examine both, and we shall begin with the quantitative effects. Similar to wars like World War Two, the Six-Day was actually constructive towards the Israeli economy since most of the fighting was not located in the populated regions of Israel. In 1968 alone, the economy grew by 14% and GDP per capita increased by 29 times between 1967 and 2015 (McInery [21]). However, there have been two major economic drawbacks of the Six-Day War on Israel. The first is that Israel has needed to maintain a strong army ever since its creation, therefore taxes have always been relatively high. One of the first actions the newly-formed Israeli government executed in 1948 was to increase the tax rate by 100%. This was only intended to be temporary, as the existence of Israel itself was under threat then, but the high taxation rate has remained, on account of the continuing conflict with neighbouring Arab states and terrorist groups. Following the Six-Day War, in 1970, Israeli citizens were some of the highest taxed in the world (Kimmerling [18]).

The second major economic drawback of the Six-Day War for Israel was government spending on the Jewish settlements. According to Paul Rivlin, senior fellow at the Moshe Dayan Centre for Middle East and African studies, University of Tel Aviv, the 'construction of settlements in Sinai and Gaza and in West Bank' contributed to Israel's 'massive problems of budget deficits, balance of payments deficits, debt problems and also inflation' (McInery [21]). Even today, the cost of maintaining and constructing Israeli settlements is tangible and has been a significant source of discontent for some Israeli taxpayers. In fact, the 2011 protests in Israel, which were the largest ever, were fueled by unacceptably high costs of living partly as a result of high spending on said settlements (Lubell [19]) On the other hand, the new Israeli prime minister, Naftali Bennett, strongly advocates for both the construction of the settlements and even the annexation of the entire West Bank, and a poll by the Israel Democracy Institute illustrated that 50% of the 771 Israelis polled sup-

ported annexation of the West Bank. This illustrates that the citizens of Israel are still divided over their views on the settlements despite the material effects (Lubell [19]).

One of the more significant repercussions of the Six-Day War for Israel has been the increasing divisions that it has caused in the Jewish community. Israel's victory in the Six-Day War led some Jews to believe that Zionism was a messianic process and therefore spurred those who believed such to construct the first settlements. Many of the settlements are located in what the Hebrew Bible refers to as the land of Ephraim and Judah, which was the heart of ancient Israel in biblical times. As a result, the location of the settlements in this area becomes entangled with religious views about the divine right of land. Messianism in this case means that Zionism was part of the process of redemption for Jews. However, this idea was in contrast to the state of Israel's approach of 'Land for Peace'. Some religious Zionists have since then become disillusioned with messianism, like Rabbi Yehuda Amital, whereas others have stood firmly beside their original views.

The settlements and the continued occupation of the West Bank also raise important questions about Jewish support for the State of Israel. While support of Israel by American Jews for example continues to be strong, one can see that there is increasing tension in American Judaism over how to think about the occupation. With increasing awareness of social justice by the younger generation this often means that questions arise over whether or to what extent support for Israel also means support for the continued suppression of Palestinian rights. This means that one of the long term negative effects of the occupation of the West Bank is the increasing division that it causes between the State of Israel and Jews living outside of Israel. A notable example that portrays this would be the Jewish National Fund, a popular charity in Israel that acquires and develops land in the Holy Land. In early 2021, the charity became controversial after it approved a plan which now allows it to purchase land

from Palestinians in the West Bank and develop it for Jewish settlers (MEE and Agencies [22]), which means donations could be funding Jewish settlements in the West Bank. This controversy reflects the increasing divide among Jews over whether or not such funds should be used to support the further disenfranchising of Palestinians: even the charity itself only approved this proposition by a one-vote majority. Moreover, Peace-Now, an Israeli anti-settlement watchdog, stated that the JNF had already quietly acquired 16.000 acres of land in the West Bank over the past few decades. The Union for Reform Judaism, the largest Jewish movement in North America, has criticised the JNF's new proposition, illustrating that even among the international Jewish community, the settlements are not widely supported (AP News Wire [3]). In fact, a poll conducted in 2019 discovered that 66% of American Jews believed that Israel should be willing to dismantle at least some of the settlements in the West Bank. This example reveals that one of the strongest legacies of the Six-Day War for Jewish communities in fact is the way that it increasingly divides the Jewish community globally. This divide might ultimately lead to a decrease of support for the State of Israel and its policies (Statista Research Department [27]). In addition to this, a national survey of American Jews in 2007 illustrated that over 30% of those under the age of 35 sometimes felt ashamed of Israel's actions. One young Jewish American even wrote that 'defending her [Israel's] actions in Gaza has too often become an immense moral struggle that requires the suspension of our values as human beings' (Waxman [34]). This attitude contrasts starkly against that of older Jewish Americans who were more likely to support Israel unconditionally, which shows that perhaps nationalistic fervor, which often accompanies international wars like the Six-Day War, made some Jews overlook the aggressive policies which Israel has pursued.

Conclusion

In light of the discussed impacts of the Six Day War, we return once more to Sheikh Jarrah (see figure 5). This particular community in East Jerusalem has often been the focal point of many of the long-lasting impacts of this war, as illustrated by the recent conflicts and protests in the past year. The story here is one that is all too common and familiar for Palestinians living in East Jerusalem and the West Bank: a land dispute resulting in the eviction of Palestinian families. Given how many times the region has changed hands in the past one hundred years has made legal decisions about ownership a particularly difficult challenge for residents. Many Jews see all of Jerusalem as part of Israel, although this opinion has been rejected by the United Nations. Nevertheless, this meant that the Israeli government could apply Israeli law over Sheikh Jarrah, and, coupled with various documents produced by associations dating back decades that prove Jewish ownership of the land, culminated in the Israeli government awarding the land to a Jewish settlement company. Under a proposed agreement, the Palestinian residents could remain if they pay the company, but this agreement was rejected by said residents.
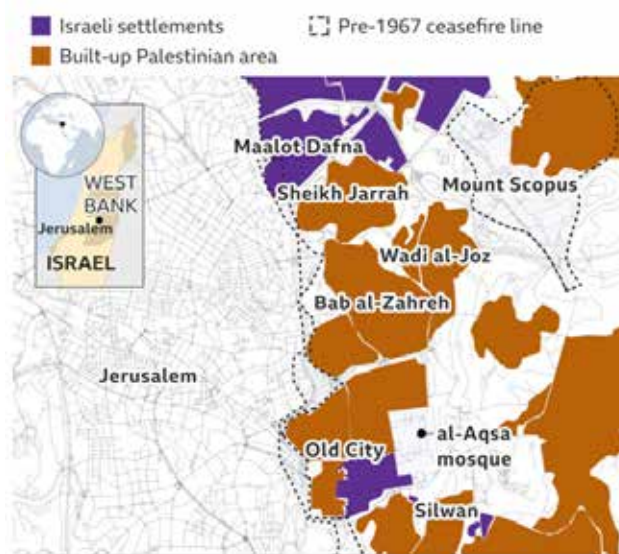

Figure 5. Map of East Jerusalem
(BBC Reality Check Team [5])

As the situation progresses into a stalemate, with no agreement reached, the international community largely supported the Palestinian residents as expressed by the protests to 'Free Sheikh Jarrah'

in front of the Israeli embassy in London. Even Ned Price, the state department spokesperson of Israel's historic ally, the US, said 'Families should not be evicted from homes in which they have lived for decades' (Middle East Monitor [28]). As this most recent situation illustrates, the root of the cycle of violence can be tied to the specific legacies of the Six-Day War: transportation, water, agriculture, and displacement. The current diplomatic stalemate means that the cycle of poverty and violence will continue to plague the West Bank and East Jerusalem, as little action is performed to address these critical issues.

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COVID‑19 AND THE SPANISH FLU OF 1918: A COMPARISON

Abstract. This paper seeks to highlight the similarities between the current COVID-19 pandemic and the Spanish Flu of 1918. Through this comparison, I hope to offer some insight on how the current pandemic may be resolved. I also discuss the social aspects of COVID-19, and how the modern era has drastically changed disease prevention.

Keywords: COVID-19, Social Media, Pandemic, Spanish Flu, Coronavirus.

As cruel as it may sound, disease is a driving force in human development. During the numerous massive pandemics that have plagued humanity throughout its history, humankind has emerged from the other side more aware of the dangers a deadly disease can pose. Looking at the modern day, it is apparent that humanity is now better equipped to combat disease than ever before. However, despite recent medical advancements making disease much more manageable, it has not completely eradicated pandemics. The increase of air travel has also made the prospect of pandemic in the 21st century drastically more worrisome and more difficult to manage and control, along with the heavy urbanization in developed nations.

In the age of globalization, media and social media allows information to travel almost instantaneously across the globe, making the public much more cognizant of emerging diseases. This global awareness of new threats to the public's well-being raises a very pressing issue: a pandemic is no longer "over" until the public chooses that it is. If people are unwilling to return to their daily lives after the medical professionals have deemed it safe, then nothing has been achieved. With COVID-19 causing major disruptions in our lives in this past year, this concept applies now more than ever. At the same time, the access to media and social media also poses a problem for control of diseases like COVID-19. Social media

provides a platform for people to disagree with the opinions of health professionals over the pandemic and advocate against government regulations. For this reason, we might say that despite the advances in medicine that help us prevent and fight new diseases other social factors can have a mitigating effect upon the benefits that science offers humans in the current age. To situate these problems within a more nuanced context, the following paper will compare the present COVID-19 pandemic to the Spanish Flu of 1918, discuss how public perception of disease has changed, and analyze if this change in perception is an asset or a detriment to the treatment of pandemics in the future. Moreover, the following paper will offer several observations about the role that social difference has played in the responses to the Spanish Flu of 1918 and the COVID-19 pandemic of 2020.

The Spanish Flu: Time, Place, and Mechanism of Spread

At the beginning of the pandemic, the Spanish Flu was perceived as yet another seasonal flu virus which spreads every few years. The first phase of the outbreak began during the spring of 1918, and due to the circumstances of World War I, many of the first cases appeared in military camps. Medical officials did not initially show great concern over the outbreak since the disease resembled other milder strains of the virus. This led to an unfortunate and unforeseen consequence at the start of the pandem-

ic. Because it spread predominantly among military personnel, the public did not feel its effects or take serious precautions until much later. As soldiers of various nations participating in the Great War were shipped across the globe, however, many leading nations began to see infections spike in their populations due to the massive influx of troops. Despite a large amount of exposure, the overall death toll was still negligible, and therefore did not generate much awareness for the virus.

The second wave of the virus, however, eventually became the deadliest. Starting in September of the same year, hundreds of thousands of US citizens would become infected, and the death toll would skyrocket. A letter from a physician by the name of Roy Grist captured the gruesome scene of surgical wards responding to the pandemic.

Describing the symptoms of the flu, Grist stated:

"These men start with what appears to be an attack of la grippe or influenza, and when brought to the hospital they very rapidly develop the most viscous type of pneumonia that has ever been seen. Two hours after admission they have the mahogany spots over the cheeks bones, and a few hours later you can begin to see the cyanosis extending from their ears and spreading all over the face, until it is hard to distinguish the coloured men from the white. It is only a matter of a few hours then until death comes, and it is simply a struggle for air until the suffocate. It is horrible [14].

The initial response by local and federal organizations fell far short of what was needed to combat the virus. As a result, the country went into a mass lockdown in many of America's largest urban centers and public spaces. Schools, theaters, restaurants, churches, and many other places of public gathering were closed, and social distancing was implemented with varying amounts of success. A teenager from Seattle named Violet Harris described the lockdown in her diary with the following words:

"It was announced in the papers tonight that all churches, shows and schools would be closed until further notice, to prevent Spanish influenza from spreading. Good idea? I'll say it is! So will every other school kid, I calculate…The only cloud in my sky is that the [School] Board will add the missed days on to the end of the term" [14].

As the words of this student's diary present, many saw the initial lockdowns as a respite from work, only to soon discover that the virus would take a serious toll on the country.

Coastal cities on both sides of the continent were hit the hardest, with their quarantine measures far more extreme and, in most cases, a death rate that exceeded metropolitan centers further inland. This was particularly the case on the west coast in the cities of Los Angeles and San Francisco. The first major breakout of cases in Los Angeles occurred in September at the Polytechnic High School located near downtown. The following month the mayor of the city made a public announcement that large public gatherings would be banned for the immediate future. Los Angeles and other cities in California quickly became the scene for debates over the effectiveness of wearing masks to prevent the disease. While most doctors recommended wearing makes for preventative measures, some saw less benefits in the practice, and as a result, the population became somewhat split over how to approach the idea of wearing a mask as a solution to the pandemic's threat.

As weeks went on, efforts to keep the virus at bay began to pay off and many states witnessed their infection rates steadily decline. Health officials began to remark that the decrease in cases was a positive sign that the government measures were working. Some cities became overeager in their approach and decided prematurely to reopen their public spaces. However, such premature decisions were recognized as many cities were forced to begin closing down public spaces again and this time for an even longer period of time than previously expected. Despite this situation, the second wave of the virus largely ended by Christmas of 1918. A third minor wave took place

following Christmas in January of 1919, but by the spring of that year the influenza had passed.

Looking back at the Spanish flu in the aftermath of the pandemic, there was clearly something different about the 1918 flu season. The virus that caused so much death would later be identified to have been a different strain of the usual H1N1 virus. This new strain held multiple advantages over the normal H1N1, most significant of which was its faster replication rate. Tests of the 1918 virus determined that it multiplied almost five hundred times faster than the conventional flu. This replication rate contributed to its rapid spread across the world, resulting in a third of the human population being infected at the time. The 1918 virus had a particularly high mortality rate for those under 5 years old, between 20 and 40 years old, and 65 years or older. Moreover, the first reported cases of the flu were in army training facilities, where tens of thousands of recruits were trained by the US. These young soldiers would then be transported around the world to fight in World War I, allowing the disease to truly have a global reach. The various properties of the virus and the circumstances of its time allowed it to become what it is known as today.

The conclusion to such a catastrophic disease was more subtle than expected. A pandemic "ends" when there are not enough people to contract and spread the disease. This was the case with the 1918 pandemic "the virus circulated around the globe, infecting enough people that the world population no longer had enough susceptible people in order for the strain to become a pandemic once again" [20]. Prevention implemented by local authorities also helped to curb the overall death toll, as cities who adhered to stricter quarantine standards were less adversely affected. In the end, the 1918 Spanish Flu came to a close quietly, with time being the main causes of its eventual disappearance.

The Spread of COVID-19

Almost exactly one hundred years after the Spanish flu, the world experienced yet another pandemic that would devastate lives and economies. On February 11th, 2019, COVID-19 was first detected in Huan-an Market, a wet market which sold live exotic animals for consumption. Located in the Wuhan province of China, the disease quickly spread throughout China's densely populated megacities and its rural communities. Thought to have originated from bats, this novel coronavirus would cause symptoms of a dry cough, and eventually develop pneumonia in its hosts. Due to frequent international travel between China and many countries in the world, the disease soon arrived in a plethora of countries such as Korea, Japan, Russia, Iran, Italy, Spain, France, the United Kingdom, the US, Brazil, and many more. Despite the best efforts of health guidelines put into place by various governments, the number of infected continued to rise throughout 2020.

The first case of COVID-19 in the United States was confirmed on January 21st, 2020, which stemmed from a Washington state resident who had recently visited Wuhan province. The very next day U. S. President Donald Trump spoke out on social media, saying that "We have it totally under control. It's one person coming in from China. It's going to be just fine" [3]. The country confirmed its second case from a woman in her sixties from Chicago on January 24th. By January 26th, 5 people were infected, with the most recent coming from Los Angeles, Orange County, and Arizona. The following day COVID-19 screenings were extended to 20 airports, and on January 28th, all air travel between the United States and China was suspended by President Trump. By January 29th the United States, along with Japan, were the first nations to evacuate their citizens from Wuhan. On January 30th, a sixth case was confirmed, which became the first case of person-to-person transmission in the country.

On February 5th, the CDC began distributing test-kits to over one hundred labs across the country and even more evacuations from Wuhan were completed. By February 21st, there were 34 COVID-19 cases present in the US, including passengers evacuated from the Diamond Princess, a cruise ship off the coast of California that carried infected individuals from several countries. On the 25th of the same

month, the CDC warned the country of the disease spreading amongst the general population despite the prevention measures put into place. Four days after this solemn prediction, the US suffered its first casualty due to COVID-19.

In terms of the effects of the virus on the international scene, the world waits in anticipation for a reliable vaccine to be tested and distributed. Many countries still maintain their quarantine policy in fear of a premature opening causing another surge in cases. In the United States, there was a sense that the virus would end with the arrival of the summer in 2020. Some people predicted that like in the case of the flu the hot weather of the summer would bring an end to the disease. Unfortunately, that assumption has been proven to be utterly false. America is currently in the midst of a "third wave" far more severe than the previous two, resulting in local authorities redoubling their quarantine efforts to limit the impact of COVID-19. The vaccine is also somewhat worrisome. While significant progress has been made, questions of effectiveness and distribution issues still hinder its implementation.

As for the education systems, most schools in urban areas have committed to the remote learning model. High schools across the country have cancelled school athletics and extracurricular clubs to keep their students safe. Most universities have also conducted classes remotely or have modified semester schedules so that students will travel less during shorter holiday. Although universities have not formally announced their plans as of early 2021, it seems likely that many colleges will return to campus in the fall of 2021 for the start of the academic year. However, efforts are now being made to reopen these activities in a safe and controlled fashion. With the hopes of the vaccine being available in the coming months, schools are hoping that it will be in time to prevent another year of disrupted education at the very least.

Analysis

Being the most severe pandemic since HIV/AIDS in the late 1990s, COVID-19 presents a truly mod-

ern issue to the table of disease prevention. When we compare this very current virus to the one of 1918 described above, one of the important questions has to do with the relationship between medicine, politics, and social conscience. Standing at nearly the one-year mark of the first cases of COVID-19, one can now look back and reflect upon the way that politics and the social mood of Americans has played a part in the pandemic. One of the main issues in the COVID-19 pandemic in the United States has been the question of trust of government and health officials. Some in the population have dismissed the advice of health professionals because of their fear of government control and the belief that the pandemic is a hoax intended to oust the current president from office. Much of this misinformation was generated by the president himself, who early on in the pandemic on February 28, 2020, told audiences that the coronavirus was the Democrats new hoax. Near the beginning of the pandemic, Trump also repeated that there were many similarities between the pandemic and the seasonal flu, saying things like "35.000 on average each year die from the flu, that's a lot of people" [7]. (Trump calls coronavirus Democrats' 'new hoax'").

This misinformation combined with record levels of distrust of authority and government regulation and an overall lack of concern over the potential risks of the virus. In the United States alone, a large enough demographic of people have chosen to ignore the best judgement of our health officials that it noticeably hinders the country's ability to respond to the current crisis. While in previous pandemics there were smaller groups who disregarded conventional wisdom in favor of home remedies, there has never been such a widespread blatant refusal to comply. Adding insult to injury, the development of a vaccine, the best tool against such outbreaks, has left much to be desired. The Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) have been vocal about their lack of funding inhibiting their progress on developing a cure. In addition, in the middle of the pandemic, the President took to blaming the World Health

Organization and ultimately decided to remove the United States representation from the organization [1] ("Coronavirus: Trump moves to pull US out of World Health Organization"). Compiling all the issues and setbacks the medical community has faced in the development of this vaccine, it is no secret that people have begun to lose faith in their ability to solve this current pandemic.

A significant influence in the rise of a populist mentality is the role that social media has had in the pandemic. As a side effect of the informational age that is the 21st century, a sizable population of citizens have chosen to forgo the safety guidelines of their governments. The main culprit to this mass of misinformation are the numerous social media platforms that are now widely available to all groups. In an article speaking on social media's effect on the distribution of false information, the Harvard Gazette's Christina Pazzanese notes that "the popularity and ubiquity of the various platforms means the public is no longer merely passively consuming inaccuracies and falsehoods. It's disseminating and even creating them" [1; 13]. Arbitrary assumptions made by unqualified individuals can now be shared to hundreds of thousands at the click of a button, and when such cases are so abundant it becomes difficult to identify what is correct. The massive amount of misinformation present creates doubts among those trying to seek actual medical advice, which can lead to people to eventually dismiss the entire subject as a hoax.

A prime example of this "mythmaking" would be President Trump's advocacy for a drug to combat COVID-19 called hydroxychloroquine, or hydroxy for short. On March 19th, the president praised the drug as a "gamechanger" in a task force meeting about COVID-19. Despite the Director of the National Institutes of Allergy and Infectious Diseases Dr. Anthony Fauci dismissing the president's claims as based on "anecdotal evidence," public interest in the drug immediately skyrockets among Trump's supporters. The next day the president took to Twitter and cited a small French study, which the publisher denounced two weeks later citing that the study "did not meet society standards," which coincided with his claim. On the 24th, just three days after Trump's announcement about hydroxy, a man died in Arizona due to ingesting non-medical hydroxy. On April 9th, the National Institute of Health (NIH) would soon begin clinical trials on investigating the possibility of hydroxy being a valid treatment option for COVID-19. After months of additional controversy and a study associating the drug with cardiac arrest being released on May 11th, the NIH ceased its trials on the drug with no benefits discovered.

Social media has also played an enormous role in spreading conspiracy theories about the virus and the government's role in finding a solution. This has greatly impacted the ability of states and communities to work together toward progress to slow the spread of the virus. An example of this is the now infamous Breitbart video showing a group of doctors in Texas advocating for the benefits of Hydroxy. The video showed a Texas physician named Stella Immanuel with several doctors advocating for the benefits of Hydroxy as a remedy to the virus. Soon after its release, the video went viral on social media and within days Trump defended the doctors, saying that they have something important to say [15] ("Donald Trump Defends Censored Doctors for Recommending Hydroxychloroquine"). Within days of Breitbart news posting the video, both Facebook and Twitter deleted it from their platforms, citing that the video led to major disinformation about the virus and complicated the ability of the country to halt its spread. This decision on the part of the big-tech social media companies only fed further into conspiracy theories, some of which held that social media was the friend of Democrats and liberals in the American government. Many people saw that banning of the video on social media platforms as yet another liberal attack on Donald Trump and his attempts to get a vaccine out for Americans as soon as possible. The problem with this idea was that the medical community had already run several tests on the drug and found that it

did not have any significant effects upon COVID-10 patients.

COVID-19 in 2021

As more and more information regarding the vaccine situation becomes public, it has become clear that COVID will persist until the new year. Concerns with the vaccine's effectiveness and possible side effects in addition to the constant mythmaking and hoax theories already present have made significant portions of the population suspect the validity of the vaccine itself. The social climate created by quarantine makes publicizing up-to-date information about COVID-19 or the vaccine extremely difficult, and that fact does not seem to be changing with the transition into 2021. COVID-19 will inevitably still be a major issue in the new year, and the promise of a vaccine has done little to ease the worries of a people whose lives and livelihoods have been irrevocably altered by the pandemic.

Along with the changing of the year, the political landscape of the United States will shift with Democratic candidate Joe Biden's victory over the incumbent Donald Trump and the new Democratic majority in the Senate. Biden's rhetoric concerning the pandemic is starkly different from Trump's time in office: promising widespread stimulus relief and direct action to end the pandemic. The president-elect also advocates for mask-wearing, social distancing, and other precautionary measures that Trump had previously dismissed. While the effectiveness of Biden's message remains to be seen, it is highly likely that his efforts in 2021 against COVID-19 will become the defining period of his presidency. He will be given the thankless job of resolving some of the pandemic's most divisive issues: vaccination, reopening of the economy, and future preparations for another global health crisis.

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Section 4. Cultural studies

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SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES BETWEEN WUXIA AND SUPERHERO: SUPERNATURAL FIGURES' EXHIBITION OF THE CHINESE AND AMERICAN CULTURES

Abstract. The supernatural genre has become more and more popular among the young generation. Superhero and wuxia are two typical examples of the paranormal genre, respectively studied by previous studies to investigate their influence on society and audience. However, there are few pieces of research that thoroughly contrast superhero and wuxia stories, the representations of American and Chinese cultures. Thus, this study aimed to explore how the American and Chinese cultures impact their supernatural figures by comparing between superhero and wuxia stories. Although superheroes and wuxia are both positive and heroic figures, their expression showed a different emphasis on the corresponding culture. Wuxia stories wish to generate national pride and unity through traditions integrated into their plots and promote the xia spirit related to duty and faith. On the other hand, superhero stories set superheroes as both the models of American values and the representations of individualism's definition and related responsibilities.

Keywords: Wuxia, Superhero, Comparison, Culture, Influence.

1. Introduction

In various cultures, fighting heroes have emerged as part of popular culture to demonstrate important cultural values. These heroes, often arising from myth, occupy a substantial place in narrative forms. As the history of storytelling modes has unfolded, legends of heroes have moved from poetic epics to consumer forms such as comic books and film franchises. Although they differ from culture to culture, heroes play an essential role in representing cultural values and teaching ideological premises. The clothing worn, weapons used, images heroes adopt as symbols codify the values represented. Two impor-

tant traditions that exhibit and define heroism are wuxia in China and the superhero franchises in the United States. Different in many important ways, these two genres reveal how the individual cultures define, celebrate, and critique notions of bravery and patriotism.

Wuxia, which translates into English as "martial heroes," is a traditional concept in Chinese culture. The word combines two root words, wu ("martial" or "military") and xia ("chivalrous," "vigilante," or "hero"). First appearing in the Han Dynasty, xia was a concept that applied to people who embodied righteousness, benevolence, and altruism. Those defined

as xia typically supported the poor and resisted the rich in their own society (Van Malssen [1]). Later in history, wuxia appeared as a form of xia, which usually utilized Kongfu to defeat villains and maintain justice. Gradually, wuxia culture started to thrive and emphasized a supernatural theme through various Kongfu styles.

In distinction to the form of heroizing that developed in China, the first widely known Western superhero, which undoubtedly has its roots in classical epic, appears in the 1930 s, following the Great Depression (Kelley [2]). At this time, U.S. citizens, devastated by social and economic collapse, eagerly desired a common symbol capable of rebuilding their confidence and fulfilling their need for cheap entertainment. As such, the original American heroes provided solace at a time of social and economic crisis. They were metaphors that could galvanize collective spirit at a time of need. However, this origin quickly modulated to encompass a range of representations that served more commercial interest. As the genre of superhero material merged in the United States, the figure of the "superhero" gradually developed into a purely fictional hero with extraordinary powers.

Various scholars have studied and explored the influence of superhero films on both American and international culture, noting how the genre's impact on developing American ideals and exporting these ideals internationally. Significant academic work on the influence of wuxia on modern society has been conducted. However, few studies have represented these concepts side by side. Furthermore, relatively few studies have compared these supernatural genres based on their formations, structures, and implications. In bringing these two forms together, this paper will show how the network of representation shares some commonalities but differs in how cultural attitudes toward bravery and patriotism are expressed.

This paper explores how Chinese and American cultures impact the formation of supernatural figures through the concepts and plots of wuxia and superhero stories. Such comparison can reveal the similarities and differences what various authors, writing at different times and in other locations, have cultivated as the source material for their works. In undertaking such a project, limitations are inevitable. The most noteworthy is that the authors who wrote superhero and wuxia stories, although embedded in their historical periods and therefore subject to their prevailing ideologies, were likewise influenced by personal considerations in forming these stories. Secondly, both genres of representation are broad. They extend over many years, and they address different concerns. This paper will focus on *The Legend of the Condor Heroes* and Captain America, two typical stories in wuxia and superhero categories, respectively, to specify the topic.

2. Definitions and Representations

2.1 Wuxia

As mentioned earlier, wuxia is defined as a form of xia that uses Kongfu for performing benevolence. In this context, the word refers to those martial arts practitioners who use their skills to protect society or defend the rights of the least fortunate. Like ordinary people, wuxia retain their moral standards and political views. Although wuxia might value different deeds as a means of expressing benevolence, they are unified in their support for the weak and oppressed. Typical groups who receive the support of wuxia include women and the poor. When the genre is set in historical periods, these recipients of wuxia can stand in for contemporary groups, like the working class, that needs social and economic protection. Guo Jing, the main character of *The Legend of the Condor Heroes*, embodies many characteristics that define wuxia. Not only does Guo Jing protect his friends and family, but he also fights for his homeland during the Mongol invasion. As a courageous member of Song society, Guo Jing is compelled to lend his support against this powerful tribal confederation of nomads living to the north. In this way, practitioners of wuxia resemble chivalrous western knights, but these two figures of heroic self-sacrifice are not entirely congruent. The most significant dif-

ference is that the former emphasizes civilian culture, whereas the latter values and prioritizes nobility.

In *The Legend of the Condor Heroes*, wuxia are described as members of "jianghu," which refers to the community of martial artists of ancient China. This term often appears in wuxia stories to highlight the differences between wuxia heroes and ordinary people. Therefore, to maintain its purity, jianghu is usually separated from the imperial court, which rules the country. Granted the absence of imperial control inside jianghu, the wuxia heroes usually balance responsibility and freedom, depending on their personal ideologies. The extent of their individual dedication to their country and fellow citizens depends on the wuxia hero's own considerations. Wuxia possess personal beliefs that weigh heavily.

In order for wuxia to achieve their dedication and personal pursuits, groups of wuxia assemble to work together for greater fame and accomplishments. As a result, these wuxia groups are often granted resounding titles. There are many wuxia groups, some of which are independent, while some belong to sects. This dynamic is perfectly depicted in *The Legend of the Condor Heroes*. Most independent wuxia groups formed around shared pursuits and ideologies, while the latter primarily gather for propagating the strength and fame of their sects. However, both types of wuxia are willing to join forces when circumstances require. For instance, "The Seven Heroes" is a wuxia group of sworn brothers and sisters who became renowned for their unparalleled faith, righteousness, and brotherhood. In comparison, "The Seven Masters of Quanzhen" is a wuxia group that formed to exhibit the power of the Quanzhen sect to the rest of jianghu.

2.2 Superhero

In the United States, a certain portion of martial arts films have acquired popularity. However, many of the essential elements of the wuxia genre remain, yet, untranslated into American consciousness and culture. Instead, American heroizing has primarily taken place through the production of superheroes. These are figures endowed with superpowers and/or equipped with advanced technologies. Like wuxia, superheroes possess and are driven by personal beliefs that, in most cases, that not always align with prevailing notions of justice. When they are out of alignment, it is usually because the superhero accepts vigilantism as a means of achieving justice. However, unlike wuxia stories, there is always a clear line between the two sides in superhero stories, clarifying the absolute attributes of evil or justice. Thus, superheroes always fall into combat with a downright evil force instead of a hostile relationship caused by disagreements in wuxia plots. The establishment of a superhero emphasizes personal characteristics and superpowers. In so doing, the narratives often neglect some portion of how the hero supports and interacts with the weak, which is a primary stress of wuxia figures.

A figure who perfectly embodies these elements is Captain America, the superhero who is regarded as the incarnation of justice and the American spirit. He holds firm patriotic and righteous beliefs and is endowed with a body, augmented by science, that reaches the human limit. The Captain America film franchise powerfully highlights the main character's superhuman power and ideological commitments, as if these two elements of heroism, the physical and the ideological, are conjoined. In this series, Captain America defeats villains to protect the United States and to preserve justice. He also fights for his personal belief in freedom by rejecting the government's attempt to create and manipulate a collection of superheroes for its agenda. This portion of his perspective is best exemplified by the film *Captain America: Civil War*. Captain America's story is portrayed through an apparent black-and-white world with camps settled entirely on one side.

Although there are moments in which they insist on their independence, superheroes frequently cooperate with the government to serve and protect the country. Government agencies remain quite influential throughout superhero films, unlike the imperial court of wuxia novels and movies. For instance, the military produced Captain America's serum, and Captain America is a soldier of the United

States during World War II. After he wakes up in the modern age, he continues to work for S.H.I.E.L.D., a special governmental law enforcement agency. The political pressure even coerces some superheroes, like Iron Man, to agree being shackled by the government. Clearly, superhero stories wish to convey a mighty image of the government to the audiences.

Another primary difference between superhero and wuxia films is how heroism is both portrayed and achieved. While superheroes fulfill their missions and satisfy their beliefs through individual heroism, wuxia warriors operate through collective heroism. For example, in *Captain America: The First Avenger*, the title character fights his way out of difficulties with individual tactics and power. Compared to wuxia warriors who deployed martial arts that they have developed over years of dedicated and painful study, superheroes are able to achieve their ends through two means: technological innovation and personal strength/power. Therefore, superheroes can complete tasks that wuxia may not be capable of achieving. In such a way, individual heroism could show the audiences the independent and different growth processes of each superhero. Although their superheroes are often formed into groups, like The Avengers or The Justice League, these ensembles ordinarily come together to accomplish an immediate and temporary goal. The heroes are rarely drawn together by similar values, and significant tensions often exist within the group – often to the point that members depart and rejoin. For example, the members of Avengers have their own lives and interests. The only assemble under the pressure of reoccurring calamity, like the global disaster brought by Ultron in *Avengers: Age of Ultron*. Such habits, which deny complete integration, corresponds to the individualism promoted by American culture. Of course, individualism suits the American central values of pursuing life, freedom, and happiness. With each superhero, what weighs most in their hearts differs. This impacts their choices in various circumstances. For example, Iron Man must balance his responsibility of

protecting his family the need to fight evil. Captain America must reconcile his fruitless effort to keep his teammates safe because many of his teammates do not support his values. This set of contrasting needs causes the infighting of Avengers in *Captain America: Civil War*, since the members of The Avengers do not possess the same goals and beliefs.

3. Plots and Emphasis

In addition to the differences that divide the characters in terms of their collective capacities, the plots of wuxia and superheroes stories vary immensely. This second difference involves both primary and minor emphases. However, as they are constructed, the details of the two plotting create empathy among the audiences and represent parts of Chinese and American culture.

3.1 Wuxia

For most wuxia stories, nationalism is a crucial element. These stories prioritize the individual's acceptance of a larger social body. Through continual consumption of wuxia stories that express this ideology, Chinese readers develop national pride and confidence. *The Legend of the Condor Heroes* is a suitable representation of how nationalism is promoted and conveyed in wuxia stories. In the last few chapters of the novel, Mongolia invades Guo Jing's homeland and initiates a war. Although Guo Jing could choose a reclusive life due to his fame as a great master, he and his wife decide to risk their lives for the safety and prosperity of their homeland. Their decision entails the safety of their third child, born during the war, entrusted to a close friend One of the most famous quotes from *The Legend of the Condor Heroes* translates as follows: "an eminent xia would always serve his country and people." The author of *The Legend of the Condor Heroes*, Jin Yong, clearly wishes to touch the readers' hearts and encourage the inheritance of such Chinese nationalism. Thus, the seed of a sense of national pride and confidence is planted at the bottom of each reader's heart.

Beyond nationalism, though closely tied to it, *The Legend of the Condor Heroes* illustrates the importance of tradition. This feature is common to wuxia books.

The author accomplishes this emphasis by adding Chinese practices into *The Legend of the Condor Heroes*. Since wuxia stories are set against the backdrop of ancient China, the integration of Chinese traditions does not cause any incompatibility. Instead, the fixation on tradition gives broader meaning to the nationalist impulses of the stories by grounding that relationship to home in a set of practices that unite the present and the past.

Three typical examples of Chinese traditions are the different schools of ideology, how people learn Kongfu, and the respect for teachers and inheritance. A commonly practiced school of doctrine in *The Legend of the Condor Heroes* is Confucianism. The novel describes Confucianism's promotion of its five core values: benevolence, righteousness, respect, wisdom, and honesty. These values perfectly align with the nature of the xia spirit. In addition, Confucianism's comprehensive implementation in the imperial court in *The Legend of the Condor Heroes* reveals that such central belief was highly praised by ancient Chinese society. For the second tradition, the practice of Kongfu closely resembles how immortals in ancient Chinese myth approach immortality. They both require an ample amount of time to practice and generate mysterious energy inside the human body. Thirdly, teachers' esteem and inheritance are cultivated because Kongfu must be taught over long periods, corresponding to the propagated spirit of admiring teachers' effort throughout Chinese history. Thus, readers could understand the Chinese culture through various values and ideologies advocated in the Chinese traditions shown by *The Legend of the Condor Heroes*.

3.2 Superhero

In contrast, the most significant emphasis of superhero stories is America central values. These main values could resonate with the audiences' emotions and national consciousness. Among these values, equality is frequently mentioned. Equality is exhibited in the elements of diversity in superhero stories. Black Panther and Hulk, both of whom are comrades of Captain America, illustrate the presence of racial

equality. Black Panther is the black superhero from a fictional African country, Wakanda, and Bruce Banner (Hulk) is of Indian origin. Seeing their inclusion gives minority audiences something to see themselves in, as the qualities that define heroism and exceptionalism are broadly cast. Superheroes' racial equality is concentrated on smaller groups, divergent from the targeted national audiences of wuxia. The second type of equality, class equality, is expressed by underscoring identity in terms of the American Dream. The class origin of superheroes around Captain America ranges from Thor, God of Thunder, and Iron Man, a business magnate, to Spider-Man and Ant-Man, respectively, a student and a thief of America's lower class. Captain America is the best example of the American Dream. He obtains his opportunity to gain a superpower and serve America through his own relentless striving. Captain America's persistence through arduous military training is accomplished by his resilient mentality, even when he possesses fragile physical condition. Such spirit perfectly matches the American Dream's ideal which permits equal and great aspirations to every American citizen.

Furthermore, the second emphasis of superhero stories is responsibility and growth. As the superheroes gain their powers, they always experience a period of confusion, unsure how to use their abilities. As a result, superheroes develop their moral orientation and gradually acknowledge their varied responsibilities. For example, Captain America, as the incarnation of the American spirit, adheres most directly to his responsibility of serving America. When Captain America first acquires excessive strength in *Captain America: The First Avenger*, he is uncertain how his power should be exploited. After a period of perplexity, he eventually finds that fighting for America on the front-lines is the right way to honor his strength. Moreover, Captain America also prioritizes other responsibilities, such as leadership and global peace. Just like Captain America, other superheroes generate and believe in similar but not congruent

responsibilities. For example, Spider-Man considers the harmony of his close community as a major responsibility. These responsibilities symbolize superheroes' attitudinal growth from being baffled by obtained powers to understanding the importance of accomplishing a more significant cause with such powers as tools.

4. Conclusion

The above analysis on the similarity and differences between wuxia and superheroes reveals the cultural difference between China and America and the two countries' preferred forms of expression. In the portrayal of supernatural figures themselves, their creators depict both wuxia and superheroes as possessing positive goals and personalities. However, wuxia stories favor a sense of national pride and unity with wuxia masters as representations of Chinese culture. Such sense is constructed through the historical environment, presenting the development of Chinese culture through thousands of years with the element of special traditions. Additionally,

wuxia's xia spirit encourages them to help others, even ordinary people, and pursue trivial cases of injustice that do not require their supernatural status. They take on these seemingly small acts of justice to ameliorate society's struggles and promote their own beliefs. This conduct represents the expectation of the authors of wuxia novels, many of whom envision a future society that is harmonious and united with elevated qualities of citizens.

In contrast, superheroes are outstanding examples of American citizens' ideals who have colliding cultural elements from different cultures, giving them a special American meaning as the embodiment of the American Dream. These cultural elements and their special powers grant them unique responsibilities cultivated by different abilities and backgrounds. Superheroes also reflect the typical mindset of Americans with characteristics such as individualism. America apparently wants superheroes to be the models and representatives of American citizens and culture and propagate them to the audiences.

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LATEST CULTURAL DIALOGUE PROJECT STRATEGIES IN TERMS OF BASIC TRAUMA: PROBLEMS AND PROSPECTS

Abstract

The purpose of this article: is a comprehensive culturological analysis of the latest strategies for the project of the dialogue of cultures in the light of the opposition of globalism and alter-globalization.

Methodology: phenomenological, hermeneutic, comparative, psychoanalytic, project.

Results: in the process of analyzing the basic trauma of postmodern society as a discrepancy between dynamic capital and static labor, the main problems and paradoxes of both globalism itself and its conditional oppositions were identified: alter-globalization strategies for the development of society, to which many questions related to the uncertainty of criteria and classification of dialogues of cultures, correlation between dialogue and conflict of cultures, dialogue, and cultural diplomacy, problem loci on the edges of the global world, alternation of activity of culture-donor and culture-recipient arise. Alter-globalization projects are distinguished by extreme diffusion, fragmentation, hybridity, nominations from the hegemony, lack of mass support, and necessity of a confident program.

Scientific novelty: the classification of socio-cultural projects into global, alter-global, and dialogical in a cultural context with the substantiation of new dialogue priorities based on the synthesis of critical theory and neo-modern universalism is carried out for the first time. Criticism presupposes the presence of latent conflict in dialogue as a way of revealing the Other's real trauma. Neo-modernity presumes heterochrony – the confluence of cultures outside the chronotopes at the conditional zero point of the subject's experience of history as a valid event.

Practical relevance: a radical transformation of both globalism and alter-globalism is proposed, which did not offer certainly successful methods of resolving the basic trauma of deterritorialization and reterritorialization while practicing a dialogue project in the mainstream of universal ethics. This project is based on the principles of heterochronism, the unity of singularity and universality, the restructuring of the subject to the trauma of the Other, and solidarity.

Keywords: dialogue, globalism, alter-globalism, basic trauma, loci, universal ethics, heterochronism.

Introduction. The relevance of the research topic is determined by social and theoretical factors. The distinction between temporal dynamic extraterritorial capital and spatial static reterritorial labor as a basic trauma of society [1] has created fatal transgressive circumstances in which the creative intelligentsia of postindustrial professionals, managers with computer knowledge, gains unprecedented power over the world. The creative class, as the service core of the monopoly world, possesses all the advantages of unlimited possession of time and extensive property of space, which is easily overcome by operational forms

of communication, but it is not able to solve class antagonisms of the XXI century. This class, despite the apparent denial of the corporate-class aspects of human life, becomes a new "state" that determines the methods of global control for the rest of the world's population. Employees, dependent on employers, jobs, and local spaces, move through time together with their closed loci. Therefore, the basic trauma requires an alternative that would be a way not to hide but to treat. We see it in the *ethics of dialogue*.

Key problems of reflection on the dialogue of cultures. The evolution of the philosophy of dialogue moves in the New and Modern times from the *concept of interpersonal subject-subject communication through the socio-cultural issues of cross-cultural to the postmodern idea of interdiscursivity and intertextuality*. The principle of dialogue enters a new phase of formation. Many of its parameters are still uncertain. In particular, the *criteria for intercultural dialogue* that distinguish this project from cultural diplomacy, multicultural practices, sporadic contacts, or manipulative information interactions have not been definitively established. The second problem of dialogue is *the ratio of donor culture activity*, which provides more in dialogue than receives, and *recipient culture*, which absorbs donor values and periodically arranges a revolt of the periphery against the center of the cultural area with the subsequent appropriation of donor values [4, P. 100].

The classification of *dialogues of cultures* is also questionable. They are divided into interactions with the full cycle, where the recipient becomes remarkably strong. The one begins to produce and replenish the world treasury with the own values and interactions with the incomplete cycle, where the recipient does not adequately produce the own meanings in response to a new dialectical turn. Regarding the problem of the ratio of peaceful or conflict aspects of dialogue, there is a problem of *internal conflict of dialogue*. From the point of view of synergetic theory, any challenge (including a military threat) is a shocking, but productive, passionate stimulus for the answer – the spiritual reaction of

culture to danger, its mobilization in crisis conditions, when the bifurcation point (fracture) gives us numerous fluctuations (versions of development). From the point of view of psychoanalysis, the tension between cultures "rulers" dialogue as a process of mutual penetration of their deepest archetypes, which come to the surface in a "burning" state, so that any semantic borrowings can be considered either as a result of identifying culture with the Shadow ("aggressor") or as a situation of radical separation with the dominant sign of the "enemy" of a conscious merger with the real trauma ("nakedness") of the Other [3, P. 600].

The concept of liberal tolerance, at first glance, properly asks for the forced removal from the field of dialogue of cultures of their deep meanings, expressed in the beliefs of the participants, because they are a priori aggressive and repressive towards the Other, therefore prevent productive communication [2, p. 6–9]. Yet in this example, the cases of communication turn into formal-operational, loyal, business contacts in the realm of the Symbolic, where the "I" dissolves in the Other while losing self and experiencing a deep metaphysical crisis, or the Other dissolves in me, tearing "me" from within and also experiencing a crisis, which ultimately leads to even greater depression.

Classification of projects of alter-globalization in the discourse of postmodernity. *Perspective directions of development of socio-cultural design* in the field of dialogue in terms of the problems of interaction of cultures are defined depending on the specificity of parity between *globalism* and *alter-globalism*. The draft dialogue acts as a mediator between these poles of world culture: global and local, deterritorialization as the inclusion of the nation-state in capital and reterritorialization as its return to space. Let's try to identify *the main features of the dialogue project of the XXI century* by taking into account the processes of globalization. Many loci that have now failed to fit into the global world of digital capitalism perform the role of so-called *"atopy" – "no man's land," "landlessness,"* anonymous and usually monstrous forces

formed on the ruins of the enlightenment project of progressive improvement of the world. Being on the margins of world culture, atopy plays the role of excess in the symbolic structure while bearing with particular pain the basic trauma of the world and producing its own imaginary revanchist identity. The only cultural diplomacy is not sufficient to properly plan and design the development of the mentioned regions. We need the *latest dialogue strategies* that can at least partially overcome the underlying trauma.

The postmodern geopolitical map of the world, which is characterized by hybridity, prompts us to try to predict the development of *"problematic" loci*, because they may soon determine the world. Of course, the certain claim is only an assumption, but we rely on the fact that we are currently seeing a frantic increase in the number of postcolonial ethnic groups that seek to dissolve in transnational structures and use their "freedom" only to assimilate into them. MNC is also actively applying these loci but to a certain extent. The outbreak of vulgar traditionalism as a manifestation of reactive multiculturalism in these areas is a *phantasm* that has nothing to do with the real homogenization of the world in globalism, as it takes place at the level of closed territories. In addition, there are many anti-globalization loci that do not want to join hegemony by promoting a new and alternative market in the project of alter-globalism. For the world to be dialogical, we must take into account all projects: *globalism, alter-globalism*, and *anti-globalism*.

Today, *alter-globalist design as a point of dialogue* between globalism and anti-globalism, on which we propose to focus, suggests several projects in the discourse of the dilemma between *moderate (soft) alter-globalism* as a current advocating reforms of capitalism from within (*reformism, transformism*) and *radical (hard) alter-globalism*, which in its extreme manifestation is close to proletarian-type anti-globalism. The mentioned movements are characterized by typically *postmodern features of interculturality, intertextuality, interdiscursivity, internationality, interclass, pluralism, polycentrism, mass, civil disobedience,* as they are dominated

by young people – representatives of the "third wave." Thus, consider them more specifically.

Liberal internationalism is a movement for spontaneous globalization "from below," which will lead to the transformation of national democracy into a world democratic order based not on the free market, but cooperation and solidarity of communities. A separate manifestation of soft alter-globalism is *postmodern (cynical) multiculturalism* itself – a movement for the spread of hybrid cultural forms, the rhetoric of differences and tolerance for the Other through protectionist legislation (including the protection of the rights of queer communities). A more radical form of alter-globalism is *cosmopolitan democracy*, which sets the rights of individual citizens above national borders and transnational blocs. This is a typical manifestation of personalism with its cult of singularity. Even more resolute is *radical republicanism*, which openly promotes the egalitarian values of solidarity. It is a movement to establish an open civil society with transparent horizontal governance through communities regaining the status of independent loci. The "right" reaction to egalitarianism is *militant nationalism (religious fundamentalism)*, which in the context of glocalism and alter-globalism is interpreted as *reactive multiculturalism*, or *conservative anti-globalism*, and is not perceived by "left" alter-globalists, despite the common image of the "global" world. This is a movement to preserve the authenticity of countries that have not withstood the test of "shock therapy" by the free market. Given that alter-globalism holds also numerous regional varieties (European, North American, Russian, Latin American, Chinese), it ranges from *socialism* (Mexico) through *cosmopolitanism* (USA) and *hyperglobalism* (China) to *traditionalism* (Russia). Religious fundamentalism (Islam) is not considered a purely alter-globalist movement at all, as it is a branch of globalism in its reverse (reactive) form. In any case, the vast majority of alter-globalist projects do not possess significant public support because they do not articulate their ideas.

Key values of neo-modern dialogue. In our opinion, the draft dialogue with its latest strategies

can make *positive adjustments* to the conflict between *globalism and alter-globalism*. Given that globalist, multicultural and alter-globalist projects complement each other in a single system of dominant determinants, we propose a gesture of *radical rupture* and focus our views on the culturological aspect of the problem, including the *anthropological value of the subject*. After all, with the restructuring of humans begins changes in education, politics, economy within the transition to a qualitatively new stage of development of society while the following postmodernity. The subject has already experienced the symbolic images of the world inherent in *premodern, modern, postmodern*. Today we are talking about neomodern cultural identity, which can combine postmodern irony with modern attraction to moral experience through dialogue. The alter-modern person is capable of fast switching of codes, overcoming of chronotopes, a transformation of the information from one format to another, mobile laying of ways of interaction of signs in various locations. The one is always a *person for the Other*. At the same time, the alter-modern subject can create a global metanarrative in the world of GoogleMaps, when there is no point left on the map that would be terra incognita. The expression of this over-task is *"heterochrony"* – a combination of multiple temporalities at the point of experiencing personal practice, ahead of history [5], or a radical break with its determinants. This activity is at *once plural, individual and universal* as well as appeals to

world solidarity. As we candid see, we are talking about the restoration of *modern ethics of communications* in a new dialectical round.

Conclusions. At present, the vast majority of people are not really ready to implement alter-modernism, because they are "people of space" in a state of frustration due to the inertia of globalist traditionalism, generated by the attachment to the place of registration and partially sublimated through the "global village" of the Internet. Being under the control of the media, they are in a state of ideological dependence. The confrontation between the representatives of the *new universality* and postmodern fundamentalists is reflected in civil conflicts and hybrid wars on the periphery of the market. Although upholding the right to *"speak on one's behalf"* and, at the same time, to perform continuous *journeys in the world of cultures* is the dialogue between modernism and postmodernism, universalism and particularism, which requires us to introduce into our proposed project, in addition to a *negative program* of deconstruction of any ideological influences and attributed identities, a *positive program* that helps to construct a new, adequate to the subject and its nature *identity (restructuring of the subject)*. The point is that the subject taken out of the paws of the structure achieves *deep ethics of existential narrative* and becomes *a self* capable of both the *free choice of the own symbolic system*, conscious entry into it, and *dialogue with the Other*, whose figure remains *sacred* to the one in terms of its *trauma, insecurity, vulnerability*.

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PARCELATION EVENT IN EXPRESSIVE AND DYNAMIC SYNTAX

Abstract. Syntax is a set of rules and tools that relate to specific languages and form units of speech. Syntax examines the rules and laws of the material language of thought, and its main problem is coherence. Syntax is a section of grammar that studies the processes of speech formation. Here, first of all, the sequence and correspondence of words in a sentence is studied. In addition, as part of the text as an utterance and as a free unit of language, the general features of the sentence are also at the focus of syntax. Among the urgent problems of expressive syntax is the study of the intensity of the structure of the text, the identification of language as an object of speech activity, the study of the pragmatic aspects of speech, oral speech, the relationship between the speaker and the addressee, speech amplifiers and their effects [2]. O. Aleksandrova writes about the characteristics of these terminological units that the term "expressive syntax" is appropriate to call the doctrine of the formation of expressive and effective speech, the subject of which is the linguistic basis of expressive speech, and the term "stylistic syntax" refers to the methodology of stylistics. Be that as it may, the stylistic approach always consists in identifying the potential (hidden) expression of certain means of everyday language [3].

Keywords: expressive syntax, parceling, word order, speech situation, author's style.

It is known that in the context of living speech, expressiveness takes on reality, first of all, by prosodic means (rhythm, tempo, tone, pause, melody, intonation, word order, etc.) Expressive units are studied in the syntactic environment in two directions: 1) first, expressiveness, with which subjective modality is associated; 2) secondly, as a special technique in written speech. In the first direction, expressiveness is explored, mixed with the concepts of emotionality and evaluation. Expressive units are also reflected in oral syntax and fiction.

In general, in textual linguistics, the number of syntactic events that occur in a speech situation is small: splitting, segmentation, question-answer structure of dialogic and monologue speech, nominative chain (nominal sentences), sequence, intermediate constructions, models of a special word order, etc. The problem is based on means of expressive

expression. The content and essence of this concept is explained by subjective-expressive syntactic forms. V. V. Vinogradov calls this special meaning "zigzag movement and dynamics in transport" [4]. Let's pay attention to the following text: The example shows that expressive expressiveness in syntax clarifies, determines the artistic method, image, acts as a means of "new" prose [5]. One of the main features of expressive syntax is the appearance of fragmentation, text segmentation, "addiction" to the influence of colloquial speech. This tradition gave rise to the concept of "cut, torn, torn syntax" [6].

"Segment – 1. A piece of speech that acts as an independent unit in a linear sequence (speech stream) and is repeated (processed) in other linear sequences without violating its identity, which allows us to determine the structural units of this language. 2. The first part of segmented constructions. A segment that acts as a topic (known) is treated as an independent phrase and can be combined with the following text in a syntactic unit. In the second case, the speech is divided into two parts, which are separated by a pause, the first part is pronounced in an ascending tone, the second part is pronounced in a descending tone. Segmentation means the division of the speech stream (linear sequence) into components (indirect participants), segmentation [7]. For example: This is awful! This is the devil! Homeland! Does this country really love me so much?! (S. Vurgun) Parceling is different from connecting structures. Thus, the parcel units always go separately [at the end] from the main sentence [7]. Syntactic analysis is a syntactic structural unit of speech. Many sentences here are independent communicative phraseological units. The structural relationship of parceling consists of two elements: 1) the main (basic) structure (in this part, the basic information is implemented); 2) the premise (an additional element of information). These parts are connected to each other. Otherwise, one cannot speak of the necessary construction. It is in this structure that the peculiarity of the breakdown is associated with the degree of integration of the syntactic group, the syntactic model. They have a strong syntactic relationship with each other. Therefore, this process is a multidimensional linguistic phenomenon. Parcelling is studied as a universal phenomenon. An example of this can be found in the work of Yu. V. Vannikov [8]. From an expressive syntactic point of view, the structure of the premise can be divided into the following types: Departure from the principle in a simple phrase: the slave came as a guest. Our friend. Eliminate minor members with a simple sentence: Separate handling of completeness. For example, two young people stood quietly. On the shore of the Caspian Sea. He looked up to the sky and looked. To the stars shining like broken mirrors (S. Akhmedov) Separate processing of the definition. For example: His life. Zigzag. Separate processing of envelopes. For example: Fizuli looked at his homeland from abroad. With longing (B. Vahabzadeh) Arzum looked at the peaks. Bird's foot (Yu. Novruz0, Jalil slept in a high barn in the yard. That night (S. Akhmadov0 G. Kazimov writes: "As a comparison and analogy – singular, singular, predicate and so on. with words and combinations to which suffixes are added; One type of style envelope is distinguished by its figurative qualities, because it has the meaning of comparison, analogy and says with important artistic means: "You looked at me". Like the moon, like the sun (Yu. Novruz), the Great Neva flowed heavily. As if offended at the world (R. Rza) [9].

Separations and omissions in sentences with the same sentence: there was silence. Forests, mountains (I. Afendiev), spoke. Flowers, birds, people (S. Vurgun).

The subordinate clause of a complex sentence. For example, they will not be resurrected. Under water (S. Akhmadov) I am happy. Because my children are proud of me.

Separate development of the same principle. For example: He came. Proofreading packages in one armpit, potatoes and herbs in one (S. Akhmadov).

Parceling – sentences with nouns. My favorite place. Village life. Location of the incident. Near the bridge …

Units of a parcel in a text environment are a form of expression of an author's expression. The emergence of these forms depends on the author.

As they say, this event also takes place in a procedural order.

The phonetic aspects of parsing in expressive syntax are also broad. These aspects are associated with the following intonation components [10].

Rhythm is one of the main features of the parcel. This feature depends on the intensity of the sending of speech, tension, duration of speech, etc. refers to.

The connection of the timbre with this event is undeniable. The timbre of the message in the text creates a harmonious resonance, additional sound.

The role of the pause is also visible. In a fragmented text, there is a situation of temporary interruption of a speech act, interruption of speech, arising for different reasons and for different purposes. In particular, optional breaks are more suitable for building parcels.

Prosody (intonation) and the composition of the parcels. The intonation of parts of a sentence – the components of a sentence – is a powerful means of expression. Intonation should be understood as a change in the volume of the voice in relation to the members of the sentence, depending on the strength, tempo (speed) and timbre. They are closely related to each other. Linguistic means of actual membership are usually expressed in English in the following ways: prosodic (intonation), syntactic (word order), and lexical means (articles, pronouns, adverbs, etc.). A "predictive gap" occurs. For example: And so too in his narrative poems and he wrote a number of narrative poems a number of poems that told stories the important element as far as his poetry is concerned the sort of thing that we remember and that makes the impression on us are the detailed pictures that come out of it.

In particular, in terms of expressiveness, the inclusion of the structure of sections and punctuation marks in the text plays an important role.

They paid her. Fifty pounds. She needed the money badly. (There again).

Parcing and syntactic word order. A sentence, which is a material form of human thought, goes through various stages to reach the listener. There is a certain consistency here. Let's say communication occurs after linguistic units are included in the list of certain laws. The depiction of sentences divided into parts and parts also plays an important role in this sequence. Live communication is also presented in this form. In this case, the sequence of words triggered by the current event occurs. On the one hand, the order formed by the internal laws of the language is confused with changes that can sometimes be made depending on the intensity of the speakers. Due to the fact that the parcel is located far from the base, it is necessary to talk about the nearest, distant location. The dependent part that makes up the parceling is absent in the previous part. For example: They took Majid away. To the area. Here, the "district" plot is not visible at the base of the building. There is a distance between them. The "to the district" part is the part that is relevant here. This part of the design is highly informative.

Parcels located in the immediate vicinity of the base:

Parcels located directly from the base (main) part:

Parcelation also performs an expressive-grammatical function as an important event. This function is only possible when a syntactic link is established between the sections and the main component of the base expression.

Result

Thus, parsing is a parceling event. Research shows that parceling as a living form of speech balances emotions and saves time. IT increases the value of emotions. Parceling appears as a product of the development of the supply structure. The presence of colloquial speech in the literature and its interference in it also create the basis for the formation of a parcelation structure. As a result of this event, an expressive effect is created in the text, in parceling. Each of the phrases and parcels, which are developed independently, has its own intonation. Parse functions in parceling … Parallel units appear as a form of author's

expression in fiction. Composite constructions reveal the peculiarities of the stylistic material of fiction.

Analysis of speech

In the syntactic structure, the means of intonation are punctuation marks in the written text-graphic. Parcel segments – parcels allow formally and semantically to link contact, distance (position) under inversion conditions.

In the expressive parceling syntax, the specific gender is different, structurally different in different languages. For example, in English and Azerbaijani: a special form of parceling creates potential in the text, and in all languages it turns out that parceling is characteristic of universal speech.

The communicative and expressive functions of parcels are manifested in different styles of speech.

Summary

Syntax is also the science of the structure of speech. This science distinguishes syntax from traditional syntax and studies its speech problems. One of these problems is the occurrence of various syntactic events in the context of the text. One of such events is the texts, which are split into parcels. The article discusses the specific structural and semantic aspects of the parcel as a whole. It was investigated that parcels that are designed to harmonize, clarify, explain, expand, prove, enrich the idea set forth in the previous sentence (basis), form a strong semantic connection with the main sentence, are connected with a special intonation, join the parcel with a connecting sentence. The connecting part is considered a connecting structure. These constructions characteristic of oral speech are remembered immediately in the process of orthoepy of the first sentence or immediately after its pronunciation, simplify speech, relieve the original sentence of a heavy prosodic load, allow for a holistic and emotionally expressive manifestation of what was said. important fact.

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Section 6. Pedagogy

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CDIO APPROACH IN TEACHING PSYCHOLOGY FOR STUDENTS IN THE PEDAGOGICAL SECTOR OF VINH UNIVERSITY

Abstract. Psychology is a compulsory pedagogical training subject in the training program for all students in the early years of university. Psychology not only helps students practice pedagogy but it also promotes self-study and creativity. However, in recent years, the results of studying in Psychology of students in universities tend to decrease. In order to improve the situation and improve students' learning results, this article proposes a number of solutions to improve the quality of teaching and learning Psychology in the direction of CDIO approach.

Keywords: CDIO approach, quality of teaching, psychology, pedagogical student, innovating teaching methods, practical orientation, testing.

I. Introduction

Vietnam's integration into the global economy, through its accession to the WTO (2007) and the ASEAN Economic Community (2015), places ever greater demands on Vietnamese educational institutions to train a highly skilled workforce to meet the socio-economic development needs of the country.

This requires reforming the training program, developing the quality assurance system and the quality accreditation process. A number of policies and initiatives have been implemented at the national and institutional level, such as the Higher Education Quality Assessment Criteria (2007); advanced programs; training program evaluation according to AUN-QA standards; verify some training programs according to ABET standards; standards for evaluating the quality of training programs (2016). While the programs are advanced, assessment and testing standards provide

the model and specific requirements and conditions that a training program needs to meet, Vietnamese higher education institutions still need a more comprehensive methodology or tandard framework for the continual improvement of the quality of the training program. Vinh University was one of the first universities in Vietnam to recognize the CDIO approach like as an initiative and methodology for technical education reform with the CDIO outline and a set of CDIO standards, helping answer the questions "what to do" and "how to do" in a systematic and optional way, thus it is feasible to settle the specific requirements and conditions of different training programs. With many strengths, the CDIO approach is adopted as a reference framework to develop a standard framework for training program reform.

It can be seen over the years, one of the important contents in innovation done by Vinh University in

recent years is to build output standards with high requirements according to CDIO approach. Outcome standards are affirmation of what a student should know, understand and be able to do at the end of the program. However, a question arises, "What to teach and how to teach for subjects in the fields of basic science and general knowledge to ensure output standards?".

"CDIO" is an approach to output capacity-oriented training in universities. This theoretical model provides a scientific basis and a system of quality standards to ensure higher education institutions to solve two central problems: what to teach for student (what to teach?) and how students acquire knowledge (How to teach?). Thus, these questions are also the purposes that we set out above, which are issues to be solved for higher education in general and technical training in particular around the world in the context of outstanding development about the explosion of knowledge, industrialization, internationalization and other global issues.

Aiming at solving those problems, the "CDIO" model has mentioned 12 standards that reflect the comprehensive training process and training quality management towards technical education reform. But most importantly, according to the CDIO approach, the output standards are designed for training sector with 4 level detailed enough to develop the training program, teaching design and evaluation. CDIO theorists have built a detailed list of knowledge and skills ("CDIO" outline) in the form of a four-level structure. Level 2 of the CDIO outline (figure 1) once again affirms the role of the subjects on the basic knowledge block for the output standards of the training program.

Through the above analysis, it can be seen that the CDIO approach also aims toward how to teachfor students so that after graduation they can achieve the established output standards. This research must be done for each specific subject in the training program.

It can be said that the concept of Psychology is a general subject that still exists in the opinion of some managers – trainers and even students, so it is necessary to define the detailed tasks of the subject which is very urgent. From the 2000 s onwards, Psychology along with Education is still arranged to train and organize training as a common subject for students of the whole school. This concept involves a series of related factors such as: payroll of class, arrange the number of periods in a session, choose lecture halls – classrooms, organize examinations – evaluation … If there is still this concept, it will certainly be difficult to improve the effectiveness of Psychology teaching in the direction of practicing pedagogy, because the class is too crowded, the time is 6 consecutive lessons, the classroom is lecture halls … so it is very difficult to target pedagogical professional skills and of course, effective teaching is a challenge [1; 2].

For students, the definition of learning tasks along with forming learning goals for students must be done throughout the teaching process of Psychology. Every lecturer and even the training department of University or in charge of training of the faculty that follows the trend of training credit, the academic advisor should pay a lot of attention to defining the learning task of Psychology as a subject to form pedagogical professional skills. Defining the subject's tasks clearly: "Determining the conditions, rules for the formation of personality in each age, studying psychological phenomena & events for each age, rules of those psychological phenomena & events, facilitating the study of age characteristics, natural factors of capacity – excitement … of ages, research on the formation of age personality, factors influencing personality formation according to specific ages, studying the psychological foundations of teaching and educational activities …, helping the university to orient measures to develop psychology, personality according to each age, each object … " that needs to be implemented one by one deeply.

For the above reasons, we have carried out the study of "CDIO approach in teaching Psychology for students in the pedagogical sector of Vinh University towards meeting output standards".

II. Situation of teaching Psychology to the requirements of the outcome standards at Vinh University

To assess the status of teaching psychology, we have surveyed the opinions of lecturers and students about the difficulties that they encountered in the teaching process. According to this survey, the biggest difficulty facing lecturers is that the curriculum is heavy in theory and lack of practicality (44.4%); followed by the lack of materials and textbooks (40%). Some other difficulties revolve around the subject of the subject's curriculum, such as: the length of the subject is small, the knowledge is not enough, and skills formation in students or students are not actively studying.

As for the students, according to the survey results, 65.8% think that the ability to find information related to the subject is limited; 64.7% reported the lack of materials and textbooks for the subject; 50% think that the content of the subject is heavy in theory, with little practice, so the applicability is poor. Then there are limitations such as: learning a lot of contents but not in depth, heavy curriculum distribution, the subject has not been updated, the teaching methods of lecturers are not attractive and inappropriate.

– The practice of problem solving skills has not been shown much in the lecture, and has not focused on training problem solving skills for students.

– The test and assessment of learning results have not been linked with practical contents and career requirements.

– Not promoting self-study ability, teamwork ability of students through group exercises, heavy homework …

That situation leads to the low results of the exams of psychology. Moreover, the majority of students think that this is a difficult subject and have not yet oriented the application of learned knowledge to their practice as well as to practice skills through studying this subject. This is most clearly demonstrated in the student's assessment of the lecturers in this subject.

For instance, the questions have the content such as: 1) The lecturer raises many issues related to the subject for students to refer to; 2) The lecturer organizes for students working in group; and 3) Your general impression of the quality of teaching in this subject. And with options for students: a) Totally disagree; b) Disagree; c) No comments; d) Agree; and e) Strongly agree, with these options, we often get the student's answer (c): No opinion.

From the above situation, we found that the study of "CDIO approach in teaching Psychology for students in the pedagogical sector of Vinh University" is an urgent requirement.

III. Develop outlines of psychology following CDIO approach towards meeting output standards

Follow the second element of the CDIO process for building a curriculum framework and go to a detailed outline of a subject in the overall program, and also refer to how it is to be developed. We propose the process of building the outline of psychology at Vinh University.

Step 1: Determine the goal of psychology.

Step 2: Determining the output standards of a Psychology in 3 parts: G1: Scientific and technical knowledge; G2: Personal skills and communication skills; G3: Attitude.

Step 3: Determine the correlation between the output standards of the subject and the output standard of the training program according to 3 criteria: Utilize, Teach and Introduction.

Step 4: Determine the teaching method for the Psychology module.

Using a combination of methods: lectures, presentations, problem-based teaching, brainstorming, pair sharing, team work …

IV. Some methods of teaching Psychology for students in the pedagogical sector towards meeting output standards

1. Strengthen the compilation of textbooks, lectures and instructional documents to meet the requirements of reference materials and equip all necessary teaching facilities

– *Innovating how to write textbooks:* change the traditional presentation style in the form of

announcements – explanations – illustrations to the organization of discovery learning activities, through which students dominate the content knowledge. However, it should not be extreme, have the ambition to turn the entire lesson into a series of discovery activities. This is not possible because the amount of knowledge in each lesson is quite large and the theoretical level of the program is quite high. If you put in too many activities into each lesson, lecturers and students have to run over time, it is difficult to think and discuss to a great place, and then the research activities proposed will be only formal. Please select a few appropriate activities, focusing on the focus of the lesson so that students really have time to think and discover the key knowledge. The rest can still use the familiar traditional writing style.

For example: In the curriculum of *general psychology* in the part of cognitive activities, after presenting concepts, the laws of each cognitive process, it should offer activities for students to find out the applications of the cognitive rules in teaching your own subject later and everyday life.

– *The curriculum must always be supplemented, improved and updated with new and modern knowledge:* For example, in the curriculum of age psychology and pedagogical psychology should update the psychological characteristics of teenagers and high school students of the current integration period, classifying intellectual activities by Benjamin S. Bloom: six levels of intellectual activity of Benjamin S. Bloom, applying intellectual activity levels in the teaching process so that students apply and design lesson goals to develop thinking for students in the future.

– *Materials can be compiled to guide students in self-study of the subject.* The content of instructional materials includes: required purpose of the subject, types of textbooks and references available, system of exercises, facilities, equipment, knowledge that students need to prepare. It is necessary to have before starting school, teaching organization, instruction for each specific chapter and lesson. This tutorial can be merged with the course syllabus. In particular, at the end of each chapter, it is necessary to compile a diversified system of practical exercises, gradually improving from easy to difficult, with content pertaining to reality, social issues and especially associated with the training major. There may be suggestions for solving difficult practical exercises for students to challenge, practice and test for themselves.

– *It is necessary to equip all necessary* teaching facilities so that lecturers can apply information technology to their teaching, active teaching methods to achieve the highest efficiency, contributing to the development of self-study capacity, self-study for students. The maximum class size of psychology is 50 students/class so that lecturers can organize diverse and active teaching forms.

2. Innovating teaching methods towards promoting the student's learning positivity, stimulating learners to increase self-study and self-study

– *Reducing the theoretical ratio in the form of presentation in the class of the lecturers,* spending appropriate time for students to practice solving psychological situations, for self-study, self-research, seminar, discussion, question answer. Teaching time of lecturers is less than 70% of time in class. The classroom is a place for in-depth discussions and exchanges. Lecturer presents briefly and appropriately illustrated. Students feel to be respected and highly valued when communicating and feel responsible for their own learning and progress during class.

– *Increase the use of teaching methods to detect and solve problems:* For students to explore, observe in real life and discuss to discover the problems of different ages that are common in the present period … and offer ways to solve them. For teaching, the problem detection and resolutioncan use these different levels, depending on the degree of independence of students in the teaching process.

– Enhance the organization of group learning activities so that students can exchange, explore, discover and demonstrate how to acquire knowledge. To organize this form of teaching, lecturers need to

carefully study the teaching content, from which some lessons can be found to organize activities in groups.

For example: The lecturer/instructor can choose *the types of senses, perceptions ...* to use the form of group discussion. Before teaching this section, the instructor asked students to read the textbook at home and answer the questions asked by the instructor. After that, the instructor organizes the class into groups, each group has about 7–10 students, including fair, excellent, average and weak students.

On the basis of group division, lecturer introduces discussion topics for all students, ask questions - discussion problems, suggest thinking directions and solve problems through the outline given by the lecturer to give orientation for student.

Lecturor gives case exercises that force groups to think and come up with their own answers. Situations are often applied exercises, requiring students to know how to apply the theoretical knowledge both exchanging and affirming to solve them.

Thus, group discussion has initially formed in students the ability to self-study, self-research, show scientific thinking methods and get acquainted with scientific presentation. In this way of learning, students demonstrate their responsibility in learning, in groups, demonstrate the spirit of competition in learning, friendship and mutual help in learning. Group discussion teaching form creates a close and open exchange between lecturers and students, lecturers can easily get feedback from students. From there, the lecturers can adjust the content and teaching methods for higher efficiency. Furthermore, because the classrooms are divided, teaching is closer to the audience. By giving case exercises and posing more complex questions, so it encouraged quite good students to develop their ability to participate in lesson development, at the same time, we have conditions to help weak students through cooperative activities in the study group [3].

3. Organize activities for students to familiarize themselves with scientific research and guide students to apply their learned knowledge into practice

Self-study capacity of students formed and developed in the learning process will be the basis for developing scientific research competencies. If students' qualifications and learning methods develop to the level of scientific research, they will also help students develop sustainably for their self-study capacity, helping them to study regularly and throughout life.

It is possible for students to practice scientific research in the form of research that applies their learned knowledge into practice, selectively illustrate examples, and practical exercises associated with the subject being trained. For example: In a simple form, it is possible to assign each group to make group presentations to apply *the process of concept formation, skills, techniques in teaching the subject later* (Pedagogical Psychology). In a more complex form, it is possible to create a great practical exercise or an essay with the topic: "*Research on the status of the self-study capacity of students under* (**Faculty name**), *Vinh University*". Combining with specialized faculties, Lecturers can guide students to do research on scientific topics according to the process: Develop sample questionnaires, collect data, quantify by scoring each sentence, each question, make statistics, then process statistics using the statistical models learned to evaluate ... Based on the obtained results, students can propose solutions to develop self-study capacity of students of Faculty (**Faculty name**), Vinh University.

4. Attaching importance to the innovation of examining and evaluating students' study results.

In order to increase students' self-awareness and self-learning capacity in psychology, it is necessary to renovate test methods and evaluate students in the direction of publicizing the assessment process and results. Evaluation with student attendance.

– *Lecturers need to publicize the content of test and exam issues for the subject.* Specifically, right from the beginning of teaching the subject, the lecturer needs to announce the study plan of the subject, the time for implementing the program, clearly tell students the plan and form of the final exam, the form of partial exam of the program (each chapter), some

provisions on module classification, process score proportion (50%) and final test score (50%).

– *Lecturers need to mark the tests in time, correct thems and point out the mistakes that students often encounter.*

It is necessary to coordinate many measures to examine students personally, creating conditions for students to reveal their true nature. When taking the written test, it must create strict conditions for students to do the test seriously and honestly. For example, we may issue many test questions of equal magnitude. Test questions must be suitable for the majority of students in the class, and there are additional questions for good students. The subjective multiple-choice test questions at the end of the module must evaluate the knowledge scope covering the entire subject, ensuring depth and applicability to teaching practice. Timely notifications and publicize the results of all tests. From there, students will be self-aware and self-evaluate their abilities, adjust themselves and have the direction to strive for the next.

– *The evaluation of group activities in the course of learning the subject must be aimed at building students' awareness and ability to self-test and evaluate. Therefore, it is necessary to have forms and methods of assessment and scoring for group work products with student participation.*

V. Conclusion

Thus, the study of CDIO approach in teaching psychology has initially oriented the subject teaching for pedagogical students at Vinh University.

The initial results show that students learn psychology more actively, especially the ability to apply psychology in solving practical occupational problems has been significantly improved. That helps us to have a perfect basis, synchronize subject teaching objectives, contents and methods associated with vocational training objectives towards meeting the established output standards according to the CDIO approach.

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DEVELOPING A PREDICTIVE MODEL FOR THE RISK OF ADOLESCENT SUICIDE

Abstract. Youth suicide has been an ongoing issue in the United States. One out of every 53 high school students is reported to have made a suicide attempt in their youthhood. Thus, it is imperative for groups like parents, guardians, doctors, and teachers to develop a more in-depth understanding of the causes that lead to youth suicide. In this report, response data of 13.677 high school students of 14 to 17 years old from the 2019 Youth Risk Behavior Surveillance Survey are analyzed. Several pre-processing techniques such as missing value exclusion, and min-max scaling are applied to prepare the data set for model-building. Then a list of selected variables including physical attributes, demographic variables, and drinking behaviors are used to develop and validate two predictive models for predicting the probability of committing suicide. The predictive models are further validated by an overall evaluation of the model, statistical tests of individual predictors, and an assessment of relative importance of the independent variables. The predictive models demonstrate good and similar performance. The AUC of the models are 0.676 and 0.692, respectively. The results indicate that limiting adolescents' access to cigarettes should be the most effective way to decrease adolescents' suicide possibility.

Keywords: Adolescent suicide, predictive model, adolescent mental health, well-being, emotional disorders.

1. Introduction

The years of youthhood represent a remarkable period of transition in an individual's mental and emotional cognition. While youthhood is a time of tremendous growth, such transitions can also lead to various mental health challenges as well as an increased risk for suicide. According to the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC), nowadays, suicide is the second leading cause of death among youth [1]. Approximately one out of every fifteen high school students attempts suicide each year [2], and one out of every 53 has attempted a suicide that is serious enough to be treated by a doctor [2]. This proportion is even higher for some groups of youth – like those who are addicted to drugs, cigarettes, American Indian [3]. Therefore, it is important for people like guardians, family members, friends, teachers to develop a deeper understanding of what causes suicide behaviors to prevent suicide and support youth.

The main hypothesis of this study is that the likelihood that a high school student attempts suicide is related to one or more factors such as race, sex, age, weight, sleeping habit, dietary habit, smoking, use of alcohol, use of drug, etc. The main purpose of this study is to develop a predictive model to detect whether an adolescent is likely to attempt suicide. In this study, two predictive models – logistic regression and artificial neural network are built, and their respective performance are measured. With the

models, schools can collect survey data and evaluate students' probability of attempting suicide. For students with higher probability, appropriate measures can be taken in early stage to improve their mental condition. The predictive model can be used to help foster physically and mentally healthy adolescents.

2. Method

2.1 Data

Using a three-stage cluster sample design, the Youth Risk Behavior Surveillance System (herein after referred to as YRBS dataset) is an epidemiologic surveillance system established by the CDC to monitor the prevalence of youth behaviors that most influence health [4] for 9th through 12th grade students. YRBS is a cross-sectional study and focuses on priority health-risk behaviors established during youth that result in the most significant mortality, morbidity, disability, and social problems during both youth and adulthood. These include behaviors that result in unintentional and intentional injuries; tobacco use; alcohol and other drug use; sexual behaviors that result in HIV infection, other sexually transmitted diseases (STDs), and unintended pregnancies; dietary behaviors; and physical activity, plus obesity and asthma.

The dataset of 2019 YRBS is used to identify potential associations of adolescent suicide and the factors including sexual behavior, drinking behavior, smoking behavior, drug use, physical activity, etc. Observations with missing data points are excluded from the analysis. After cleaning, there are 22.713 observations for students between 14 and 17 years old in the YRBS dataset. A list of selected questions is shown in (Table 1).

Table 1.– Description of the selected questions

Item	Question	Function
1	How old are you?	Independent Variable
2	What is your sex?	Independent Variable
3	In what grade are you?	Independent Variable
5	What is your race?	Independent Variable
7	How much do you weigh without your shoes on?	Independent Variable
26	During the past 12 months, did you ever seriously consider attempting suicide?	Dependent Variable
30	Have you ever tried cigarette smoking, even one or two puffs?	Independent Variable
40	How old were you when you had your first drink of alcohol other than a few sips?	Independent Variable
45	During your life, how many times have you used marijuana?	Independent Variable
58	Have you ever had sexual intercourse?	Independent Variable
81	In an average week when you are in school, on how many days do you go to physical education (PE) classes?	Independent Variable

2.2 Statistical Method

A two-stage process is involved in this statistical analysis. At stage I, techniques of missing value exclusion, dichotomizing, and min-max scaling are applied for better training purpose. Then a logistic regression and an artificial neural network model are developed with physical activity as a dependent variable and the variables from selected questions as independent variables. At stage II, several validation metrics are calculated for each model to measure and compare their relative performance.

2.2.1 Pre-processing

The data set is pre-processed in this step to improve both the training speed and accuracy. As most machine learning algorithms are not able to deal with missing values, all the data points with missing entries are excluded from training. Then the independent variable "race 7" is dichotomized in a way that

a dummy variable is created for each race group to indicate the race of the respondent. Meanwhile, the dependent variable is also dichotomized, where students having seriously considered attempting suicide during the past 12 months prior to the survey were classified as positive samples and the remaining as negative samples.

Some machine learning algorithms, such as artificial neural networks, require a specific technique called feature scaling which transforms different features into comparable scales for better training speed and accuracy. For each feature, its minimum and maximum value are first computed as x_{min} and x_{max}. Then each data point x_i with respect to that feature is replaced by y_i calculated as:

$$y_i = \frac{x - x_{\min}}{x_{\max} - x_{\min}}.$$

Finally, for training and test purposes, the YRBS dataset is partitioned into two datasets, the training dataset (70%) for model development, and the test dataset (30%) for model test.

2.2.2 Logistic Regression

Logistic regression models were used to calculate the predicted risk. Logistic regression is a part of a category of statistical models called generalized linear models, and it allows one to predict a discrete outcome from a set of variables that may be continuous, discrete, dichotomous, or a combination of these. Typically, the dependent variable is dichotomous, and the independent variables are either categorical or continuous.

The logistic regression model can be expressed with the formula:

$$In = \left(\frac{y}{1-y}\right) = w_0 + w_1 x_1 + \cdots + w_m x_m$$

In the logistic regression, each feature x_i has its specific weight w_i, where w_0 is the intercept while w_1 through w_m are the coefficients of the independent variables.

Our task is to find a set of parameters $w_0, \ldots, w_m$ such that the loss function between the output y and the actual values u

$$l(y, u) = \left\| y - u \right\|_2^2$$

is minimized.

2.2.3 Artificial Neural Network

An artificial neural network is a computational model vaguely inspired by the biological neural networks that constitute animal brains. An artificial neuron is a node that receives a signal, processes it, and can signal neurons connected to it. The "signal" at a connection is a real number, and the output of each neuron is computed by some non-linear function of the sum of its inputs.

A typical artificial neural network consists of one input layer, several hidden layers, and one output layer. The input layer is the first layer, the output layer is the last layer, and any layers between them are hidden layers. The data are passed into the input layer, processed by the hidden layers, and finally transformed into predicted labels in the output layer. In this study, the model has one hidden layer.

A package called "neuralnet" in R was used to conduct neural network analysis. The package neuralnet focuses on multi-layer perceptron, which are well applicable when modeling functional relationships.

2.3 Model Validation

Consider a two-class prediction problem, where the outcomes are labeled either as positive or negative. There are four possible outcomes from a binary classifier. If the outcome from a prediction is positive and the actual value is also positive, then it is called a true positive (TP); however, if the actual value is negative then it is said to be a false positive (FP). Conversely, a true negative (TN) has occurred when both the prediction outcome and the actual value are negative, and false negative (FN) is when the prediction outcome is negative while the actual value is positive. In this way, the true positive rate (TPR) can be calculated as follows:

$$TPR = \frac{TP}{TP + FN}$$

And the false positive rate (FPR) can be calculated as:

$$FPR = \frac{FP}{TN + FP}$$

A receiver operating characteristic curve, or ROC curve, is a graphical plot that illustrates the diagnostic ability of a binary classifier system as its discrimination threshold is varied [5]. The ROC curve is created by plotting the true positive rate (TPR) against the false positive rate (FPR) at various threshold settings. The best possible prediction method would yield a point in the upper left corner of the ROC space. A random guess would give a point along a diagonal line from the left bottom to the top right corners. Points above the diagonal represent better than random classification results, while points below the line represent worse than random results. In general, ROC analysis is one tool to select possibly optimal models and to discard subop-

timal ones independently from the class distribution. Sometimes, it might be hard to identify which algorithm performs better by directly looking at ROC curves. Area Under Curve (AUC) overcomes this drawback by finding the area under the ROC curve, making it easier to find the optimal model.

3. Results

3.1 Chorogram

A chorogram is a graphical representation of the cells of a matrix of correlations. The idea is to display the pattern of correlations in terms of their signs and magnitudes by using visual thinning and correlation-based variable ordering. Moreover, the cells of the matrix can be shaded or colored to show the correlation value. The positive correlations are shown in blue, while the negative correlations are shown in red; the darker the hue, the greater the magnitude of the correlation.
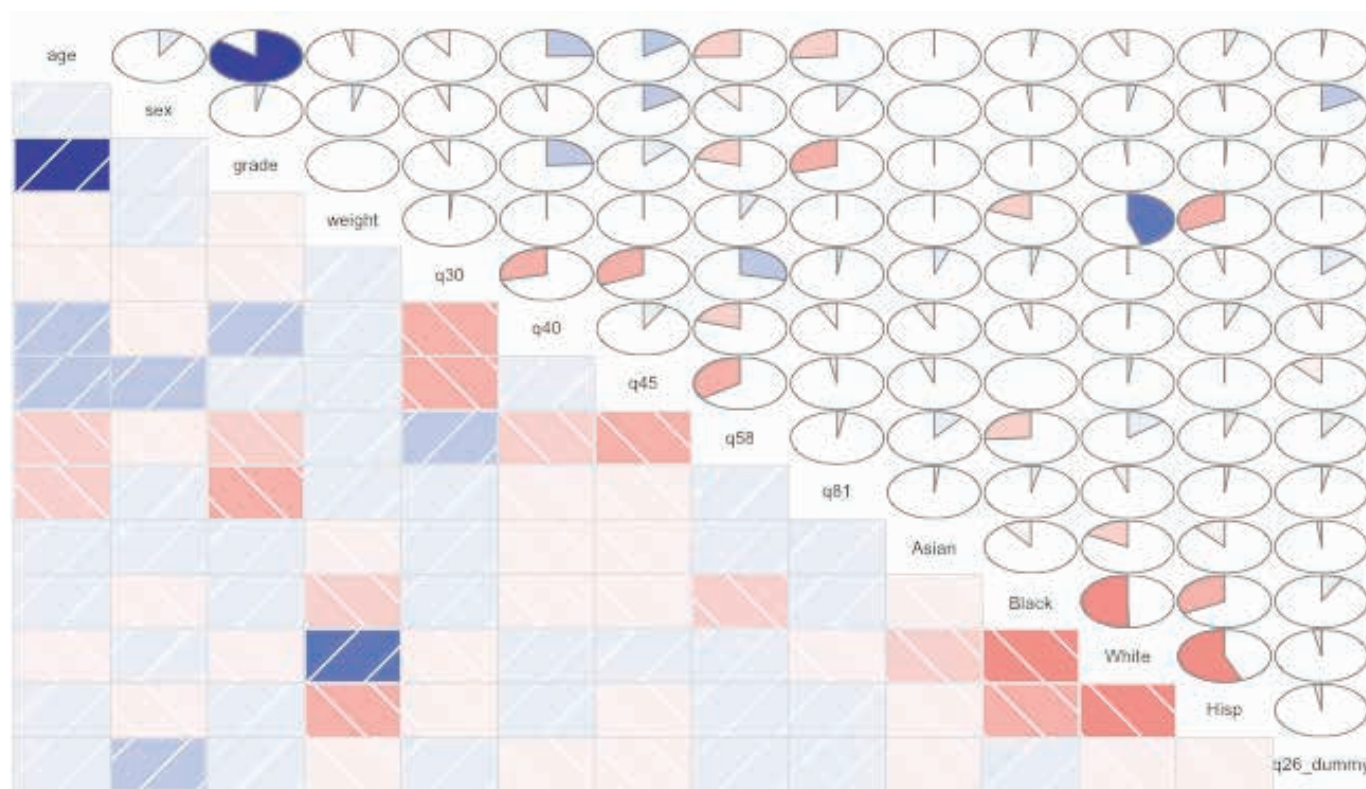

Figure 1. Correlation among Variables

According to the chorogram above, attempting suicide had the strongest positive correlation with sex and has the strongest negative relationship with the drug usage history.

3.2 Logistic Regression

The results of logistic regression analysis of high school students being physically active are listed in (Table 2). From the logistic regression

results, it is not hard to find that, taking a 95% confidence level, sex, grade, race, and question 30, 45, 58, 81 are significant predictors of the dependent variable.

Table 2. – Logistic regression results

Item Name or Question Number	Estimate (β)	Standard Error of Estimate	z-value	Pr(>|z|)
1	−0.007299	0.022873	−0.319	0.749646
2	0.949775	0.030494	31.146	< 0.001
3	0.137295	0.025188	5.451	0.01
Asian	−0.099198	0.154900	−0.640	0.521912
Black	0.849729	0.138323	6.143	< 0.001
White	0.283876	0.136313	2.083	0.037293
Hisp	0.279090	0.136926	2.038	0.041524
7	−0.006607	0.012660	−0.522	0.601746
30	0.517873	0.038952	13.295	< 0.001
40	−0.007549	0.008779	−0.860	0.389898
45	−0.114776	0.008213	−13.974	< 0.001
58	0.440016	0.034831	12.633	< 0.001
81	0.024635	0.006593	3.736	0.000187

3.3 Artificial Neural Network

The structure of the artificial neural network is shown in (Figure 2). The thickness of the line represents the corresponding weight.

To find the relative importance of independent variables, Garson describes a method that can be used to identify the relative importance of independent variables for a single dependent variable in an artificial neural network [6].
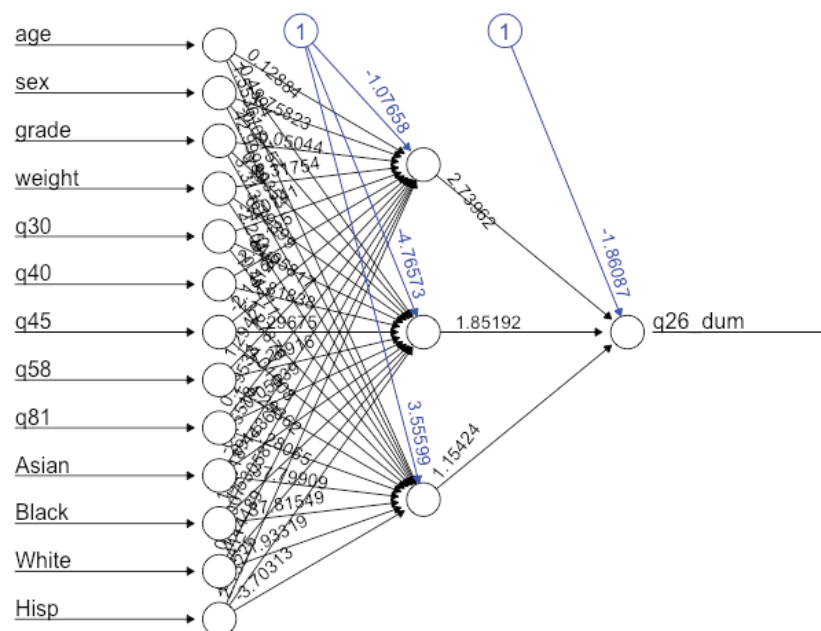

Figure 2. Structure of the artificial neural network

The relative importance of a specific independent variable for the dependent variable can be determined by identifying all weighted connections between the nodes of interest. That is, all weights connecting the

specific input node that pass through the hidden layer to the dependent variable are identified. This is repeated for all other independent variables until a list of all weights that are specific to each independent variable is obtained [7]. Figure 3 shows the importance of each question using Garson's algorithm.
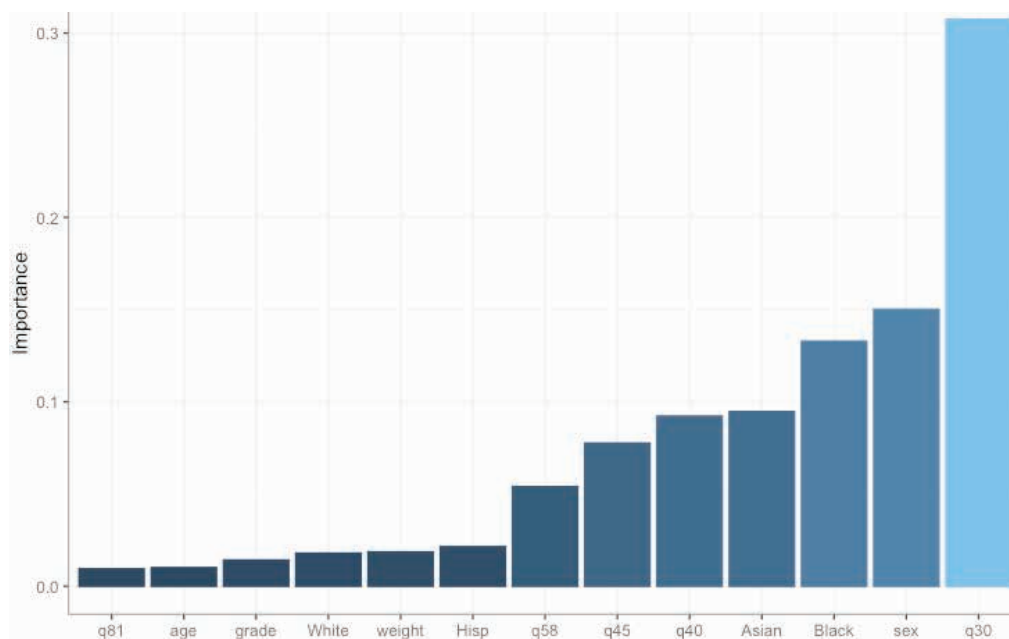

Figure 3. The importance of each question in the artificial neural network

The most important predictor is the respondent's smoking history, followed by sex, Black children, Asian children, and drinking history.

3.4 Model Validation

Figure 4 displays the ROC curve for the two models and Table 3 lists their respective AUC score. Combining both Figure 3 and Table 3, it can be concluded that both models have achieved a rather similar performance, while the artificial neural network being slightly better than the logistic regression. Besides, we can also see that both models have results better than random guessing.

Table 3. – The AUC score for the two models

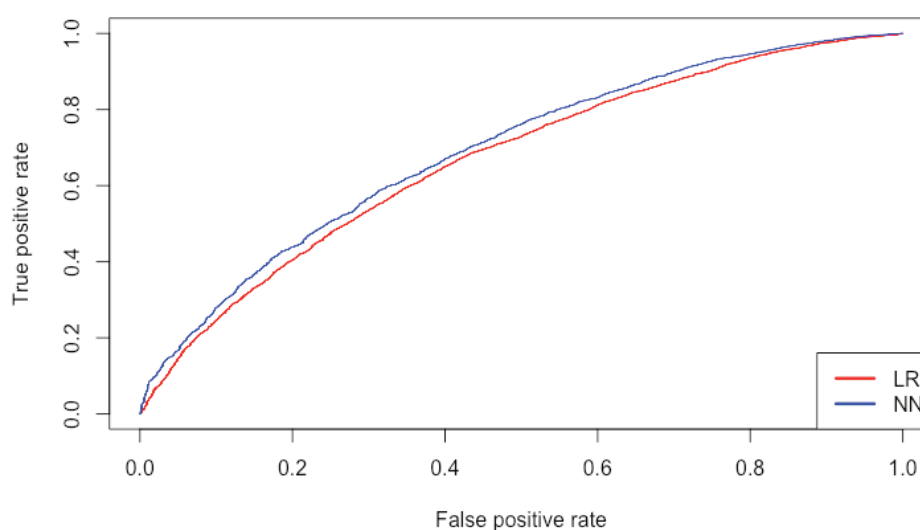| Algorithm	AUC Score
Logistic Regression	0.676
Artificial Neural Network	0.692

Figure 4. The ROC curve for the logistic regression and artificial neural network

4. Discussion

The intention of this study is to build a predictive model with the best performance and to investigate the factors most related to adolescents' suicide behaviors. Two models – a logistic regression and an artificial neural network – are built, and all of them have achieved a similar performance. Also, using Garson's algorithm, we are able to ascertain that the question number 30, sex, race is most related to adolescents' suicide behaviors. Table 2 corroborates with this result by showing that these questions are also significant predictors of the dependent variable. Combining the results with Table 1, we can see that in order to decrease adolescents' suicide chance, it will be most effective to control teenagers' smoking behaviors.

According to the results of this study, parents and educators can reflect on themselves, and then take appropriate measures to reduce the possibility of youth suicide. For example, for parents with years-long smoking history, they should try to quit smoking, as it is known that children will learn from their parents. However, since most factors involved in the study are innate and generally unchangeable, treatment and mental comfort are more essential in the face of teenager suicide.

One limitation of the study is that data entries with missing values are excluded from analyzing. This is a timesaving but defective approach. Depending on the number of such data entries, it is possible that we might remove too many sample points, resulting in losing valuable information for the model to learn the relationship among independent variables. For future studies, we may use more advanced techniques such as mean value imputation or k-nearest neighbors (kNN). The mean value imputation method completes missing values with the mean of the entire feature. This is a simply but effective way to make those entries usable by the learning algorithm. Other techniques include k-nearest neighbors, which replaces missing values with the mean of k nearest neighbors of that particular sample. This technique requires more efforts but can generally achieve better performance.

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ANALYSIS OF SCHOOL FAILURE, DROPOUT AND ABSENTEEISM IN THE SCHOOL REALITY AND ITS SOCIAL AND FAMILY CONSEQUENCES

Abstract. In this article we try to distinguish between the concepts of school failure and school dropout by providing definitions made in their studies by various expert and authors on the subject. This is a worrying social phenomenon, given that the percentages achieved in Spain are much higher than the EU average. We will continue to talk about the influencing factors related to the educational centres and their teaching staff; the students themselves (their attitudes, their motivation, etc.); their families (their learning levels, their participation in their children's studies, their assessment of their children's academic achievement) and the administration responsible for overseeing the entire education system.

Keywords: failure, dropout, students, education centres, teachers, families.

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Анализ школьной неуспеваемости, отсева и прогулов в школьной реальности и его социальных и семейных последствий

Аннотация. В этой статье мы попытаемся разграничить понятия школьной неуспеваемости и отсева из школы, предоставив определения, сделанные в их исследованиях различными

авторами-экспертами по этому предмету. Это тревожное социальное явление, учитывая, что процентные показатели, достигнутые в Испании, намного выше, чем в среднем по странам ЕС.

Мы продолжим говорить о влияющих факторах, связанных с образовательными центрами и их преподавательским составом; сами студенты (их отношение, их мотивация и т.д.); своим семьям (уровень обучения, их участие в учебе своих детей, их оценка достижения детьми академической квалификации) и администрации, отвечающей за контроль всей системы образования.

Мы завершим исследование, предложив серию программ действий, разработанных различными организациями для сдерживания этого социального явления.

Ключевые слова: неуспеваемость, отсев, студенты, образовательные центры, учителя, семьи.

1. Вступление

Всем известно, что образование в любой стране является фундаментальной опорой общества, поскольку именно образование, получаемое молодыми людьми, будет способствовать прогрессу общества или его застою.

В нашей стране показатели школьной неуспеваемости намного выше, чем в среднем по остальным странам ЕС, и поэтому общество должно действовать сообща перед лицом этой проблемы, если оно хочет прогрессировать. Мы сталкиваемся с проблемой, которую не следует понимать как уникальную и исключительную для образовательного сообщества, а следует определять как социальную проблему, с которой должно столкнуться общество в целом и все вместе. Это проблема, которую необходимо решать с самого начала обучения детей в школе, учитывая, что именно в этом возрасте могут начаться конфликты с обучением. Важно решить проблему, предварительно проанализировав различные факторы, которые приводят учащихся к неуспеваемости и, как следствие, отсеву из школы.

2. Теоретические основы
2.1. Отказ в школе
2.1.1. Концепция школьной неудачи

Определение школьной неуспеваемости – сложная задача, потому что это понятие включает в себя факторы различного характера, из-за которых трудно выразить в нескольких словах то, что оно предназначено для определения. Авторы, пытавшиеся дать определение, столкнулись с проблемами разного рода, потому что это уже термин, обозначающий отрицательное значение. «Слово «неудача» имеет высокий отрицательный заряд, оно относится к идее неудачника, разочарования и может способствовать как снижению самооценки тех, кто не получил титул, так и созданию социальной стигмы» Гарсия (2009).

Термин неуспех, связанный с обучением, обычно связан с неудачей, не получением минимальной степени, которая является обязательным средним образованием.

В 2003 году Маркези в своем исследовании «Школьный провал в Испании» считал этот термин «спорным». В нем Маркези раскритиковал использование этого термина по разным причинам:

- Потому что он считал, что этот термин намекает на тот факт, что ученик, которого можно было включить в школьную неуспеваемость, не сумел улучшить свои знания в школьные годы.

- Потому что он считал, что включение студента в такой термин может разрушить его самооценку. Он отстаивает позицию, согласно которой этот термин является уничижительным и совершенно не помогает студенту.

- Потому что он считает, что при использовании этого термина забывается важная вещь. И дело в том, что, помимо учащегося, остальные агенты, участвующие

в образовательном процессе, также несут ответственность за этот вопрос.

Согласно Fernández, Mena & Riviera (2010) в своем исследовании «Отказ от учебы и отказ от учебы в Испании», термин «школьная неуспеваемость» является предметом обсуждения, поскольку нет четкого определения этого термина, и потому что с помощью этого термина ученик несет исключительную ответственность за провал на образовательном уровне без учета ответственности за образование студента, которую несут остальные агенты, вовлеченные в образовательную панораму.

Fernández et al (2010) ограничительно определяют школьную неуспеваемость как «ситуацию, в которой учащийся пытается достичь минимальных целей, установленных учреждением – целей обязательного образования,– терпит неудачу и уходит после того, как был классифицирован как таковой».

Были предприняты попытки заменить термин «школьная неуспеваемость» другими названиями, такими как «учащиеся с низкой успеваемостью» или «учащиеся, покидающие образовательную систему без достаточной подготовки» Гарсия (2009). Однако этот термин широко известен в просторечии., поскольку очень трудно заменить его другими, поскольку «оно широко используется во всех странах и является гораздо более синтетическим, чем другие выражения, поэтому его нелегко изменить» Марчези (2003).

Авторы исследований этого предмета, принимая определение школьной неудачи, придерживаются различных взглядов. Согласно более объективному мнению, «те, кто не достигает минимума, терпят поражение» Карабана Моралес (2003), но если мы сосредоточимся на более субъективном взгляде на этот термин, мы могли бы сказать, что он терпит неудачу или нет, в зависимости от характеристик студент.

Все эти попытки дать определение термину «школьная неуспеваемость», который нас здесь интересует, имеют нечто общее, например, трудности ученика в учебе. Эта трудность в обучении не должна фокусировать неудачу исключительно на ученике, поскольку это сделало бы невозможным поиск реальных решений. Марчези (2003) говорит нам, что «помимо студента есть множество влиятельных агентов в образовании студента». В этом смысле следует отметить, что для того, чтобы найти точное определение школьной неуспеваемости, следует принимать во внимание социальный контекст, среди других агентов, действующих в образовательной сфере, с учетом того, что мы не будем говорить об одной и той же школе. Под неудачей понимается тот, который определяет студента, «не достигшего минимума» Карабана Моралес (2003) во время перехода к демократии в Испании, чем в настоящее время. Так, Марчези (Марчези, 2003) в своем исследовании «Провал школы в Испании» упоминает, что «необходимо принимать во внимание общие знания общества и навыки, необходимые для присоединения к обществу и миру труда». Если мы посмотрим на это исследование, мы подтвердим, что концепция, которая нас волнует, будет в значительной степени зависеть от современного общества в тот момент, когда требуется дать определение или концептуально разграничить указанный термин.

Проанализировав исследования вышеупомянутых авторов, мы можем установить некоторые характеристики, общие для термина «неуспеваемость». Мы сталкиваемся с переменным термином (поскольку его определение будет зависеть от вариантов, которые мы хотим включить в измерение одного и того же понятия); Это термин с большим негативным подтекстом для ученика (термин «неудача» предполагает умственное бремя ученика, которое повлияет на его повседневную жизнь); Это термин, который будет зависеть от социального контекста (в зависимости от общества на данный момент школьная неуспеваемость будет так или иначе).

2.1.2. Факторы, влияющие на школьную неуспеваемость

Было написано много страниц, чтобы попытаться составить подробный и подробный список причин, которые приводят к так называемой школьной неуспеваемости. Некоторые исследования основывали факторы исключительно на студентах; Другие анализируют причины из социокультурной среды, а многие другие связывают неуспеваемость в школе исключительно с атаками на функционирование самой образовательной системы. Они будут использоваться в этой работе для анализа причин школьной неуспеваемости, таких как Marchesi (2003), школьная неуспеваемость и отсев; или Moreno's (2009) Почему студенты учатся? Цели достижения и их связь с успехом или неудачей в школе.

Для Марчези (2003) и Морено (2009) причины неуспеваемости в школе – это сумма действий, совершаемых всеми участниками образовательного процесса: учеником, учителем, образовательным центром, семьей, обществом и другими школьными учреждениями. Так, Морено (2009) отмечает, что «исследования, проведенные на сегодняшний день, сориентировали гипотезы о факторах, вызывающих неуспеваемость в школе, на три типа:

- Факторы, внешние по отношению к студенту
- Внутренние факторы для студента
- Оба фактора

В том же направлении мы находим Марчези (Marchesi, 2003), который в своем исследовании делит факторы на:

- Социокультурные проблемы, которые могут возникнуть в образовательной среде учащегося, например в семье или социальной среде того же самого.
- Проблемы учеников, такие как отсутствие мотивации, недостаточные усилия, трудности в обучении.
- Проблемы, которые возникли у центра в плане работы и методики обучения учи-

телей. того же самого. Марчези (2003) представляет «модель понимания школьной неуспеваемости, состоящую из шести тесно связанных уровней: общество, семья, образовательная система, образовательный центр, обучение в классе и расположение учеников».

Что касается общества и его влияния в классе, недавние исследования подтверждают, что школа, закрытая для социального контекста, в который она включена, не способствует обучению своих учеников, и в то же время она перестанет беспокоиться о социальных проблемах своего окружения и или вставить остальных членов образовательного сообщества. Как указано (Delval, 2000)ю

Школа не может выполнять свою образовательную миссию без проблематизации социального контекста, который ее окружает, хотя она должна гармонизировать это общество и оттуда продолжать активно работать над улучшением личной и общественной жизни.

Участие семьи в школе, академический уровень родителей, поддержка, которую они оказывают своим детям в выполнении школьных заданий, привитие им навыков чтения и т. д .; Все эти переменные существенно влияют на успеваемость учащихся, и в качестве примера того, что это утверждение верно, стоит упомянуть отчет Программы международной оценки учащихся и Организации экономического сотрудничества и развития (2001 г.), в котором говорится, что учащиеся, чьи матери не получившие полное среднее образование имеют навыки чтения на 44 балла ниже, чем те учащиеся, чьи матери закончили этот тип обучения.

Согласно исследованиям, таким как Fernández, Mena & Riviere (2010), стабильность семьи является важным фактором при анализе причин неуспеваемости в школе. В неструктурированных семьях успеваемость в школе ниже из-за психологического воздействия семейной нестабильности на учащихся.

Для Мартинес-Отеро В. (2009) факторы, которые влияют на успеваемость и могут в большей или меньшей степени приводить к неуспеваемости, разделены на три области, аналогичные анализируемым, но которые он называет: «личные, семейные и школьники». Внутри каждой группы он определяет ряд условий, которые будут определять готовность учащегося к более высокой успеваемости. Таким образом, среди личных факторов он выделяет: «интеллект, личность, эмоциональность, мотивацию, методы обучения и привычки». Что касается семейных факторов, в его исследовании подчеркивается, что как академический уровень родителей, так и финансовые ресурсы семьи очень влияют на оценку успеваемости несовершеннолетних в школе.

Наконец, что касается школьных факторов, подчеркивается, что отношение учителя имеет решающее значение для успеваемости ученика, что указывает на то, что «учитель, близкий к ученикам, является тем, кто больше всего способствует достижению положительных результатов».

Семейный контекст как детерминант школьной неуспеваемости становится очевидным после проведенного анализа. Различные исследования подтвердили, что более низкий уровень учебы родителей в большинстве случаев отрицательно влияет на учащихся, однако этот недостаток учебы родителей может быть полностью компенсирован большей заинтересованностью родителей в воспитании детей. дети согласно Marchesi (2003).

Согласно Tinajas (2009) происхождение школьной неуспеваемости «зарождается в начальном образовании, и эта стадия становится главным предиктором успеха или неудачи в остальной части обязательного среднего образования».

В этом смысле мы приступаем к анализу, согласно соответствующим исследованиям, ответственности учителя и ее возможной значимости в случае школьной неуспеваемости, начиная с идеи о необходимости изменения в подготовке учителей, которое идентифицирует себя с сегодняшним обществом и не соответствует действительности. закрепился в традиционном обществе.

Согласно Marchesi (2003), школьные неуспеваемость в современном обществе нельзя измерить так же, как, например, в 1970-е годы. Минимальные академические знания, которые необходимо было получить после многих лет обучения в этом десятилетии, чтобы получить доступ к рынку труда, несравнимы с тем, что требуется от студентов сегодня для получения доступа к квалифицированной должности. В соответствии с этим утверждением, мы не можем отрицать, что одна из проблем, влияющих на школьную неуспеваемость, находится в педагогическом составе. Так же, как базовые знания для доступа к миру труда эволюционировали, общество, в котором мы живем, также изменилось, и вместе с ним студенты, которые приходят на занятия каждый день с меньшей мотивацией, потому что они находятся в классах с учителями, у которых нет продвинутые в своих методологиях.

Преподавательскому составу необходимо развиваться, потому что, как отмечает Оливер-Тробат (2017), «большая часть преподавательского состава не имеет достаточных навыков или навыков для решения текущих образовательных проблем».

Мы рассмотрели исследования, в которых несколько факторов, вызывающих неуспеваемость, были выделены в соответствии с различными точками зрения, но мы должны завершить этот раздел интересным вкладом, который Фернандес, Мена и Ривьер (2010) в своей работе «Неудачи и отсев из школы в Испании. «Они включают в себя то, как педагогический коллектив видит школьную неуспеваемость. Именно преподаватели изо дня в день фактически оказываются на поле битвы со своими учениками, родителями и даже с учебными заведениями, которые навязывают им правила, призванные облегчить это социальное бедствие, которое превращается в школьную неуспеваемость, не давая им возможности выжить. необходимые инструменты для его достижения. Учителя консультиро-

вались в исследовании García JS (2009) Школьный провал, PISA и сложный ESO, представление семьи о необходимости получения ученой степени; уровень вовлеченности родителей в образовательный центр, социокультурный класс семьи. Учителя, с которыми консультировался в исследовании García JS (2009), также согласны с тем, что помимо причин происхождения семьи как источника неуспеваемости в школе, следует выделить район (периферийный, центральный), где проживает семья, и образовательный центр, который они посещают. Представление семьи о необходимости получения ученой степени; уровень вовлеченности родителей в образовательный центр, социокультурный класс семьи. Учителя, с которыми консультировался в исследовании García JS (2009), также согласны с тем, что помимо причин происхождения семьи как источника неуспеваемости в школе, следует выделить район (периферийный, центральный), где проживает семья, и образовательный центр, который они посещают.

Что касается образовательной системы, ее недостатков и дефектов, учителя считают, что значительная часть школьной неуспеваемости вызвана жесткостью единственной обязательной учебной программы, введенной школьными учреждениями, адаптированной из работы Фернандеса, Мены и Ривьера (2010).

В отчете ODCE за 2016 год отмечается, что низкая успеваемость в школе является результатом не только одного фактора риска, «а, скорее, сочетания и накопления различных барьеров и недостатков, которые влияют на учащихся на протяжении всей их жизни». В отчете продолжает упоминаться, что «среди детерминант школьной неуспеваемости выделяются социально-образовательный уровень родителей, этническое происхождение и пол учащихся» ODCE (2016).

По мнению Боны (2016), одна из основных причин неуспеваемости в школе кроется в отношении учителей, поскольку они считают, что «мы не делаем школу местом, куда хотят пойти дети».

Другая причина, по словам Бона (2016), может заключаться в том, что при обучении «человеческий фактор не принимается во внимание». Единственное, что принимается во внимание,– это учебный план, что студенты заканчивают курс с готовым учебником, но они не принимают во внимание, что в ходе курса они многое забыли из того, что они узнали. а вместе с тем и мотивация ходить в школу.

Школьные неудачи можно в значительной степени искоренить, если проявить внимание к воле учащихся, привлечь их к обучению, чтобы их воображение и творческие способности были приняты во внимание, и они были включены в образовательный процесс. Если ученика выслушивают и у него есть время проявить свои творческие способности, он захочет вернуться в класс. «Когда это происходит, они хотят вернуться в класс, потому что видят, что у них есть то, что есть у всех людей: желание чувствовать себя полезными, услышанными, любимыми» Бона (2016).

Еще одна важная причина – так называемая «девальвация обучения и всего, что связано с образованием». Учителя не чувствуют, что их уважают, и им приходится иметь дело с конфликтной обстановкой в классах, которая ведет к демотивации учителей и снижению энтузиазма в обучении учеников.

Помимо перечисленных выше факторов, следует упомянуть так называемое «издевательство», традиционно известное как запугивание, которое, согласно многочисленным исследованиям, является основной причиной неуспеваемости в средней школе.

«Студент становится жертвой издевательств, когда он неоднократно и с течением времени подвергается негативным действиям, совершаемым другим или другими студентами», как определил Дэн Олвеус.

2.1.3. Возможные решения

Как указывает Фуллана (1996), поиск решений по снижению школьной неуспеваемости должен начинаться с «переменных или факторов,

связанных с увеличением вероятности того, что школьная неуспеваемость». Фуллана (1996) пытается объяснить свою теорию поиска решений школьной неудачи на основе факторов, которые он называет «риском». Эти факторы риска делятся на «характеристики учащихся» и «переменные, связанные с характеристиками социального и семейного контекста». Среди характеристик ученика мы выделяем его отношение к школе, то есть насколько он заинтересован в посещении образовательного центра; их учебные навыки и интеллектуальные способности студента. Из переменных, связанных с социально-экономическими характеристиками учащегося,

В своем исследовании школьной неуспеваемости (Marchesi, 2003) он анализирует предложения, направленные на решение этой проблемы, и делит их на шесть областей:

- Привлекательные общественные центры;
- Профилактика школьной неуспеваемости;
- Новые формы сотрудничества;
- Поддержка учителей;
- Чрезвычайное вмешательство;
- Приверженность обществу.

Что касается первой из областей, это можно понять в необходимости создания состава учащихся, взаимоотношений родителей и школы, адекватной учебной среды и т. Д. чтобы учащиеся поступали в центр мотивированными, а родители выбирали этот центр для своих детей. В этом смысле Марчези (2003) указывает, что:

… Основными причинами, побуждающими родителей рассматривать привлекательный образовательный центр для своих детей для получения адекватного образования, являются близость центра к семейному дому, плюралистическая, толерантная и межклассовая идеологическая среда и качество преподавания. .

В области предотвращения школьной неуспеваемости у нас есть несколько основных моментов:

- Создание специальных групп поддержки для учащихся начальных классов с труд-

ностями в обучении, поскольку именно на этом этапе у учащихся возникают реальные препятствия. Как говорит Marchesi (2003) «достижение этой цели является решающим фактором в сокращении школьной неуспеваемости, поскольку существует тесная корреляция между учениками, которые плохо заканчивают начальное образование, и теми, кто не получает титул в конце ESO». Для достижения этой цели необходимо уделять особое внимание учащимся, испытывающим большие трудности с чтением в течение первых двух циклов начального образования, и оказывать особую поддержку учителям этих циклов.

- Создание сообщества читателей. Общество должно осознавать необходимость развития среди учащихся «навыков чтения, которые снизили бы уровень неуспеваемости в школе», (Marchesi, 2003). Для этого необходима поддержка родителей, которые должны привить своим детям привычку ежедневного чтения.

- Ищите решения, чтобы повторно мотивировать этих немотивированных студентов. Это будет включать использование новых средств, доступных учителям для привлечения интереса учащихся, например, использование компьютеров в классе.

Что касается новых форм сотрудничества, которые Марчези (2003) выдвигает как предложения по устранению школьной неуспеваемости, мы можем указать на сотрудничество между школами и образовательными учреждениями, которые предоставляют первые материальные и экономические ресурсы для рассмотрения предложений по решению этой проблемы.

Что касается поддержки учителей, то это будет выражаться в изменении начальной подготовки учителей с увеличения времени обучения тех же теоретических и практических навыков на более конкретную подготовку, позволяющую решать

эти проблемы в процессе обучения. класс (курсы по проблемам обучения студентов, курсы по управлению классом, внимание к разнообразию студентов и т.д.).

Таким образом, как указывает Марчези (2003), «новые учителя будут иметь базовые инструменты для решения образовательных проблем, и у них будет больше шансов получить успешный опыт, который повысит их профессиональное удовлетворение и мотивацию».

В этом смысле Гарсия-Ретамеро (2010) в своей статье, опубликованной в цифровом журнале для профессионалов в области преподавания за ноябрь 2010 года, пишет, что учителя должны перестать быть традиционными и стать новаторскими учителями, «становление новаторским учителем подразумевает преодоление традиционных педагогических практик, позируя. и претворение в жизнь новых предложений по педагогическим задачам». В этой статье анализируется потребность учителей в инновациях, чтобы помочь уменьшить школьные неуспеваемость, и, как говорится, «наши ученики не интересуются нашими классами, потому что они не вовлечены в информацию, которая им предоставляется, или они не знают это может сделать для них».

Если в классах не будет произведено прогрессивное изменение способа обучения, которое вызовет положительную стимуляцию в отношении учащихся, эта текущая проблема будет усугубляться, а не уменьшаться.

Необычной формой вмешательства, чтобы остановить школьную неуспеваемость, было бы усиление работы учителей и образовательных мероприятий.

Что касается приверженности общества, очень важно искать решения для школьной неуспеваемости, чтобы все гражданское общество и администрации, участвующие в образовании, были вовлечены в улучшение общественного имиджа и, следовательно, социальной ценности обучения. «В борьбе со школьной неуспеваемостью следу-

ет развить идею о том, что ее можно уменьшить и что все учащиеся могут учиться и учиться в достаточной степени»,– Маркези (2003).

По мнению Оливера-Тробата (2017), решением проблемы отсутствия компетентности для удовлетворения образовательных потребностей современного общества было бы «снабдить образовательную систему компетентными учителями для решения текущих образовательных проблем».

В отчете ODCE за 2016 год говорится: «Все страны могут улучшить успеваемость своих учеников, если есть желание применять на практике соответствующую образовательную политику». По мнению этой организации, у правительств должна быть острая необходимость сделать низкую успеваемость в школе «приоритетной проблемой не только потому, что низкая успеваемость в школе связана с меньшими возможностями трудоустройства … но и потому, что долгосрочный рост страны может быть поставлен под угрозу».

В качестве мер, собранных в этом отчете для решения проблемы школьной неуспеваемости, мы имеем:

- Устраните многочисленные препятствия на пути к обучению.
- Создавайте в школах стимулирующую и благоприятную учебную среду для учащихся.
- Как можно скорее предложите школьное подкрепление.
- Поощряйте родителей и местные сообщества участвовать в школьной жизни.
- Вдохновляйте учащихся максимально эффективно использовать образовательные возможности.
- Выявите недостаточно успевающих студентов и разработайте стратегию, соответствующую их профилю.
- Предлагайте индивидуальные усилия малообеспеченным школам и семьям.
- Предлагайте специальные программы повышения квалификации для студентов из

иммигрантского происхождения, говорящих на языке меньшинства или приехавших из сельской местности.

- Боритесь с гендерными стереотипами и поддерживайте неполные семьи
- Уменьшить неравенство в доступе к дошкольному образованию и ограничить разделение учащихся по академическому уровню.

Другие авторы провели исследования, согласно которым решение неуспеваемости в школе находится в гендере. Таким образом, у нас, например, для Габарро (2007), «проблема совместного обучения и гендера не является чем-то второстепенным, а, скорее, ядром реакции на академические неудачи».

Габарро (2007) проводит исследование школьной неуспеваемости и в нем отражает важность, которую необходимо придавать гендерным вопросам, которые для него являются «центральной проблемой в мире образования». По мнению автора, повышение успеваемости девочек с момента установления демократии в стране должно быть изучено, чтобы уменьшить неуспеваемость мальчиков. Это улучшение успеваемости девочек в школе, вызванное изменением менталитета общества, должно быть экстраполировано на случай мальчиков, которые, по словам автора, Габарро (2007), «склонны рассматривать академиков как нечто не очень мужское».

Учитель Сезар Бона, который стал финалистом «Глобальной премии учителя», которая считается Нобелевской премией в области образования, считает, что одно из решений проблемы школьной неуспеваемости находится в руках учителей, поскольку именно они у которых есть возможность «стимулировать любопытство и творчество учащихся», и он говорит, что вместе с ними они увеличат желание ходить в школу.

Видение образования должно быть изменено, чтобы облегчить социальное бедствие, которое представляет собой неуспеваемость в школе, но для этого также необходима воля учителей, потому что у них есть возможность дать учащимся все необходимое, чтобы каждое утро мотивированно ходить в класс.

Для Бона (2016): дети или подростки должны чувствовать, что они больше, чем просто число, что они могут учиться и участвовать в жизни общества. Именно тогда ценится их сущность, состоящая из творчества, воображения и любопытства, и они начинают рассматривать образование как процесс, в который они чувствуют себя включенными. Учителя должны быть заинтересованы в том, чтобы помогать ученикам и бороться с неуспеваемостью, Бона (2016) считает, что «учителя, которые не ходят на работу счастливыми, не смогут найти своих учеников счастливыми, и, как следствие, ученики никогда не захотят ходить в школу».

Далее мы обсудим предложения студентов по улучшению образования.

В этом смысле следует процитировать конкурс «Я голосую за образование, а вы? который проходил в кортесах Арагона. Из него были извлечены 24 предложения, набравшие наибольшее количество голосов в Cortes de Aragón среди школьников Серрано (2017), извлеченные из Heraldo, цифровой газеты от 6 марта 2017 года.

Из них первые пять станут частью манифеста, который от имени Арагона будет зачитан на Всемирной неделе образования.

В качестве примера, чтобы составить представление о волеизъявлении учащихся, приведем следующее:

- Все мальчики и девочки в мире могут ходить в школу независимо от их происхождения, пол, религия, раса, культура или экономический уровень.
- Что правительства богатых стран увеличивают свои взносы на улучшение образования в менее удачливых странах.
- Сделайте образование увлекательным и практичным.

- Что они вынуждают всех, кто украл государственные деньги, вернуть их и использовать для улучшения образования.
- Для образования, независимого от политических идей и чтобы законы не менялись с каждой сменой правительства.

Ответы студентов нацелены на равенство между ними, на сотрудничество с бедными странами, которые предоставляют доступ к образованию наиболее нуждающимся, на инвестирование большего количества денег в образование, осознавая отсутствие улучшений в этой сфере.

В то время, когда LOGSE действовал, были созданы различные программы, направленные на предотвращение или смягчение последствий школьной неуспеваемости. Это так называемые «Программы предотвращения школьных сбоев или борьбы с ними».

Согласно Наваррете (2007), в его исследовании «Молодые люди и школьная неуспеваемость в Испании» в LOGSE были установлены три основные программы, разделенные на диверсификацию учебных программ, компенсационное образование и социальные гарантии. Первые два считаются профилактическими, а третий – паллиативным решением проблемы школьной неуспеваемости.

Это программы с особым профессиональным профилем, организованные по трем основным направлениям: базовая подготовка, специальная профессиональная подготовка и руководство.

Эти системы были адаптированы LOCE, увязав их в большей степени со структурой образовательной системы, хотя, как говорит Марчези (2003), «они не предполагают важных изменений, кроме факта увеличения возраста приема учащихся на один уровень. год».

В Валенсийском сообществе, которое уже несколько лет является одним из сообществ с самым высоким уровнем неуспеваемости, были заключены так называемые программные контракты (GVA, 2013). Это программы, разработанные и разработанные в сотрудничестве с образовательными центрами и другими организациями для улучшения обслуживания студентов, работы центров и передовой образовательной практики.

Целью этой программы является повышение успеваемости учащихся и сокращение преждевременного ухода из школы путем подписания программных контрактов между центрами и администрацией образования, в которых будет содержаться конкретный план действий для каждого центра.

Сегодня многие центры выступили с собственными инициативами по борьбе со школьной неуспеваемостью, инициативы, которые должны получить одобрение Министерства образования и подпадать под так называемые программные контракты, описанные выше.

В качестве примера мы извлекаем из газеты El País (Játiva, 2014) статью об IES Berenguer Dalmau de Catarroja (Валенсия), одном из центров, которые приняли меры по этому вопросу и создали свои собственные проекты, чтобы мотивировать студентов и это привлекательный класс. Это проект под названием «Пигмалион», в котором учащиеся ПОО выступают в роли старших братьев и сестер учащихся ESO, чтобы помочь им с трудными изменениями, которые он влечет за собой в студенческий состав и во многих случаях приводит к школьной неуспеваемости, переходу из начальной в среднюю школу.

Советник IES Беренгер Далмау де Катарроха указывает, что «в рамках действий по предотвращению брошенных, неудач или прогулов центры имеют автономию для принятия определенных мер».

В Валенсийском сообществе, принимая во внимание, что одной из причин, вызывающих неуспеваемость в школе, является конфликт в образовательных центрах, из-за которого учащиеся идут в центр немотивированно, через Валенсийский институт оценки и качества образования (IVECE) они получили повсеместное повышение. меры, направленные на возвращение к нормальному

сосуществованию в школах, при полной убежденности в том, что эти меры улучшат атмосферу сосуществования в школах и помогут снизить школьные неуспеваемость. Одним из звездных проектов IVECE является Обсерватория сосуществования в школах, цель которой – материализовать стремление администрации предоставить образовательному сообществу предложения по улучшению сосуществования в школах и институтах, которые помогут уменьшить количество неудач в школе.

Функции, которые Обсерватория берет на себя как свои собственные, резюмируются в проведении исследований сосуществования центров; формированию образовательного сообщества в области мирного разрешения и предотвращения конфликтов; консультировать учителей, учащихся и их семьи по вопросам сосуществования в школе; вмешательство в серьезных случаях и распространение информационных кампаний.

Предполагается проведение обучающих, профилактических и интервенционных мероприятий для улучшения сосуществования с выбором образовательной и не репрессивной формулы.

С другой стороны, стоит упомянуть образовательные сообщества, которые были созданы и находятся под надзором Исследовательского центра теории и практики преодоления неравенства (CREA) Университета Барселоны, цель которого – «преодолеть школьную неуспеваемость и устранение конфликтов».

В 2012 году Правительство подготовило Отчет об образовательном статусе, который включал Предложения по улучшению (MECD), среди которых мы можем выделить следующие:

- Повысить эффективность инвестиций в образование.
- Повышать качество и эффективность образования и обучения.
- Для укрепления профессии учителя.
- Укрепить школьное учреждение.
- Ставить знания на службу улучшению школьных результатов.

- Для повышения справедливости и укрепления социальной сплоченности.

2.2. Вычисление школы

2.2.1. Понятие отсева из школы

Что касается отсева из школ, мы находим разные определения, данные многими авторами, проводившими исследования по этому предмету, и те определения, которые правительство включило в свои планы по сокращению этого социального явления.

Так, например, мы цитируем определение, приведенное в документе «Хлеб за сокращение числа детей, оставшихся после окончания учебы», разработанном Министерством образования, культуры и спорта, в котором дается понимание ситуации, когда дети бросают школу:

все те люди, которые покинули образовательную систему, не имея необходимой квалификации для функционирования в современном и технологичном обществе, независимо от их возраста, а также все те граждане, которые, будучи в школе и не покинувшие образовательную систему, являются население рискованно.

Для Fernández, Mena & Riviere (2010) в своем исследовании «Неудача и отсев из школы в Испании» отсев из школы является «конечным результатом процесса постепенного отстранения, который оказался сложным и многогранным».

Эти же авторы в своем исследовании «Отстранение от образования: процессы, опыт, мотивация и стратегии отсева и неуспеваемости» отмечают, что: «Это процесс ухода из школы тех, кто бросает учебу до получения степени после обязательного обучения, поскольку они не достигают школьных целей, установленных обществом и которые могут быть оценены как разумные минимумы в зависимости от рынка образования».

По словам Хосе Антонио Марины (Марина, май 2011 г.) в его статье, опубликованной в журнале «Достижения в области надзора за образованием», это будет процент молодых людей в возрасте от 18 до 24 лет, которые достигли максимального уровня неполного среднего об-

разования (обязательное) и не продолжать учебу или подготовку для достижения уровня, который в 21 веке был определен как желательный: полное среднее образование (послеобязательное).

Для (Martinez González & Álvarez Blanco, 2005) в своем исследовании неуспеваемости и отсева из школы под названием «Неуспеваемость и отсев из обязательного среднего образования: участие семьи и школ, отсев из школы – это ситуация, которая возникает добровольно в той ситуации, когда учащиеся прекращают учебу их обязательная школьная деятельность в академическом центре до достижения возраста, установленного системой образования.

2.2.2. Факторы, влияющие на отсев из школы

Термин «отсев из школы» имеет свое происхождение от различных факторов, которые были предметом многочисленных исследований, которые мы собираемся проанализировать ниже.

Согласно исследованию «Ранний отказ от обучения: анализ на примере Испании», факторы отказа от школы можно разделить на:

- Личные, такие как, например, врожденные способности учащегося к учебе.
- Академики. что может быть связано с самим студентом или образовательной средой.
  - Характеристики рынка труда в каждой сфере, то есть в среде, где легче найти работу с базовая подготовка (например, туристические районы), отказ от них выше.
  - Бизнес циклы. Во времена избыточной занятости уровень отсева из школ то растет, то падает, когда растет безработица среди молодежи.

По мнению Альфаро, Франсес, Лопес и Сада (2011), наиболее важной причиной отсева из школы является низкая успеваемость ученика, из-за которой он не посещает класс, потому что он чувствует себя потерянным в классе. В статье «Отстранение от образования: процессы, опыт, мотивация и стратегии отсева из школы и неудач» (Mena Martinez,

Fernández Enguita, & Riviere Gómez, 2010) они разделяют факторы на следующие:

- Они ориентированы на самих студентов.
- Они сосредоточены на социальных или культурных факторах.
- Они сосредоточены на функционировании системы образования.

В статье, опубликованной в журнале Revista Avances en Supervisión Educativa Хосе Антонио Марины (2011) об отсеве школы, этот автор упоминает, что одной из основных причин этого явления является отсутствие давления со стороны семьи », к которому может привести чрезмерно снисходительное образование.

В туристических районах Хосе Антонио Мерина (2011) отмечает, что отсев из школ выше, поскольку молодым людям легко найти работу, требующую низкой квалификации.

Согласно Casquero и Navarro (2010) в их исследовании, опубликованном в специальном выпуске Revista de Educación, 2010, стр. 191–223. Детерминанты отсева из школы в Испании: анализ по полу, проблема отсева из школы может быть классифицирована как «в основном мужская проблема», учитывая, что отсев среди мужчин явно выше, чем среди женщин. Основными причинами такого превосходства мужчин в числе, бросающих школу, как показано в вышеупомянутом исследовании, являются:

- Необходимо восполнить отсутствие отца (доход).
- Академическое становление семьи.
- Национальность отца как условие предрасположенности к образованию.
- Род занятий отца и / или его квалификация.

Согласно Рока (2010) факторы, влияющие на отсев из школы, можно разделить на четыре блока:

- Обстоятельства и индивидуальные особенности, такие как трудности в обучении, незнание языка и т. д.

- Обстоятельства, связанные с образовательной средой, которые могут включать плохие отношения с учителями, нехватку ресурсов в центре, отсутствие отношений родителей со школой, отношения с другими одноклассниками, издевательства и т. д.
- Социальные обстоятельства, которые объединяют важность, которую семья придает образованию, уровень участия родителей в учебе своих детей, культурную и социальную среду, в которой живет ученик.
- Экономические обстоятельства в регионе или стране будут иметь значительное влияние на ранний уход из школы, поэтому период экономического бума, который создает рабочие места, требующие низкой квалификации, приведет к увеличению числа детей, бросающих школу в раннем возрасте.

2.2.3. Возможные решения

Существует множество исследований, в которых пытались обозначить направления действий, которым следует следовать, и таким образом сдерживать отсев из школ. В этом смысле Куэста (2010) в своей публикации определяет четыре направления действий по сокращению отсева из школ:

- Вокруг образовательных администраций, которые должны разработать программы по сокращению отсева и расширению образовательного предложения.
- Вокруг учебных центров и учителей. Учителя должны иметь соответствующую подготовку, чтобы они могли предвидеть возможные случаи отказа от дошкольного образования.
- Вокруг молодых людей и их семьи. Следует поощрять общение между родителями и образовательными центрами с намерением спровоцировать совместное участие в образовании.
- Вокруг рынка труда. Следует усилить чувство важности получения минимального образования для поиска работы.

Законодательная ситуация Испании в области образования изменила свой подход, начиная с 1970 года, и началась с принятия Закона, обнародованного в том же году,– процесса компиляции действий по совершенствованию системы образования и, следовательно, по предотвращению того, чтобы отсев из школ стал социальной проблемой. Указанное законодательство:

- Закон об общем образовании (1970 г.), который вводил обязательное школьное образование до 14 лет.
- Общий регламент системы образования (LOGSE, 1990), который расширил обязательное образование до 16 лет с целью борьбы с задержками в испанской образовательной программе и модернизации образования.

В соответствии с положениями этого закона были созданы так называемые программы социальных гарантий (PGS), которые возникли как образовательное предложение для тех учащихся старше 16 лет, которые не превышали обязательное образование. Проблема, которая возникла с этими программами, заключается в том, что они не аккредитовали тех, кто прошел по ним будущую подготовку.

- Органический закон Образование (LOE, 2006), в котором реализованы программы диверсификации учебных программ для обеспечения более гибкого образования.
- Органический закон о повышении качества Educativa (LOMCE, 2013), который установил ряд мер по ограничению отсева из школ и достижению минимальных уровней, требуемых ОЭСР для 2020 года, которые устанавливают максимальный процент отсева из школ в 15% в каждой стране-члене ЕС.

Правительство разработало План по сокращению числа детей, бросающих школу в раннем возрасте, цель которого:

– продвигать и гарантировать качественное образование и обучение для всех граждан на

протяжении всей их жизни, что способствует их всестороннему развитию и успеху в образовательном процессе. Реализуйте образовательные меры вмешательства, которые влияют на факторы риска раннего отказа. Выявлять случаи риска и вмешиваться, чтобы облегчить повторное включение тех, кто уже преждевременно покинул систему образования.

Этот План должен быть гибким, открытым и всеобъемлющим, чтобы все агенты, которые вмешиваются в него с самого начала, а также те, кто хочет присоединиться позже, могли его выполнить.

Основная цель, установленная в нем, состоит в том, чтобы снизить уровень преждевременного ухода из школы до тех пор, пока не будет достигнута приверженность Испании Стратегическим рамкам европейского сотрудничества в области образования и обучения (ET2020).

Основная сила этого плана заключается в сотрудничестве между образовательными учреждениями и администрациями, которое позволяет в большей степени оптимизировать ресурсы.

В рекомендациях Европейского совета относительно Европейской стратегии 2020 говорится, что «предотвращение отсева школ особенно важно для борьбы с негативными последствиями бедности и социальной изоляции».

Европейский совет устанавливает руководящие принципы, которым должна следовать общая политика против досрочного ухода из школы:

- Профилактика, чтобы избежать условий, которые могут вызвать его с самого начала. В качестве примера мы можем привести увеличение образовательного предложения за счет предоставления возможностей обучения и профессиональной подготовки за пределами обязательного школьного возраста, обеспечения качественного дошкольного образования, усиления родительского участия, поощрения активной политики против сегрегации, подчеркивания ценно-

сти языкового разнообразия и поддержки детей. у кого другой родной язык.

- Вмешательство для решения новых трудностей на ранней стадии. Мы выделяем, среди прочего, индивидуальное обучение, адаптируя обучение к потребностям каждого ученика.
- Компенсационные меры, которые предлагают возможности образования и профессиональной подготовки для тех, кто покинул систему образования, например, создание программ второго шанса.

ОЭСР предлагает школам пять указаний избегать преждевременного выхода из класса:

- Избегайте повторения курса, учитывая, что было обнаружено, что повторение неэффективно, потому что оно имеет тенденцию демотивировать студента.
- Возлагать большие надежды на всех учеников, даже на худших.
- Организуйте поддержку для студентов, которым это необходимо.
- Поощряйте родителей участвовать в работе центра.
- Предложите дополнительные занятия для подкрепления в той же школе.

В Валенсийском сообществе, принимая во внимание, что результаты отчетов, составленных на протяжении десятилетий об отсеве школ, являются одними из самых высоких на уровне сообщества, это было предложено Советом школ Валенсийского сообщества (CECV), высшим консультативным и контролирующим органом. орган. Участие образовательного сообщества, зависящее от Министерства образования, разработка каталога предложений по решению этой социальной проблемы.

В этом смысле 5 февраля 2017 года газета El mundo в цифровом формате опубликовала статью, в которой сообщалось, что «Школьный совет Валенсии утверждает декалог с 343 предложениями действий для учащихся, семей и учителей».

Речь идет о целом ряде идей и подходов, направленных на то, чтобы вывести систему образования Валенсии из летаргии, среди которых мы выделяем:

- Необходимо улучшить начальную подготовку учителей.
- Пересмотрите условия труда преподавательского состава, снова уменьшив коэффициенты.
- Включение в класс новых профессиональных профилей (например, социальных педагогов, школьных медиаторов или медицинских работников).
- Восприятие образовательного центра как «пространства сосуществования».
- Разработка общих образовательных целей для учителей и семей, которые отмечают совместную ответственность в образовании.

Хосе Антонио Марина в своей статье о отсевах из школ (2011) считает, что «Планы против отсева из школ, чтобы быть эффективными, должны быть организованы муниципалитетами … поскольку их контакт с гражданами позволяет им активировать и интегрировать многие энергии и инициативы».

Кэтрин Блайя в своем исследовании Dècrochages scolaires (2010) утверждает, что планы по борьбе с отсевом из школы «должны быть многомерными, объединять обучение и приобретение социальных навыков и включать активное и позитивное участие как семьи, так и общества».

3. Выводы

Цель этого исследования – предоставить информацию о все более тревожном социальном явлении, которое должно изучаться обществом в целом, а не только образовательным сообществом. Мы сталкиваемся с таким явлением, как школьная неуспеваемость, которая представляет серьезные сложности, когда дело доходит до определения и, следовательно, возможности дальнейшего ограничения действий по достижению ее упадка.

Причины, которые анализируются многочисленными исследователями этого предмета, как правило, совпадают, и, таким же образом, решения, которые они предлагают, делают вывод о том, что именно общество в целом должно действовать, чтобы ограничить данные о неуспеваемости и отсевах из школ, которые Их уровень в Испании намного выше среднего по Европе.

Хотя существуют разные определения школьной неуспеваемости, многие авторы согласны с тем, что этот термин не следует использовать для определения имеющейся проблемы, учитывая, что таким образом ученика обвиняют в школьной неуспеваемости, и не только вина лежит на ученике. эти авторы хотели продемонстрировать в своих исследованиях. В качестве примера можно привести Marchesi (2003), который считает, что этот термин не следует использовать, потому что он определяет школьную проблему в личности ученика только тогда, когда на самом деле он считает, что в этой проблеме все агенты, участвующие в образовательном процессе есть что сказать, и не только студенту. В этом же смысле Фернандес и др. (2010) считают этот термин спорным по той же причине, что и Маркези:

Что касается причин этого феномена, поднятого авторами в каждом из своих исследований, мы можем сделать вывод, что происходит то же самое, что и при разграничении концепции школьной неуспеваемости, то есть между причинами, названными некоторыми, а другие делят их в основном на:

- Внутренние факторы студента;
- Внешние факторы студента;
- Факторы, которые включают два предыдущих.

В рамках каждого из этих факторов авторы уделяют больше внимания тем или иным причинам, в зависимости от исследования, о котором мы говорим, например, Оливер-Тробат (2017) считает необходимым адаптировать учителей к новым образовательным задачам, чтобы предотвратить неудачи в школе.

С другой стороны, мы находим реакцию учителей, которые считают, что социокультурный уровень семьи и окружение ученика в значительной степени влияет и определяет эволюцию их обучения.

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PHYSICAL EXERCISE AMONG HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS

Abstract

Objective: This study aims to: 1) examine the predictors of No at least 60 minutes of exercise on at least one day; 2) build a predictive model for No at least 60 minutes of exercise on at least one day using logistic regression model.

Methods: Youth Risk Behavior Surveillance System (YRBSS) 2019 data were used for this study. All the participants who were eligible were randomly assigned into 2 groups: training sample and testing sample. A logistic regression model was built using training sample. Receiver operating characteristic (ROC) was calculated.

Results: About 15.68% of 7261 high school students had No at least 60 minutes of exercise on at least one day, about 18.29% among the female and 12.79% among the male.

According to the logistic regression, Q_1 (how old are you?), Race, Q_6 (How tall are you without your shoes on), Q_7 (How much do you weigh without your shoes on?), Q_{31} (How old were you when you first tried cigarette smoking, even one or two puffs?), Q_{61} (During the past 3 months, with how many people did you have sexual intercourse?) were significantly associated with the No at least 60 minutes of exercise on at least one day in the high school students.

The area under curve was 0.61. The optional cutoff time is 0.58. The mis-classification error was 0.16. The sensitivity rate is about 0.3% and the specificity is 99.9%.

Conclusions: In this study, we identified important of predictors of No at least 60 minutes of exercise on at least one day among high school students, for example age, tall, weight, age when first tried cigarette smoking, and sexual behaviors.

Keywords: physical exercise, high school students, logistic regression, predictors.

1. Instruction

Regular physical activity can help children and adolescents improve cardiorespiratory fitness, build strong bones and muscles, control weight, reduce symptoms of anxiety and depression, and reduce the risk of developing health conditions such as: Heart disease, Cancer, Type 2 diabetes, High blood pressure, Osteoporosis, Obesity [1]. The Physical Activity Guidelines for Americans, 2nd edition recommend that children and adolescents ages 6 to 17 years do 60 minutes or more of moderate-to-vigorous physical activity daily [2].

In this study, we aim to: 1) examine the predictors of the having No at least 60 minutes of exercise on at least one day at high school; 2) build a predictive model for having No at least 60 minutes of exercise on at least one day using logistic regression model.

2. Data and Methods:

Data:

Youth Risk Behavior Surveillance System (YRBSS) 2019 data were used for this study.

The YRBSS was developed in 1990 to monitor priority health risk behaviors that contribute markedly to the leading causes of death, disability, and

social problems among youth and adults in the United States.

Models:

We also used logistic regression models to calculate the predicted risk. Logistic regression is a part of a category of statistical models called generalized linear models, and it allows one to predict a discrete outcome from a set of variables that may be continuous, discrete, dichotomous, or a combination of these. Typically, the dependent variable is dichotomous and the independent variables are either categorical or continuous.

The logistic regression model can be expressed with the formula:

$$\ln(P/(1-P)) = \beta_0 + \beta_1{}^*X_1 + \beta_2{}^*X_2 + \dots + \beta_n{}^*X_n$$

Model evaluation:

The discriminatory ability – the capacity of the model to separate cases from non-cases, with 1.0 and 0.5 meaning perfect and random discrimination, respectively– was determined using receiver operating characteristic (ROC) curve analysis. ROC curves are commonly used to summarize the diagnostic accuracy of risk models and to assess the improvements made to such models that are gained from adding other risk factors. Sensitivity, specificity, and accuracy will be also calculated and compared. For all these measures, there exist statistical tests to determine whether one model exceeds another in discrimination ability.

Optimal Cutoff for Binary Classification maximizes the accuracy.

Mis-Classification Error is the proportion of all events that were incorrectly classified, for a given probability cutoff score.

Sensitivity: probability that a test result will be positive when the disease is present (true positive rate.

Specificity: probability that a test result will be negative when the disease is not present (true negative rate, expressed as a percentage).

Variables:

The outcome variable is percentage of students who had No at least 60 minutes of exercise on at least

one day (Did not participate in at least 60 minutes of physical activity on at least 1 day) based on qnpa0day.

Table 1. – Variables used in this study

Q_1. How old are you?
A. 12 years old or younger
B. 13 years old
C. 14 years old
D. 15 years old
E. 16 years old
F. 17 years old
G. 18 years old or older
Q_2. What is your sex?
A. Female
B. Male
Q_3. In what grade are you?
A. 9th grade
B. 10th grade
C. 11th grade
D. 12th grade
E. Ungraded or other grade
Q_4. Are you Hispanic or Latino?
A. Yes
B. No
Q_5. What is your race? (Select one or more responses.)
A. American Indian or Alaska Native
B. Asian
C. Black or African American
D. Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander
E. White
Q_6. How tall are you without your shoes on?
Q_7. How much do you weigh without your shoes on?

3. Results

About 15.68% of 7261 high school students had No at least 60 minutes of exercise on at least one day, about 18.29% among the female and 12.79% among the male.

Basically, a corrgram is a graphical representation of the cells of a matrix of correlations. The idea is to display the pattern of correlations in terms of their signs and

magnitudes using visual thinning and correlation-based variable ordering. Moreover, the cells of the matrix can be shaded or colored to show the correlation value. The positive correlations are shown in blue, while the negative correlations are shown in red; the darker the hue, the greater the magnitude of the correlation.
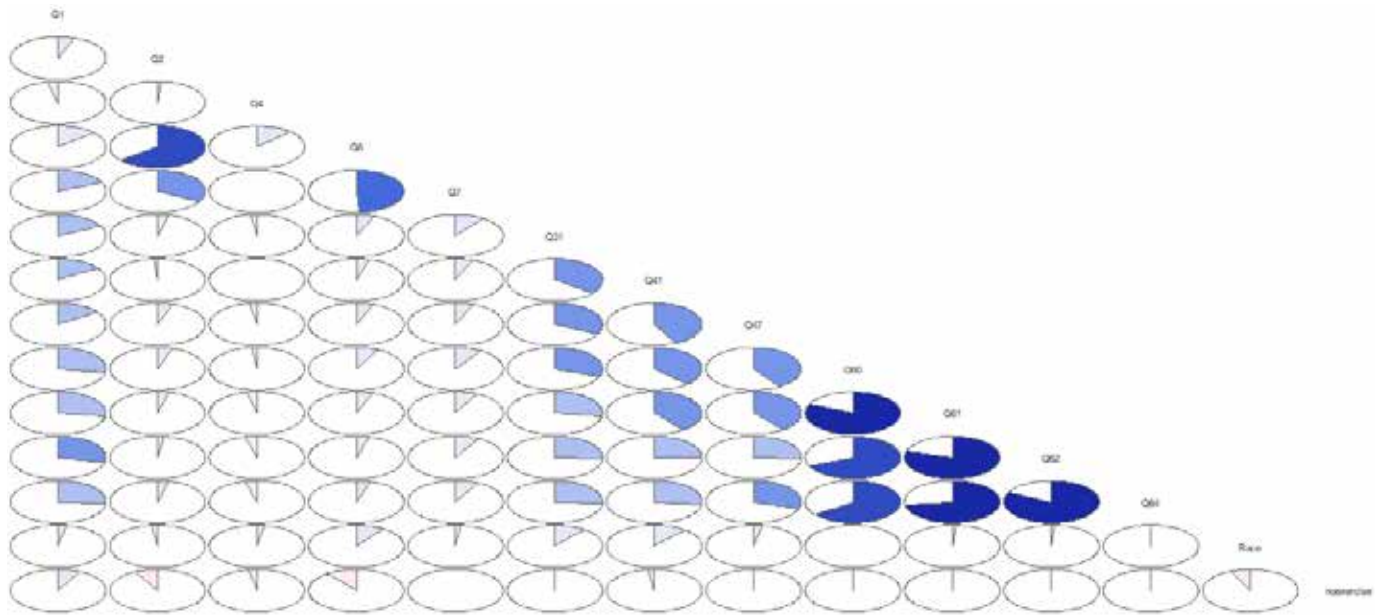

Figure 1. Matrix of correlations between variables

According to the logistic regression, Q_1 (how old are you?), Race, Q_6 (How tall are you without your shoes on), Q_7 (How much do you weigh without your shoes on?), Q_{31}(How old were you when you first tried cigarette smoking, even one or two puffs?), Q_{61} (During the past 3 months, with how many people did you have sexual intercourse?) were significantly associated with the No at least 60 minutes of exercise on at least one day in the high school students.

Table 2. Logistic Regression

	Estimate	Std. Error	z value	Pr(>|z|)	
1	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*	*6*
(Intercept)	2.440	0.751	3.252	0.001	**
Q_1	0.224	0.030	7.526	0.000	***
factor(Q_2)2	−0.110	0.089	−1.232	0.218	
factor(Q_4)2	−0.128	0.092	−1.391	0.164	
factor(Race)2	0.088	0.248	0.354	0.724	
factor(Race)3	0.612	0.220	2.784	0.005	**
factor(Race)4	0.658	0.298	2.206	0.027	*
factor(Race)5	0.008	0.210	0.037	0.970	
Q_6	−3.330	0.481	−6.926	0.000	***
Q_7	0.007	0.002	3.146	0.002	**
factor(Q_{31})2	0.084	0.253	0.331	0.740	
factor(Q_{31})3	0.128	0.263	0.485	0.627	
factor(Q_{31})4	−0.060	0.215	−0.278	0.781	

| *1*	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*	*6*
factor(Q_{31})5	0.317	0.147	2.155	0.031	*
factor(Q_{31})6	0.176	0.146	1.203	0.229	
factor(Q_{31})7	−0.112	0.261	−0.431	0.667	
factor(Q_{41})2	−0.096	0.097	−0.986	0.324	
factor(Q_{41})3	−0.182	0.147	−1.236	0.217	
factor(Q_{41})4	−0.218	0.204	−1.069	0.285	
factor(Q_{41})5	−0.238	0.312	−0.763	0.445	
factor(Q_{41})6	−0.621	0.777	−0.800	0.424	
factor(Q_{41})7	0.127	0.597	0.213	0.831	
factor(Q_{47})2	0.028	0.133	0.212	0.832	
factor(Q_{47})3	0.110	0.163	0.676	0.499	
factor(Q_{47})4	0.098	0.212	0.463	0.643	
factor(Q_{47})5	−0.060	0.247	−0.242	0.809	
factor(Q_{47})6	0.114	0.214	0.536	0.592	
factor(Q_{60})2	0.223	0.611	0.365	0.715	
factor(Q_{60})3	0.353	0.616	0.573	0.567	
factor(Q_{60})4	0.386	0.625	0.617	0.537	
factor(Q_{60})5	0.936	0.629	1.488	0.137	
factor(Q_{60})6	0.292	0.668	0.436	0.663	
factor(Q_{60})7	0.395	0.568	0.695	0.487	
factor(Q_{61})2	−0.461	0.551	−0.837	0.402	
factor(Q_{61})3	−0.410	0.543	−0.754	0.451	
factor(Q_{61})4	−0.576	0.557	−1.034	0.301	
factor(Q_{61})5	−1.448	0.726	−1.993	0.046	*
factor(Q_{61})6	−13.261	183.085	−0.072	0.942	
factor(Q_{61})7	−0.304	1.243	−0.244	0.807	
factor(Q_{62})2	−0.088	0.171	−0.514	0.607	
factor(Q_{64})2	0.312	0.308	1.011	0.312	
factor(Q_{64})3	−0.407	0.314	−1.298	0.194	
factor(Q_{64})4	−0.187	0.293	−0.639	0.523	
factor(Q_{64})5	−0.386	0.409	−0.942	0.346	
factor(Q_{64})6	0.522	0.395	1.322	0.186	
factor(Q_{64})7	−0.080	0.326	−0.247	0.805	
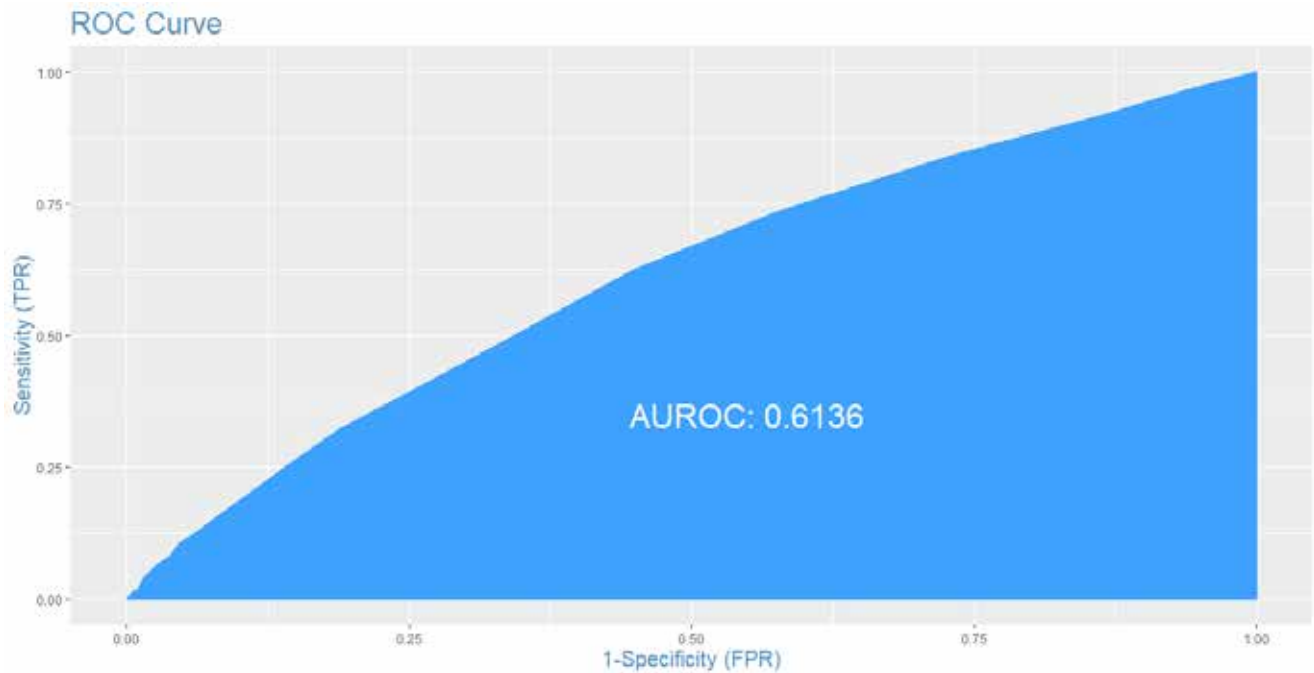
Figure 2. ROC in testing sample for Logistic Regression

The area under curve was 0.61. The optional cut-off time is 0.58. The mis-classification error was 0.16.

The sensitivity rate is about 0.3% and the specificity is 99.9%.

Table 2.

Cut-off	Sensitivity	Specificity
0.3	2.55%	98.7%
0.5	0.7%	99.7%
0.7	0%	99.7%

4. Discussions

About 15.68% of 7261 high school students had No at least 60 minutes of exercise on at least one day, about 18.29% among the female and 12.79% among the male.

According to the logistic regression, Q_1 (how old are you?), Race, Q_6 (How tall are you without your shoes on), Q_7 (How much do you weigh without your shoes on?), Q_{31} (How old were you when you first tried cigarette smoking, even one or two puffs?), Q_{61} (During the past 3 months, with how many people did you have sexual intercourse?) were significantly associated with the No at least 60 minutes of exercise on at least one day in the high school students.

The area under curve was 0.61. The optional cut-off time is 0.58. The mis-classification error was 0.16.

The sensitivity rate is about 0.3% and the specificity is 99.9%.

Physical inactivity can increase the risk of factors for cardiovascular disease, including hyperlipidemia (e.g., high cholesterol and triglyceride levels), high blood pressure, obesity, and insulin resistance and glucose intolerance. In 2017, only 26.1% of high school students participate in at least 60 minutes per day of physical activity on all 7 days of the previous week [3].

In this study, we identified important of predictors of No at least 60 minutes of exercise on at least one day among high school students, for example age, tall, weight, age when first tried cigarette smoking, and sexual behaviors.

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GENDER STEREOTYPES IN FEMALE CANDIDATES' APPEARANCE

Abstract. This paper discusses the impact of gender stereotypes on American female politicians. Due to traditional assumptions, women in power exclusively are subject to a "double bind" that expect them to possess both feminine and masculine traits. Specifically, this paper will demonstrate female candidates' struggles through the lens of appearance, focusing on candidates' wardrobe choices. It will then use the political life of Democratic candidate Hillary Clinton to illustrate this issue. Throughout her career as a public figure, Clinton constantly changed her sartorial strategies in order to meet voters' expectations. Through the examples of Clinton and other female politicians, this paper seeks to demonstrate the impact of gender stereotypes on society's perceptions of female candidates' appearance, an area many deem as irrelevant or trivial to the core of politics. The paper urges voters to limit discussions on female candidates' appearance as the first step to encourage more female representation in politics.

Keywords: Gender Stereotypes, Hillary Clinton, Appearance, Double Bind, Female Politicians.

When asked to define gender, many misconceive it as biological sex. However, gender is actually a product of culture that varies from society to society and changes over time [1]. The constructs of gender define what it means to be a "man" or "woman," designating everything from social roles to the way to talk. However, these societal expectations create a power hierarchy in US society in which men dominate. While gender stereotypes disempower women in all spheres of life, their impacts are magnified in the political field. Female politicians have to confront a double bind that requires them to be both "male" and "female" because of the disjunction between traits associated with a woman and those assumed of a qualified political leader. One manifestation of these restricting expectations that hold female politicians back is the issue of appearance, such as their facial features and attires. This paper seeks to present this gender bias using the examples of female politicians, with a more in-depth discussion on how the issue of gender impacted Hillary Clinton's political life. These challenges that female politicians face are

indications that American political field is still a bastion of male domination.

For much of US history, society has imposed expectations that define gender as two binary categories: men and women. People perceive men through the lens of "masculine" traits such as being "tough, aggressive, and assertive"[2, 121]. In contrast, women are perceived through the lens of "femininity," and are expected to possess qualities such as "warm, gentle, kind, and passive" [2, 121]. Such gender stereotypes translate into a set of rules that designate how men and women are supposed to behave and present themselves, yet they further encourage men to hold power. For example, Robin Lakoff, a Professor of Linguistics at the University of California, Berkeley, maintains that gender stereotypes do not allow men to cry or express sadness in public, nor are women permitted to express anger, such as using swear words [3, 162–163]. However, "the expression of sorrow is an expression of powerlessness and helplessness; anger, of potency" [3, 162–163]. Gender constructs impact how men and women act in public. However, though there are expectations toward both genders, gender stereotypes are more restricting to women.

The impact of gender stereotypes on women is particularly the case in the political sphere where women are underrepresented because of assumptions regarding their candidacyVoters carry their perceptions of men and women to candidates yet more restricting to female candidates. Women in power alone are subject to a double bind that demands them to meet two mutually exclusive expectations for what behaviors and self-presentation manifest both "male" and "female" traits [4, 530]. This additional challenge that female politicians face is because traits associated with the roles of women are at odds with voters' visions of a qualified political leader. Because of stereotypes that associate women being both emotionally and physically weak while encourage men to participate in roles that allow them to express power, people assume male candidates to be more qualified handling the tasks of

political leaders. As a result, in the political field, voters also value traits associated with male politicians more than those associated with female politicians [5, 5]. For example, men who are politicians are assumed to be more familiar with "dealing with military and trade issues" that speaks about their competency [4, 530]. Female politicians, however, are assumed to be more adept at "soft" issues such as family planning policies [3, 164]. Gender stereotypes on male and female politicians' areas of expertise empowers men yet raises concerns regarding the ability of female politicians when it comes to decision-making in the area of military, for example. Thus, female politicians have to prove to voters that they, too, are qualified like their male counterparts through embracing "masculine" traits that their male colleagues possess and are deemed more crucial in the political sphere. Gender stereotypes create a political environment where men dominate while women have to prove their ability.

While female politicians who are seen to act in a feminine way are perceived as incompetent, those who seek to counter such stereotypes by adopting masculine traits are subject to criticisms about their lack of femininity. Women have to practice their gender roles that deemed those who hold power as un-feminine [3, 161]. Thus, positions of power, such as politics, are "seen as corrosive and antithetical to women's nature" [6, 161]. Female politicians are trapped within the double bind that forces them to be both male and female. To satisfy voters' expectations, women in power have to find a balance between the so-called masculine and more powerful traits and the feminine and weaker traits. If they are insufficiently masculine, they are subject to skepticism regarding their qualification; if they are insufficiently feminine, they risk receiving criticisms about whether they are "good women" [7]. This double bind results in struggles that female candidates face in their political careers.

Appearance Matters in Politics

The double bind that female politicians confront manifests itself not only in how voters perceive their

political attributes but also regarding their image. A politician's physical presentation is crucial in the political sphere. To meet voters' expectations, politicians have to rely both on "substance and image," though candidates' appearances do not suggest anything about their candidacy [8]. A 2010 study conducted by MIT confirms that a candidate's appearance plays a significant role in determining how voters cast their votes [9]. When researchers showed American, Indian, and Mexican voters photos of political candidates from Brazil and Mexico and asked them to choose the person they believed would be qualified in office, voters across all three countries chose the same candidate more than 75% of the time. Participants' selections also closely aligned with the actual winners [9]. Though researchers were uncertain of the physical traits that make a candidate "universally 'attractive,'" the study reflects how voters' personal preference on appearance determines the election outcome [9].

Though gender stereotypes influence voters define as the "appropriate" physical presentation of both male and female politicians, clothes in the US political arena have always been a feminist issue. Women's clothes are held at a different yet more limiting expectation than their male counterparts. This phenomenon has been the case historically in which female politicians were not allowed to wear pants on the Senate floor until 1993 [10]. In the contemporary political sphere, female politicians have to adopt attires that express both masculine and feminine traits to address the double bind that influences their political strategies. Philosopher Cressida Heyes noted the restrictive impacts of these two sets of expectations: because of the connotations that clothes carry, "refusal on the part of the feminist subject to style herself in any way – to be uninvolved, neutral or natural – is impossible" [11]. Female politicians' wardrobe is not simply a choice of personal style but rather a political tool that conveys messages, or revealing to voters about their political image. In other words, female candidates' wardrobe choices are also

an area which voters assess whether they have adopted both feminine and masculine styles.

Women in power confront stereotypes that demand them to dress in a manner that speaks about power and professionalism. While male politicians simply have to "put on a dark suit," female candidates have to strategize their wardrobe to counter gender stereotypes that associate them with the absence of power [12]. The pantsuits that many female candidates adopt, for example, is the DNA of power. By modelling after male politicians' political uniform, the symbolic representation of pantsuits allows women in power to compensate for voters' concerns about women's incompetence. However, female politicians who are impacted by gender bias also have to adopt feminine styles to address voters' concerns about the social roles dictated to women. Even today, though society has become more open-minded about what is appropriate for a female candidate to wear, such gender stereotypes persist. Professor Robin Lakoff agrees with the presence of this constraint: "a prominent woman who, by behavior or appearance, does not function as a male sex fantasy is apt to be recast as a lesbian" [3, 173]. Female politicians have to dress according to what men expect and desire. Those who "break" the stereotypes are subject to negative judgments on their identity. For instance, when Christine Quinn ran for the office of the mayor of New York in 2013, her physical attributes were the target of voters' visceral hatred. Sample criticisms on her appearance read, "'I don't really like her, too masculine, I guess, not enough feminine" and "Why can't she dress better [13]?" Voters trivialized Quinn because her look does not reflect her identity as a woman. Gender stereotypes that expect women in power to dress "femininely" held Quinn back in her election as judgments on her look partially led to her loss to her male counterpart [13]. The double bind that female politicians have to strategize their political image to meet permeates in their unspoken dress code as well. Women in power are seen as incompetent if they adopt what's socially

acceptable for a woman, yet not female enough if they mirror the attire of men.

As a result of women's lack of socially acceptable uniform, they receive extraordinary amount of gaze that comments whether their attires have followed the sartorial rules. Their wardrobe choices are more severely judged. For example, in November of 2018, Eddie Scarry, a media writer at the Washington Examiner, posted a photo on Twitter of Rep.-elect Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez walking down the hallway and criticized her clothes for not aligning with her portrayal of a representative of those who struggles. His comment reads, "I'll tell you something: that jacket and coat don't look like a girl who struggles" [14]. Ocasio-Cortez received critical judgments from the media that cast doubt on her clothes. She had to confront assumptions derived from her attire that led to accusations about her "betraying her leftist bona fides" [14]. However, rarely do male politicians receive the same level of attention and judgments on their choice of clothes.

Moreover, discussions of women's looks distract voters from taking female politicians seriously which delegitimize their candidacy. Society focuses on female candidates' appearances rather than their accomplishments. According to Robin Lakoff, comments about looks disempower women in power because they "reduce a woman to her traditional role of object, one who is seen rather than one who sees and acts" [3, 173]. Here, the constructs of gender are in play: people are more comfortable judging men by their accomplishments in the world while assessing women based on the "impression she makes upon others" [15, 62]. As voters naturally assume women lack the ability to lead, female politicians have to prove their qualifications. Yet, they receive massive media coverage on what they wear rather than their political policies. The gaze on female politicians' clothes is used as a political strategy to keep women in their place. As Megha Anwer of Purdue University writes, fashion in politics is still an arena where men monopolize power and formulate rules that women

have to follow [12]. The issue of physical presentation, which perhaps many do not consider as the core of politics, reveals a tip of an iceberg of why women remain underrepresented in the political field.

Gender Bias in Hillary Clinton's Appearance

Like every other female candidate, Clinton's appearance was the center of voters' extraordinary scrutiny and constraining expectations. As a woman in power, Clinton has to convey through her physical presentation that she possesses both "feminine" and "masculine" qualities, something her male counterparts do not experience. Even in recent history, her appearance has been an issue. Clinton recounted spending six hundred hours simply having her hair and makeup done throughout the 2016 election [16, 87]. She discussed this gender bias that "I'm not jealous of my male colleagues often, but I am when it comes to how they can just shower, shave, put on a suit, and be ready to go. The few times I've gone out in public without makeup, it's made the news" [16, 88]. Female politicians are expected to hold their appearance in high regards while male politicians do not. The following section will use Hillary Clinton's pantsuit and the issue about her smile to illustrate this gender bias.

The Politics of Clinton's Pantsuits

This gender bias was particularly salient in the issue of Hillary Clinton's pantsuits. Yet, Clinton pushed back against gender stereotypes by transforming the pantsuit into a political uniform that expressed a feminist message about gender equality. She also strategized the colors of the pantsuit to fight back against the double bind. However, from the 1970s to the 2016 presidential campaign, her motivations behind the wardrobe choices changed along with her political position. It has always been a symbol of female power, yet as Clinton became more experienced in the field, the pantsuit changed from establishing Clinton's tough character aside from being the wife of Bill Clinton to helping her navigate between how "feminine" or "masculine" she looked.

Before Clinton stepped into the political field as a candidate herself, her pantsuit was a purely a mes-

sage of feminism. Clinton started wearing pantsuits in the late 70s when she was a lawyer and carried her uniform over to when she became the First Lady of the United States. As the wife of a politician, Hillary Clinton sought to challenge the looks of other conventional First Ladies who dressed in dresses [17]. In her First Lady portrait, Clinton even debuted in a midnight black pantsuit [18]. A post from CNN sees Clinton's choice to wear a pantsuit in this portrait as a provocative and feminist act: she saw herself more as a politician and did not want to be defined simply as the wife of the President [17]. In addition, Clinton's midnight pantsuit reveals her desire to continue her career after marrying to Bill Clinton rather than submitting to gender stereotypes. In other words, her adoption in pantsuit messages about gender equality, that women could continue pursue their career after marriage and not be defined by their husbands.

Later, when Clinton transitioned to political office, she maintained this signature look. However, her pantsuits conveyed a deeper meaning: rather than simply declaring her feminist views, Clinton used her pantsuits to tackle gender stereotypes. Clinton acknowledged that when she ran for Senate and President in 2000 and 2008, the pantsuit helped her to avoid scrutiny, and most importantly, to mimic those of her male colleagues yet still retaining her femininity: she "liked the visual cue that [she] was different from the men but also familiar" [16. 88]. As the feminine version of a man's suit, which is what male politicians wear, pantsuit conveys about Clinton's professionality yet ensures that she was not overly masculine.

In response to her unconventional "fashion choice," medias argued that Hillary Clinton failed to showcase her "female" side nor express her feminist views. Clinton did not address the double bind in her choice of pantsuit: to present herself as a woman while maintaining her professional look. Medias have criticized that Clinton's pantsuit was too masculine. In 2010, Kate Betts, a writer for *The Daily Beast* style column argued Hilary Clinton's attire was evidence that she adhered to the gender inequality in politics

rather than fighting against it: "She wears them to fit in, not to stand out, and that's what bugs me. Why can't she stand out? Why do women, when they're sitting at the same table or in the same corner office as the big boys, always have to blend in [19]?" From a feminist viewpoint, Betts saw Clinton's "masculinely featured" pantsuit as submitting to gender stereotypes that value anything related to men over those of women. Though, in truth, her wardrobe choices were limited due to sartorial rules that a woman in power has to follow. Similarly, in 2011, Tim Gunn, too, commented on Clinton's excessively masculine traits, yet from a perspective of a man. He criticized that Clinton did not follow the conventional "dress code" for a woman: "'Why must she dress that way? I think she's confused about her gender" [20]. Gunn saw Clinton's wardrobe as challenging gender stereotypes that define what a traditional woman to wear. As a man, he expected Hillary Clinton to conform to the rules rather than fighting for gender equality. Such criticisms reflected a double bind about Clinton's clothing. If Hillary Clinton does not wear the pantsuit that mirrors what her male colleagues wear, she is not masculine or professional enough. In contrast, when Clinton wore her uniform, she was subject to judgments from the perspective of a feminist and a man who beliefs in gender stereotypes.

In addition to using pantsuits to balance her feminine and masculine traits, Clinton also wore playful colors to remind voters that she still embraced her female side. During this period of her political life, Clinton was an aficionado of vibrant colors. Her suit choices included bright colors such as "tangerines and the verdant greens; the grape and the lemon yellow; the cherry, fuchsia and turquoise" [21]. However, Clinton's attempt to balance her masculinity was seen by many as plainly a fashion mistake:. For example, many medias described her wardrobe as a collection of rainbow-color pantsuits. Venessa Friedman of *The New York Times* called Clinton a "fruit basket", as a remark of the variety of colors she wore during the campaigns [21]. Friedman also ironically

compared Clinton's sartorial strategy to that of Queen Elizabeth II, who deliberately wore vibrant colors in order to stand out among the crowd [21; 22]. Drawing parallels between Clinton's attire to such descriptions indicate medias did not consider her choice of wardrobe was appropriate for people of her political position. However, as a woman, Hillary Clinton had to wear bright colors to show her "feminine" side; however, as a politician, she Clinton needed to be "masculine", which conflicted with wearing bright colors.

Gender bias regarding male and female politicians' wardrobe was still in play during Clinton's 2016 presidential campaign. Hillary Clinton had to confront voters' fixation and expectations on her clothes. For example, Clinton was cautious about the perfection of her clothes during her campaign: she always overpacked in trips, afraid of spills or makeup that might spoil the look [16, 89]. As a woman, Clinton's outfit was held at a higher standard. Aside from being meticulous about her wardrobe, Hillary Clinton's motives for wearing pantsuits changed again during the 2016 presidential election. She learned from her loss to President Obama in 2008 and toned down the colors of her pantsuits to neutralize her femininity. The media observed that in the 2016 election, Clinton's clothing mirrored President Obama's "sartorial strategy: wearing only gray or blue suits, every day" [21]. During the Democratic debates, her outfits were also indistinguishable from those of Mr. Sanders and Martin O'Malley, who wore dark suits and blue ties [21]. Clinton admitted that her inspiration of wearing pantsuit in this election because she wanted to pare down the decisions and not have her and medias overthink them. She treated her pantsuit as an "antidistraction technique" to avoid inspection [16, 88]. As a woman running for the office of the President of the United States against her male colleagues, Clinton wore outfits similar to her competitors as a political strategy so voters could focus on her qualification rather than her dress.

Ironically, when Hillary Clinton attempted to tone down the feminine colors she wore during past elections, voters considered her attire as not feminine enough and wanted her to exercise greater wardrobe choices. Medias commented that she was going after her male colleagues, which in turn failed to showcase her feminine side. People regarded the more muted colors as an "attempt to hide her own femininity", tricking people into thinking "she were a man with leg holes alone" [17]. The public was not receptive toward female politicians who acted in counter of the gender norms. However, when Hillary Clinton wore bright colors, presenting her femininity, critics said they were too colorful; when Clinton wore more toned-down colors to prevent such critics, people said they needed to be more highlighting.

Hillary Clinton's decision to wear more muted colors also demonstrates how women receive more attacks even when male politicians adopted the same sartorial strategies. As a woman, her attires are held at a higher standard than her male colleague President Obama, who explained in an interview that his restriction in his suits' colors were attempts to "to pare down decisions" and to avoid being "distracted by trivia" [23]. However, when Clinton's dress echoed with her former boss by only wearing dark-colored pantsuits, newspapers such as *The Mirror* and *New York Times* called her looks "boring" [24]. Female politicians lack a well-established uniform and have to be more considerate about their choice of "fashion" to avoid attacks on their looks. Yet, such decisions makings [add] "extra time to women's mornings" and perpetuate the gender stereotypes that associate women with caring only about trivial matters [15, 45, 25]. Expectations on clothes reinforce the power discrepancy between men and women.

Hillary Clinton's pantsuits' color choices signified not only a more masculine style, but a conveyor of her political messages. The colors she wore to her presidential debates depicted this: she picked the colors deliberately for "political ends" [20]. In the first presidential debate on September 26th, Clinton entered the stage in a bright red co-ords, designed by Ralph Lauren, with a matching red lip. Two weeks

later on October 9th, Hillary opted the navy Lauren suit for the second debate. Finally, in the last presidential debate on October 19th, Hillary dressed in an all-white Lauren suit [26]. In an attempt to interpret the messages of Clinton's pantsuits, Marc Bain, Quartz's fashion reporter, noted Hillary Clinton went beyond the "Democratic blue" code that represented her political affiliation [26; 27]. He also argued the colors completed "a trifecta in the colors of the American flag" [27]. The colors of the American flag, which red, white, and blue in turn symbolizes "hardiness and valor", "purity and innocence", and "vigilance, perseverance, and justice" help build Clinton's political persona of a tough but caring leader [28]. The American flag symbolism also echoed with her campaign slogan, Stronger Together, which Clinton signaled her dedication to fighting for everyone in the country. Furthermore, Cara Kelly from USA Today noted the white pantsuit symbolized Clintons support for women's suffrage movement, which adopted white along with purple and gold as the colors of representation [29, 30]. By deliberately selecting the colors she would enter the stage, Hillary Clinton evoked voters' association of her with patriotism and support for women and gender equality in America [30]. Clinton also played upon voters' expectations of a female leader who demonstrated her feminine qualities. Her colors were in play even after the debate. For instance, Clinton wrote in *What Happened* that she wore a purple pantsuit to give her concession speech after losing to Donald Trump because "it was a nod to bipartisanship (blue plus red equals purple) [16, 18]. Hillary Clinton's pantsuit colors were an essential part of her political campaign: the connotations the colors helped to get her campaign focus across and to communicate about her political skills. Nonetheless, it is also important to note that evoking connections between Clinton clothes to political issues could cause scrutiny in other aspects of her physical presentation. Female politicians need more attention on what they do rather than what they look like.

Why Do People Care So Much about Hillary Clinton's Smile?

During the 2016 campaign, Hillary Clinton's smile was the center of medias' criticisms. The attention she received, again, manifests the double bind that female politicians are held to: they have to satisfy expectations that require them to be both women and political leaders. For example, on March 15th of 2016, Joe Scarborough, host of MSNBC's *Morning Joe,* posted a tweet after Hillary Clinton winning three crucial states in the Democratic Party: "Smile. You just had a big night" [31]. Scarborough wanted Clinton to behave as a woman and show her affection. However, the *Bustle* magazine argues that comments that ask women to smile reveal a bigger problem of our society. Women's smiles are signs of "submission, docility, agreeableness, cooperation, and/or lack of female anger and other 'problematic' emotions", all are qualities that signals the underlying gender stereotypes that dimmish women of power [32]. Unfortunately, this was not the only medias' attempt to reduce Hillary Clinton's power. On September 7th, media reacted toward Hillary Clinton's performance in NBC's Commander-In-Chief Forum, in which both her and her Republican opponent, Donald Trump discussed national security. The same night, rather than focusing on Clinton's political opinions, Republican National Committee Chairman Reince Priebus tweeted that Clinton looked serious: "@Hillary Clinton was angry + defensive the entire time – no smile and uncomfortable -upset that she was caught wrongly sending our secrets" [33]. Hillary Clinton has to balance showcasing her femininity while maintaining her professionality on serious matters. She later discusses comments about smiles that this is a particular balancing issue for women: "It's especially tricky for women … Well you don't talk about ISIS with a big grin on your face. They're a barbaric, evil group that we have to defeat and wipe out. But it is a constant balancing act. How do you kind of keep the energy and the positive spirit while taking seriously what you need to [34]."

Hillary Clinton revealed her position as a female politician that she had to take in consideration of voters' contradicting expectations. This, however, is not the case for male politicians whose appearances are less focused and traits associated with their gender are aligned with their political position. The discussion on Clinton's smile went viral during the first presidential debate on September 26th. The Fox News host Brit Hume commented by saying while Trump looked "annoyed, put out, uncomfortable", Clinton looked "composed, smug sometimes, not necessarily attractive" [35]. For those who label Clinton as a woman, they expect her to conform to gender stereotypes; yet for those who see Clinton more as a political leader, they expect her to follow how male politicians behave. David Frum, for instance, tweeted, "Who told Hillary Clinton to keep smiling like she's at her granddaughter's birthday party?" with the following tweet in less than ten minutes: "Killer Hillary is more incredible than smiling Hillary" [36; 37]. Fixation on Clinton's smile signifies a bigger problem than the double bind. By focusing on whether Clinton look "good" or not, such comments objectives Hillary Clinton to a woman whose appearance matters more than what she does. Critics reinforced stereotypes that tend to associate women with the lack of power and incompetency, which are hurtful to Clinton's competency especially when campaigning against a man, who people naturally associate with the position of Presidency.

Conclusion

Gender constructs that restrain women more than they do to men indicate American society is nowhere close to reaching gender equality. This is especially the case in the contemporary political sphere where female politicians have not yet escaped conversations about their looks: voters gaze on female candidates' physical presentation, such as their facial expression and attires, rather than their accomplishments. This gender bias is also the case for more experienced politicians like Hillary Clinton, in which they still need to utilize their wardrobe to communicate about their professionality. Women need more representation in politics so that in the future, fashion choices will no longer be a political strategy for female politicians to convey about their professionality or femininity.

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Section 8. Regional studies and socio-economic geography

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DEVELOPMENT OF LIVELIHOODS ASSOCIATED WITH SPECIFIC TOURISM PRODUCTS OF THE KHMER ETHNIC GROUP IN THE BAY NUI REGION, AN GIANG PROVINCE

Abstract. From the advantages of natural and human tourism resources, the Bay Nui region of An Giang province has developed several distinct and specific tourism products of the Khmer ethnic people, contributing to the development of livelihoods for local communities direction. The article introduces and analyzes the advantages to develop specific tourism products for the Khmer ethnic people in the Bay Nui region of An Giang province, Vietnam.

Keywords: livelihood, specific tourism products, Bay Nui region, Khmer ethnic group in an Giang province.

1. Introduction

Bay Nui region is belonging to the Tinh Bien and Tri Ton districts of An Giang province bordering Cambodia. This area has 37 mountains, but only seven stand out: Dai mountain, Nam Gieng mountain, Co To mountain, Nuoc mountain, Ket mountain, Tuong mountain, and Cam mountain. Because of such a high terrain, the agricultural labor practices of the people here are different from the surrounding low plains. In addition, the production labor practices and forms of cultural and spiritual activities of the Khmer ethnic people are very bold it was also reflected in many specific tourism products here. The Bay Nui region of An Giang province has cultural, historical, and religious values and is an attractive tourist destination. It has an important strategic location of An Giang province. This area provides a variety of precious minerals and has the diverse ecosystem and vegetation of An Giang province.

2. Content

2.1. Advantages of livelihood development associated with specific tourism products

2.1.1. Geographical location

Bay Nui area belongs to Tinh Bien and Tri Ton districts of An Giang province. It shares a border with Cambodia in the northwest, Chau Doc city in the northeast, Chau Phu, Chau Thanh, and Thoai Son districts in the east. The Bay Nui area is 60 km from

the center of Long Xuyen City and 250 km from Ho Chi Minh City. Bay Nui region has a favorable geographical position to develop tourism products and attract domestic and foreign tourists to the Bay Nui region, An Giang province. In terms of natural resources, the topography of the Bay Nui area in An Giang province has outstanding features compared to the vast plains of the Mekong Delta, Vietnam. This place is an alternating terrain between delta plains and hills. Those are the basis for the development of tourism products associated with the mountains. The Bay Nui region of An Giang province has a diverse and rich ecosystem with much valuable flora and fauna such as hilly vegetation, riverine vegetation, floating vegetation, including ecosystems. Tra Su Melaleuca forest. The Bay Nui region has many natural forests and endemic plants on the mountain to develop various types of eco-garden tourism, resort tourism, etc.

2.1.2. Humanistic tourism resources

The Bay Nui region has many historical, cultural, and religious relics ranked at national and provincial levels. Many Khmer ethnic people living here. Therefore, there are many customs and festivals associated with the spiritual life of the Khmer community. Typical are the Chol Chnam Thmay, Don Ta, and Bay Nui bull racing festivals of the Khmer people. There are also many Khmer pagodas and local craft villages that are unique tourism products for visitors.

2.2. Typical tourism product of the Khmer people in the Bay Nui region

2.2.1. Tourism products associated with religious customs, festivals, and arts

Customs and beliefs: The land of Bay Nui was inhabited by Khmer ethnic people with many cultural values that can be exploited into tourism products. The daily life, customs, traditions, festivals, and cuisine of the Khmer people were preserved intact, which is a great attraction for tourists. The characteristics of the Khmer people in the Bay Nui region Giang province were considered to have a distinct attraction, with high specificity compared to other areas of the Mekong Delta. Many Khmer people still retain many unique lifestyles. Besides, Khmer Buddhist temples are also considered typical cultural features that could be exploited in tourism activities.

The Bay Nui Cow Racing Festival: This festival was recognized by the Ministry of Culture, Sports, and Tourism as a national intangible cultural heritage. The Bay Nui Cow Racing Festival is a unique sport imbued with the cultural identity of the Khmer people in the Bay Nui region, An Giang province. The Bay Nui bull racing festival shows many cultural beauties of the Khmer ethnic people, and at the same time shows a very high community connection. The festival is not only an opportunity to meet and exchange production experiences of the Khmer people but also gather people in the Bay Nui area, neighboring areas, and a large number of tourists. The Bay Nui Cow Racing Festival in An Giang province is a typical tourism product of the Mekong Delta region in general and the Bay Nui region of An Giang province in particular.

Arts and Culture Club: The Khmer people in the Bay Nui region of An Giang province have famous for their five-syllable orchestra, the art of singing aunt millet, drum dance, and choreography. These traditional art forms are considered valuable cultural treasures so that the Bay Nui region of An Giang province can exploit and develop attractive tourism products. Exploiting traditional values into tourism activities through the activities of art clubs will contribute to attracting tourists and preserving and promoting the cultural values of Khmer ethnic people in An Giang. Enjoying traditional Khmer arts with performances by members of the art club will be an important highlight of the cultural tourism program in the Tinh Bien district. In particular, Khmer dance has many unique aesthetic values and is easy to participate in, so it is very attractive to tourists.

Pagoda of Khmer people: The pagoda is the place where all cultural activities, festivals, and religions of the Khmer community take place and are architectural works of high artistic value. Khmer temples with unique beauty, rich in artistic value are a tourist

product that gives visitors an ethereal experience of the profound philosophies of Theravada Buddhism. Through it, visitors can visit, learn, admire and experience the architectural and sculptural art space of Khmer temples, of which are typical Thomit pagoda, Nui pagoda, Ro pagoda. These places are highly attractive to tourists.

Buddhist scriptures engraved on leaves: Khmer pagodas in the Bay Nui region of An Giang province still preserve the sets of leaf sutras which are national intangible cultural heritage. This is a rare type of ancient bibliography engraved on leaves in ancient Khmer or Pali according to the Thomanadut and Mahainikai schools, which appeared in the 19th century. The Leaf Sutra contains technical, artistic, and artistic values and has an important meaning in the spiritual life, belief, and religion of the Khmer people. Currently, this type of sutra is still kept at 30 per 65 Khmer pagodas in Tri Ton and Tinh Bien districts, with over 100 sets of Buddhist scriptures. These are typical local tourism products.

Mountainous landscape: The mountainous landscape in the middle of the plain has many outstanding values. It is one of the core values to build the brand name of the Bay Nui region in An Giang province. This diversity of addresses is of great value when forming tours combining sightseeing, climbing, and contributing to the enrichment of local tourism products. Tourists can ride a bicycle, walk or ride a horse-drawn carriage along the trail to reach the orchard, orchid garden, medicinal garden on the mountainside, or at the foot of the mountain to visit and enjoy the fruits. Experience herbal services to restore health. In particular, tourists cannot ignore the landscape features from the high side of this place.

2.2.2. Tourism products associated with craft villages

Traditional craft villages of Khmer ethnic people in the Bay Nui region were put into service to tourists with many unique tourism products. The space for developing these tourism products is the brocade weaving village in Van Giao commune and the jaggery cooking profession. Products of the craft village carry many indigenous cultural values with local imprints, suitable for gifts to friends and relatives.

Brocade weaving village in Van Giao commune: products are diverse and rich, harmonious colors, elaborate weaving techniques, traditional-style patterns, with many distinctive features. In addition, the dyeing technique of Van Giao craft village uses traditional dyes derived from nature to make silk shiny, smooth, and durable. Brocade of Van Giao weaving village is not only famous in the country but also exported to many countries such as the United State of America, Australia, France, Thailand, Cambodia with the brand "Silk Khmer" so it is invested and developed into a face. Souvenirs were typical of the Bay Nui region.

Palm sugar production village: The palm tree is considered a precious gift of nature bestowed on this land with famous specialties at home and abroad. Palm sugar products of the craft village have been packed hygienically in dried jaggery leaves and have become a famous specialty of the Bay Nui region, An Giang province, meeting the shopping needs of tourists. The exploitation of craft villages into tourism helps the Khmer people to increase their income, preserve the nation's traditional craft villages and contribute to diversifying tourism products for the locality.

2.2.3. Tourism products associated with tourism to experience and discover medicinal herbs in the Bay Nui region

Experiential tourism: Local cuisine is a tourism product that tourists can enjoy combined with the life experience of the Khmer ethnic community. Special dishes in the Bay Nui region such as pancakes served with wild vegetables, Tri Ton fish vermicelli have a rich flavor, typical in the lives of local people and are very attractive to tourists.

Medicinal plants currently available in the Bay Nui area are very rich, which has created products associated with tourism activities such as medicinal baths to treat diseases, health rehabilitation at spas, famous branded oriental medicines. brand name of Bay Nui region… The brand of medicinal herbs in the Bay Nui region is an important factor to attract tourists, this is a typical tourist product in the Bay Nui region, An Giang province.

3. Conclusion

The Bay Nui region of An Giang province has many favorable conditions for natural tourism resources and humanistic tourism to develop livelihoods associated with specific tourism products. The Khmer ethnic people here have developed an effective livelihood associated with local tourism. In recent years, under the influence of new development policies, specific tourism products have been built and developed in the direction of production for tourism on an increasingly large scale. The advantages of the locality in terms of historical sites, festivals, Khmer pagodas, cuisine are used to create a unique appearance for local tourism. Thanks to the development of tourism with specific tourism products, local people's livelihoods are diversified and living standards are improved. To develop livelihoods associated with specific tourism products of Khmer ethnic people in the Bay Nui area, An Giang province, local authorities and people need long-term orientations in maintaining the brand of tourism products specifically to contribute to sustainable livelihood development.

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Section 9. Philology and linguistics

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INTERNAL CHRONOLOGY AND PROBLEM OF TATIANA'S CHARACTER DYNAMICS IN NOVEL "EUGENE ONEGIN" BY A. PUSHKIN

Abstract. Issues of narrative fragmentation, internal chronology and related problem of dynamics in Tatiana's character in the novel by A. Pushkin "Eugene Onegin" are discussed. A refined internal chronology of the novel has been suggested, new dates for Tatiana's name day and the duel have been determined, the term of Onegin punishment for the duel has been meted out and a solution to the problem of Tatiana's prototype has been proposed.

Keywords: A. Pushkin, "Eugene Onegin", internal chronology, Tatiana's name day, duel, Tatiana's prototype.

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ВНУТРЕННЯЯ ХРОНОЛОГИЯ И ПРОБЛЕМА РАЗВИТИЯ ОБРАЗА ТАТЬЯНЫ В РОМАНЕ А. С. ПУШКИНА «ЕВГЕНИЙ ОНЕГИН»

Аннотация. Рассмотрены вопросы фрагментарности повествования, внутренней хронологии и связанная с ними проблема развития образа Татьяны в романе А. С. Пушкина «Евгений Онегин». Построена уточнённая внутренняя хронология произведения, определены новые даты именин Татьяны и дуэли, отмерен срок наказания Онегину за дуэль, предложено решение задачи о прототипе Татьяны.

Ключевые слова: Пушкин, Евгений Онегин, внутренняя хронология, именины Татьяны, дуэль, прототип образа.

Фрагментарность повествования. Одной из важнейших композиционных особенностей романа является фрагментарность повествования и связанная с ней проблема внутренней хронологии. Фрагментарность вносит некоторую неопре-делённость – не обо всём, что произошло между началом и концом повествования, было рассказано, а кроме того, разрывы затрудняют датировку последующих событий. Следует, однако, в высшей степени серьёзно отнестись к заявлению автора,

сделанному в 17-м примечании к отдельному изданию романа: «Смеем уверить, что в нашем романе время расчислено по календарю». Иными словами, имея в виду фрагментарность сюжета, недопустимо подвергать сомнению, что по авторскому замыслу роман имеет строгую хронологическую канву, не подлежащую двоякому толкованию. Используя фрагментированное повествование, А. С. Пушкин создал иллюзию непрерывного действия в отношении событий после дуэли, спрятав от читателя пять с половиной лет повествовательного времени. Одна из многочисленных интеллектуальных задач, предлагаемых Пушкиным, состоит в определении задуманной им внутренней хронологии произведения, которая имеет фундаментально важное значение как для понимания временных рамок развития образа Татьяны, так и для поиска ответа на загадку автора о Татьянином прототипе.

Обзор представлений о хронологии романа. Многими поколениями пушкинистов время окончания действия повествования определяется весною 1825 года. Этот год вычисляется по дате дуэли – январь 1821 года,– к которой прибавляют три года, проведённые Онегиным в путешествии. Возвращение Онегина в Петербург относят к осени 1824 года, а финальное объяснение с Татьяной – к марту 1825-го. Такая хронология была предложена Р. В. Ивановым-Разумником в начале прошлого столетия и используется большинством исследователей до настоящего времени, несмотря на значительные хронологические неувязки. Согласно традиционной интерпретации хронологии, Онегин родился в 1795 году, а во время поединка ему было 26 лет: «Убив на поединке друга, / Дожив без цели, без трудов / До двадцати шести годов … (глава 8, строфа 12)». Дуэль состоялась 14 января 1821 года, потому что Татьянин день – 12-го числа, а в Москву героиня романа попадает в конце зимы следующего, 1822 года. Возраст Татьяны исчисляется на основании письма Пушкина Вяземскому от 29 ноября 1824 года, в котором указано, что

Татьяна – 17-летняя, следовательно, она родилась в 1803 году. Путешествие Онегина завершилось во второй половине 1824-го – спустя три года после его отъезда из деревни,– и таким образом, цитируя Н. С. Бродского, «…в романе разбросаны хронологические указания, которые дают возможность точно определить главные моменты в жизни Евгения. Онегин родился около 1796 года, "лет шестнадцати окончил курс своих наук" – это было в 1812 году, через восемь лет он бросил свет и летом 1820 года поселился в деревне. С 1820-го по весну 1825 года тянется действие романа» [3, с. 38].

На фоне сложившейся традиции толкования внутренней хронологии романа нельзя не упомянуть тех исследователей, которые проявили независимость суждений и попытались преодолеть сложившиеся стереотипы. Прежде всего заслуживают внимания сомнения, высказанные В. Баевским по поводу методологии исследования с привлечением внетекстовых источников, которая «противоречит художественной природе романа в стихах, разрушает воздвигнутую автором художественную систему. … Как безусловно достоверные могут приниматься только данные текста, установленного Пушкиным в последнем прижизненном издании» [2, с. 116]. В этой же статье В. Баевским представлен критический разбор распространённых разночтений в трактовках повествовательной хронологии романа.

Помимо традиционного подхода, в современных трактовках повествовательной хронологии можно обнаружить самый широкий спектр мнений – от представлений о крайне субъективной природе времени в романе («…на протяжении последних полутора сотен лет люди задаются совершенно смешным вопросом: сколько лет Онегину, какого он года рождения? И даже очень серьёзные исследователи занимаются чисто хронологическими подсчётами. Да Онегину ровно столько лет, сколько нужно в этот момент Пушкину!» [5]) до попыток построить альтернативную, строгую и непротиворечивую хронологическую

канву повествования, связав повествовательное и историческое время. Так, в 1984 году В. Кожевников, затем в 1992 году С. Шварцбанд и вместе с ними А. Аникин называют годом рождения Онегина 1798-й, соответственно перенося именины Татьяны и дуэль Онегина с Ленским на 1824 год. Точкой отсчёта для всех трёх исследователей является указание на субботу 12 января, которая совпадает только с 1824 годом в приемлемом интервале лет. Отталкиваясь от этого, финал повествования они относят к 1827–1828 (Аникин [1], Шварцбанд [11]) или к 1830–1831 годам (Кожевников [4, с. 111]). Дополнительным аргументом в построениях В. Кожевникова, А. Аникина и В. Старка [8] стали указания на снег, который в 1824 году впервые выпал в Санкт-Петербурге только в январе, что совпадало со сведениями о погоде из романа.

Отдельного упоминания заслуживает А. Тархов, который в 1974 году определил даты действия романа как 1820–1830 годы, а датой рождения Онегина назвал 1801 год, и попытался на этом основании строить хронологию [9, с. 30]. Впрочем, он впоследствии пересмотрел свои взгляды.

Иллюзия непрерывности повествования и связанные с ней проблемы. В существующих хронологических построениях именины и дуэль рассматриваются как отправная точка для отсчёта временных рамок последующих событий – отъезда Онегина в путешествие, его возвращения в Петербург и финального объяснения с Татьяной. Прежде чем приступать к отсчёту, следует выяснить, понёс ли Онегин наказание за дуэль. Усилиями Ю. Лотмана принято считать, что Онегину удалось каким-то образом уладить дело: «…дуэль Онегина и Ленского вообще не сделалась предметом судебного разбирательства. Это могло произойти, если приходской священник зафиксировал смерть Ленского как последовавшую от несчастного случая или как результат самоубийства. Строфы XL–XLI шестой главы, несмотря на связь их с общими элегическими штампами

могилы "юного поэта", позволяют предположить, что Ленский был похоронен вне кладбищенской ограды, то есть как самоубийца» [6, с. 105].

Дело, впрочем, не только во мнении Ю. Лотмана. По авторскому замыслу, при отсутствии прямых указаний в романе на какие-либо юридические последствия дуэли для Онегина и при условии, что читатель не придаст должного значения сведениям о возрасте Онегина из первой главы, создаётся иллюзия непрерывности повествования – представление о том, что отъезд Онегина из деревни в возрасте 26 лет произошёл непосредственно после смерти Ленского. Следуя этой логике, дата возвращения Онегина из путешествия приходится на вторую половину 1824 года, а датой окончания восьмой главы становится ранняя весна 1825-го.

Оставляя за рамками обсуждения вопрос о том, как именно Онегин смог замять дело о смерти Ленского (слишком уж сомнительна этическая сторона действий Онегина в этом случае), нельзя не указать на ряд многократно обсуждавшихся проблем, связанных с традиционной интерпретацией хронологии событий романа. Одна из этих проблем проистекает из строфы, не вошедшей в окончательный вариант романа:

И в зале яркой и богатой
Когда в умолкший тесный круг
Подобно лилии крылатой
Колеблясь входит Лалла-Рук
И над поникшею толпою
Сияет царственной главою
И тихо вьется и скользит
Звезда-Харита меж Харит
И взор смешенных поколений
Стремится ревностью горя
То на нее, то на царя …

Как пишет А. Аникин: «Эту строфу никак нельзя отнести к картине 1824 года, когда Александра Фёдоровна не была императрицей и никак не могла сиять "царственной главою" (ни ей, ни кому бы то ни

было грядущая её царская судьба не была очевидна). Строка, где говорится о взорах, переходящих "то на неё, то на царя", конечно, подразумевает Александру Фёдоровну и Николая, разумеется, ставшего царём в ноябре 1825 года и коронованного в 1826-м» [1].

Другая проблема касается упоминания испанского посла, беседующего с Татьяной на рауте. Ю. Лотман: «В 1824 году, когда происходит встреча Онегина и Татьяны в Петербурге, Россия не поддерживала дипломатических отношений с Испанией, прерванных во время испанской революции. Испанский посол Хуан Мигуэль Паэс де ла Кадена появился в Петербурге в 1825 году» [3, с. 355]. По другим сведениям, посла Испании в России звали Хосе Мигель де Карвахаль-Варгас, герцог Сан-Карлос, и именно в ранге посла в России он в апреле 1826 года стал кавалером ордена Андрея Первозванного. Как бы то ни было, встреча Татьяны с испанским послом на рауте в Петербурге в 1824 году действительно представляется крайне маловероятной.

Проблема связности образа Татьяны в общепринятой хронологии романа. Во всех хронологических построениях, предполагающих немедленный отъезд Онегина из деревни после дуэли и следующий сразу за этим визит Татьяны в его кабинет, возникает неустранимая проблема связности образа Татьяны – его развитие не имеет достаточного объяснения.

Способности Татьяны к самостоятельному анализу в доонегинский период её жизни полностью раскрыты в единственной цитате:

> Татьяна верила преданьям
> Простонародной старины,
> И снам, и карточным гаданьям,
> И предсказаниям луны. (глава 5, строфа 5)

Ключевое слово здесь – «верила». Речь идёт о некритическом принятии различных идей без попыток их самостоятельного осмысления. Тут

становится отчасти понятно недоумение Татьяны по поводу вызывающего и демонстративного поведения Онегина на её именинах:

> Его нежданным появленьем,
> Мгновенной нежностью очей
> И странным с Ольгой поведеньем
> До глубины души своей
> Она проникнута; не может
> Никак понять его… (глава 6, строфа 3)

Наблюдая воочию за Онегиным весь вечер, думая о нём, Татьяна так и не смогла понять его поведения. Впрочем, и это тоже объяснимо. Стоит вспомнить, что за столом она едва не падала в обморок от нахлынувших чувств и переживаний,– где уж тут выискивать ответы на трудные вопросы?

Придерживаясь устоявшихся взглядов на внутреннюю хронологию повествования и предполагая, что отъезд Онегина из деревни произошёл спустя короткое время после дуэли, а визит Татьяны в его кабинет состоялся сразу же после этого, невозможно найти удовлетворительный ответ на вопрос, каким образом увлекающаяся, наивная и доверчивая девочка, какой ранее была Татьяна, смогла провести в высшей степени сложный анализ личности Онегина по отрывочным и неполным данным – его кратким отметкам в прочитанных им книгах. Анализ Татьяны предполагал не только её знакомство с книгами и авторами из библиотеки Онегина («Сперва ей было не до них,/ Но показался выбор их / Ей странен… »), но и её собственные оценки и суждения о прочитанном, не подвергаемые ею сомнению. Татьяне, сохранившей любовь к Онегину, но сумевшей вопреки своим чувствам понять его ничтожность по отдельным пометкам на полях и между строчек тех книг, потребовались не только ясный ум и трезвый взгляд на все обстоятельства, полное самообладание и контроль над своими эмоциями. Она должна была явить сформированную личность с непоколебимой жизненной позицией, не допускающей ни в какой форме фаль-

ши и притворства, в которых поднаторел Онегин. Татьяна, которая вошла в кабинет Онегина, была уже совершенно другим человеком, совсем не той Татьяной, которая, наблюдая поведение Онегина на своих именинах, не могла понять, что происходит. Речь идёт о такой разнице, для которой требуются годы постоянной работы над собой. Какое же время потребовалось ей для таких радикальных перемен и где это время? Общепринятая трактовка внутренней хронологии романа не даёт приемлемого ответа на этот кардинальный вопрос и поэтому требует фундаментального пересмотра.

Хронологическая канва повествования. Как видно из приведённого обзора имеющихся проблем, воссоздание внутренней хронологии романа представляет собой достаточно нетривиальную задачу, что, как представляется, было частью замысла А. С. Пушкина и предлагаемой им интеллектуальной игры внимательному читателю. Задуманная автором игра по прошествии немалого времени стала ещё более интеллектуальной, поскольку за почти двести лет с момента публикации произведения был накоплен немалый багаж противоречивых суждений о нём, часть из которых неминуемо придётся отвергнуть в поисках истины. Огромные трудности в решении этой задачи создают многочисленные толкования, в которых даже однозначное указание автора о том, что время расчислено по календарю, рассматривается как отсылка к календарю природы, а не к бытовому календарю дней [10, с. 93].

Большинство анахронизмов внутренней хронологии, равно как и проблемы в определении времени окончания повествования, имеют одну общую причину – неверно учитываемый год рождения Онегина.

> Онегин (вновь займуся им),
> Убив на поединке друга,
> Дожив без цели, без трудов
> До двадцати шести годов,

Томясь в бездействии досуга
Без службы, без жены, без дел,
Ничем заняться не умел. (глава 8, строфа 12)

Им овладело беспокойство,
Охота к перемене мест
(Весьма мучительное свойство,
Немногих добровольный крест).
Оставил он своё селенье,
Лесов и нив уединенье,
Где окровавленная тень
Ему являлась каждый день,
И начал странствия без цели,
Доступный чувству одному;
И путешествия ему,
Как всё на свете, надоели;
Он возвратился и попал,
Как Чацкий, с корабля на бал.
                        (глава 8, строфа 13)

Приведённый фрагмент сообщает только о том, что после некоторых событий Онегин покинул деревню в возрасте около 26 лет. 18 лет Онегина (возраст, указанный автором в первой главе) относятся к зиме 1819 года, а 26 лет – это тот возраст, когда Онегин, побросав вещи, стремительно уехал из опостылевшей деревни. Автору следует доверять абсолютно, поэтому вопрос о том, какая из этих дат верна, некорректен. Верны обе.

По событиям в жизни Онегина можно установить даты начала и завершения действия романа. Примем, что начало повествования связано с отъездом Онегина в деревню к умирающему дяде в конце весны («летя в пыли на почтовых…») 1820 года. Один день, представленный рассказчиками в первой главе, относится к зиме 1819 года; эта дата устанавливается по многочисленным временным меткам первой главы, важнейшие из которых – названия театральных постановок, которые шли в Петербурге весь 1819 год, и Истомина в качестве примы на сцене (примой она стала в 1818 году). Возраст Онегина в тот день, когда он

видел Истомину, – 18 лет, из чего определяется год рождения Онегина: 1801-й.

Знакомство Онегина с Татьяной произошло в его первый визит к Лариным – в мае или июне 1820 года. Письмо написано Татьяной вскоре после этого, в конце июня, под пение ночных соловьёв в лесу, а второй визит Онегина с проповедью Татьяне состоялся спустя три дня. Даты, непосредственно предшествующие именинам Татьяны, установлены В. Набоковым, однако им и другими исследователями допущены ошибки в датах праздника по поводу именин и последовавшей за этим дуэли – 12 и 14 января соответственно.

О праздновании именин известно, что оно состоялось в субботу. Согласно Месяцеслову за 1821 год и как многократно отмечалось разными исследователями, Татьянин день (12 января) в 1821 году приходился на среду. Варианты празднования именин в четверг или субботу, известные по рукописи, отражают, вероятно, не только колебания А. С. Пушкина, но и колебания Прасковьи в отношении дня праздника. Хотя четверг шёл следующим за именинами днём, ими была выбрана суббота – как ближайший выходной, наиболее удобный для большинства приглашённых гостей. Заметим, что, поскольку в рукописи есть варианты с четвергом, то 1824 год исключается, ведь Татьянин день выпадал тогда на субботу – был ли смысл думать о празднике в четверг? Таким образом, празднование именин Татьяны с гостями и третье посещение Онегиным Лариных выпали на субботу 15 января 1821 года, а дуэль в понедельник 17 января 1821 года стала финалом первого фрагмента повествования. Второй фрагмент начат отъездом Онегина из деревни в путешествие и представлен его собственноручными стихами – «Отрывками из путешествия Онегина». По указанию автора, Онегин покинул деревню после дуэли в возрасте около 26 лет, что с большой долей вероятности соответствует лету 1826 года, когда Николаем была объявлена коронационная амни-

стия отбывающим наказание государственным преступникам, в том числе декабристам. Интересно отметить, что предполагаемый отъезд Онегина из Петербурга в мае 1820 года и из деревни летом 1826 года почти точно совпали с началом южной ссылки и окончанием ссылки в Михайловском самого Пушкина. Третий фрагмент сюжетной линии Онегина начинается возвращением его из трёхлетнего путешествия в Петербург во второй половине 1829 года и завершается спустя несколько месяцев, в марте 1830 года («Дни мчались; в воздухе нагретом / Уж разрешалася зима…»), почти совпадая с окончанием работы Пушкина над восьмой главой романа позднее в том же году. Таким образом, о событиях между 17 января 1821 года и летом 1826 года можно судить лишь косвенно, по сведениям из первой главы и некоторым другим признакам. Именно это время Онегин вынужденно провёл в деревне, отбывая наказание за дуэль.

Развитие образа Татьяны в контексте воссозданной хронологии. Хронология событий в жизни Татьяны определяется на основании дат, установленных читателем для Онегина. Возраст Татьяны назван автором в 8-й строфе 4-й главы, он соответствует концу июня 1820 года, и Татьяне тогда 13 лет. Соответственно, её визит в кабинет Онегина состоялся после августа 1826 года, и ей тогда уже 19 – вот и разгадка её бурного интеллектуального роста. Три фрагмента сюжетной линии Татьяны соответствуют знакомству с Онегиным, прерванному дуэлью, визитом в его кабинет спустя шесть лет с последующим отъездом в Москву и, наконец, петербургской жизни в качестве знатной дамы спустя ещё три года. Те пять с половиной лет, спрятанные Пушкиным от читателя во внутренней хронологии, важны не столько для представления о мучениях и терзаниях, которые Онегину пришлось пережить в изоляции, отбывая домашний арест, сколько для понимания того, какое время понадобилось Татьяне для взросления и сколько лет она хранила свою

любовь к Онегину до того дня, когда в его кабинете ей открылась истина о нём.

Ожидая Онегина почти шесть лет, всё ещё надеясь построить с ним близкие отношения, без колебаний отказав трём женихам, вплотную подойдя к условной черте в двадцать лет, после которой шансы на замужество для девушки резко падают, оставшись верной своему первому и единственному чувству, она нашла в себе силы немедленно и полностью отказаться от прежних заблуждений. Вероятно, впоследствии для неё не составило ни малейшего труда добиться успеха в аристократических кругах Петербурга, где она вряд ли открыла для себя что-то новое. Возможно, она даже не ставила себе цель стать успешной дамой среди столичной знати – с её умом, умением разбираться в людях и владеть собой всё произошло быстро, легко и естественно. Здесь становится понятной вся глубина издевательской иронии Пушкина к Катенину, «коему прекрасный поэтический талант не мешает быть и тонким критиком». Суть сюжетной линии Татьяны – в том, что она смогла превратиться из наивной, доверчивой и несамостоятельной девочки в Татьяну, намного опередившую Онегина по интеллекту, силе и масштабу своей личности. Все эти перемены произошли с Татьяной вовсе не в Петербурге, а ещё в деревне, до её отъезда, поэтому вопрос в формулировке Катенина о переходе от Татьяны – уездной барышни, к Татьяне – знатной даме Петербурга в романе не стоит вообще.

Татьяну не следует идеализировать. «Онегин, я тогда моложе, / Я лучше, кажется, была»,– говорит она Онегину, абсолютно точно оценивая перемены в себе и не пытаясь выглядеть в его глазах лучше, чем она есть на самом деле. Что Татьяна имела в виду, что изменилось в ней?

Её отказ Онегину в близких отношениях был не случаен – он предопределён всей логикой развития её образа, но интересно отметить, как Татьяна мотивирует свой отказ. Она не смогла признаться Онегину, что побывала без разрешения в его кабинете, читала его книги, взятые без спроса, и пришла

к убийственным выводам о нём, хотя всё это было бы правдой и одной из основных причин последующих событий. Татьяна не сказала Онегину, что его надрывное и пошлое письмо с двумя сердцами – это графоманское сочинение, и его автору не на что рассчитывать с нею; или, в крайнем случае, не объявила, что его ухаживания суть не что иное, как пародия на известный литературный сюжет соблазнения со всеми традиционными уловками соблазнителя. Любой её ответ из приведённых был бы вполне справедлив, но оставлял Онегину возможность продолжать попытки сближения. Татьяна выбрала единственное объяснение, не оставлявшее шансов Онегину,– верность мужу. Была ли она теперь абсолютно откровенной и искренней, как прежде? Трудно сказать… Хотя оснований подозревать Татьяну в обмане нет, но некоторый элемент расчёта с её стороны здесь явно присутствует. Драматизм объяснения с Онегиным делает её разрыв с ним окончательным. Роман, где читателю представлен открытый финал, таким образом, завершён полностью. Повествование не предполагает дополнительных глав или домыслов о дальнейшей судьбе героев.

Решение загадки о прототипе Татьяны. Было бы наивно полагать, что Пушкин с его умом, талантом и воображением нуждался в каких-либо прототипах для своих персонажей. Его слова о том, что Татьяна имела прототип в реальной жизни, приведённые в 51-й строфе 8-й главы,– не более чем очередная головоломка, вызов внимательному читателю, приглашение найти в романе ключи, которые приведут его к той даме из ближайшего окружения поэта, которую он по какой-то ему ведомой причине назначил прообразом Татьяны. Иными словами, не Татьяна стала проекцией в романе реального человека, а некая близкая поэту девушка получила в награду от поэта право и честь считаться родоначальницей дорогого ему образа. Задача поиска прототипа Татьяны, исходящая из этого предположения,

подразумевает принципиальную решаемость поставленной задачи по сведениям из романа без использования особых внетекстовых источников, в том числе из личной переписки А. С. Пушкина.

Отвергая саму правомерность задачи поиска прототипов персонажей художественных произведений, Ю. Лотман небезосновательно указывал, что «анализ принципов построения художественного текста должен доминировать над проблемой прототипов…» [6, с. 24]. Тем не менее именно анализ принципов построения романа и его внутренней хронологии приводит читателя к естественному решению задачи о прототипе Татьяны. Ключ для решения этой головоломки – биография Татьяны, построенная на основании воссозданной повествовательной хронологии. Опираясь на неё, читатель может определить даты основных событий жизни героини. Год рождения Татьяны – 1807-й, поскольку, по сведениям из 8-й строфы 4-й главы, летом 1820 года Онегин думает о ней как о 13-летней. Именины и последовавшая за ними дуэль пришлись на январь 1821 года. До лета 1826 года Онегин отбывал домашний арест за дуэль в своём имении. В кабинет Онегина 19-летняя Татьяна пришла во второй половине 1826 года, после отъезда Евгения. Если её отъезд в Москву произошёл в начале весны 1827 года, то замужество Татьяны можно отнести к зиме того же года. Встреча с Онегиным на рауте в Петербурге состоялась спустя без малого два года – в конце 1829-го, а финальное объяснение с ним – в марте 1830 года.

Какие же параллели можно найти между фактами из биографии Татьяны и событиями в жизни девушек из ближайшего окружения А. С. Пушкина? Ольга Пушкина, сестра поэта, как и Татьяна, той же зимой 1827 года довольно внезапно вышла замуж.

Вот что пишет В. А. Жуковский А. А. Воейковой 4 февраля 1828 года: «Пушкина, Ольга Сергевна, одним утром приходит к брату Александру и говорит ему: милый брат, поди скажи нашим общим родителям, что я вчера вышла замуж… Брат удивился, немного рассердился, но, как умный человек, тотчас увидел, что худой мир лучше доброй ссоры, и понёс известие родителям. Сергею Львовичу сделалось дурно… Теперь все помирились».

Таким образом, есть некоторые основания полагать, что знаменитые слова, приписываемые А. С. Пушкину – «Представляете, какую штуку удрала со мной моя Татьяна… Замуж вышла…»,– касаются именно обстоятельств замужества его сестры Ольги, и если поиск прототипов Татьяны не лишён смысла, то Ольга Сергеевна Павлищева (Пушкина) – одна из самых вероятных кандидаток.

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TWO NARRATORS IN NOVEL "EUGENE ONEGIN" BY A. PUSHKIN

Abstract. In a short essay, an assumption about two narrators in the novel «Eugene Onegin» by A. S. Pushkin was made and its consequences are considered. In the context of this assumption questions of compositional outline of the poem, some features of narrative language and subjective perception of the author's multilevel intention are discussed. An unknown poem by A. S. Pushkin has been discovered.

Keywords: Pushkin, Eugene Onegin, Mozart and Salieri, narrator, composition.

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ДВА РАССКАЗЧИКА В РОМАНЕ А. С. ПУШКИНА «ЕВГЕНИЙ ОНЕГИН»

Аннотация. В кратком эссе сделано допущение о двух рассказчиках в романе А. С. Пушкина «Евгений Онегин» и рассмотрены его следствия. В контексте этого допущения затронуты вопросы композиции произведения, некоторых особенностей стилистики языка повествования и субъективности восприятия многоуровневого авторского замысла, обнаружено неизвестное стихотворение А. С. Пушкина.

Ключевые слова: Пушкин, Евгений Онегин, Моцарт и Сальери, рассказчик, композиция.

Анализ повествовательной композиции пушкинского текста в «Онегине» не раз предпринимался исследователями (Бродский Н. [3]., Лотман Ю. [4], Набоков В. [5]). Речь повествования как часть композиции также неоднократно становилась объектом анализа. Присутствие голосов персонажей в произведении отмечалось М. Бахтиным: «Анализируя "Онегина", можно без особого труда установить, что кроме образов языка Онегина и языка Ленского, есть ещё сложный и в высшей степени глубокий образ языка Татьяны… Автор не только изображает этот язык, но и весьма существенно говорит на нём. Значительные части романа даны в зоне голоса Татьяны…» [2, с. 413]. «Сложное переплетение форм "чужой" и авторской речи составляет важнейшую его характеристику. Однако само разделение на "чужую" и авторскую речь лишь в самом грубом виде характеризует конструкцию стиля романа. На самом деле перед нами значительно более сложная и богатая нюансами организация» [4]. Язык романа можно рассматривать как сложную синтетическую конструкцию, с помощью которой « … образы "автора" и Онегина взаимодействуют, корреспондируют между собой, дополняют один другого» [6, с. 92]. Таким образом, выделение и анализ голосов, звучащих в повествовании, представляются исключительно важными для понимания авторского замысла произведения.

Два рассказчика и проблема разделения их текстов. Примем в качестве допущения, что принципиально важной композиционной особенностью романа является наличие в нём двух рассказчиков, которые ведут повествование одновременно. Эти два рассказчика – сам Онегин, главный герой, и условный Пушкин, проекция автора, который выступает на страницах романа как в качестве одного из рассказчиков, так и в качестве закулисного персонажа, состоящего с Онегиным в приятельских и доверительных отношениях.

Следует сразу оговориться, что предположение о двух рассказчиках диктует необходимость более строгого разделения голосов повествования, чем было принято в ранее упомянутых исследованиях. Также представляется важным подчеркнуть, что не следует отождествлять рассказчика-Пушкина с автором А. С. Пушкиным. Рассказчик-Пушкин столь же реален, как и Онегин, – это фиктивный, воображаемый персонаж, который участвует в повествовании. Он унаследовал биографию и поэтический талант А. С. Пушкина, однако не эквивалентен ему. Голос рассказчика-Пушкина, равно как и голос Онегина, разумеется, созданы А. С. Пушкиным, но голос рассказчика-Пушкина не является полностью авторским голосом. Несколько сгущая краски, можно сказать, что собственный авторский голос А. С. Пушкина в романе звучит только в прозе – в примечаниях и прозаической вставке к «Отрывкам из путешествия Онегина».

«Евгений Онегин» – произведение для двух голосов, различить которые читатель, даже не обладающий филологическим образованием, может или на слух, или приложив некоторые усилия. Вся первая глава романа, начиная с самой первой строфы, построена на сопоставлении личностей и речевых стилей рассказчиков. Александр Сергеевич здесь буквально навязывает читателю идею двух повествователей, во-первых, предлагая одновременно две перспективы описываемых событий – от первого лица, от Онегина, и от третьего лица – от рассказчика-Пушкина. Так, тема лорнета и зевания в театре в первой главе представлена дважды. Сначала от первого лица тоскующим Онегиным в 19-й строфе:

И, устремив на чуждый свет
Разочарованный лорнет,
Веселья зритель равнодушный,
Безмолвно буду я зевать
И о былом воспоминать?

Затем, в 21-й строфе от третьего лица Пушкиным:

Все хлопает. Онегин входит,
Идет меж кресел по ногам,
Двойной лорнет скосясь наводит
На ложи незнакомых дам;
Все ярусы окинул взором,
Всё видел: лицами, убором
Ужасно недоволен он;
С мужчинами со всех сторон
Раскланялся, потом на сцену
В большом рассеянье взглянул,
Отворотился – и зевнул,
И молвил: «Всех пора на смену;
Балеты долго я терпел,
Но и Дидло мне надоел».

Примеров двойной перспективы в первой главе множество. Так, тема соблазнения в повествовании звучит дважды – от Онегина в строфах 29–30 в первом лице:

О вы, почтенные супруги!
Вам предложу свои услуги;
Прошу мою заметить речь:
Я вас хочу предостеречь.
Вы также, маменьки, построже
За дочерьми смотрите вслед:
Держите прямо свой лорнет!

… И в строфах 11 и 12, где повествователь-Пушкин рассказывает об Онегине в третьем лице. Удалённый текст 13-й и 14-й строф, восстановленный по рукописи, касается темы соблазнения Онегиным его жертв ещё более откровенно.

Во-вторых, идея двух повествователей неоднократно подчёркивается в первой главе разностью между строем и стилем речи, настроением, а также между многочисленными суждениями рассказчиков, которые поданы автором контрастно, в резком противопоставлении. Кульминацией всей первой главы в этом отношении является 46-я строфа, где одновременно звучат оба голоса. Эта строфа ранее приводилась многими исследователями, в том числе М. Бахтиным [2, с. 411–412], как образец онегинского стиля и сознания. В этой одной строфе воочию видна разница стилей, способностей к стихосложению, темпераментов и настроения рассказчиков. Первые девять строк 46-й строфы принадлежат Онегину:

> Кто жил и мыслил, тот не может
> В душе не презирать людей;
> Кто чувствовал, того тревожит
> Призрак невозвратимых дней:
> Тому уж нет очарований,
> Того змия воспоминаний,
> Того раскаянье грызет.
> Все это часто придает
> Большую прелесть разговору.

Слово «призра́к», требующее или переноса ударения в своём архаичном произношении, или разрушающее размер, вероятнее всего, есть не что иное, как иллюстрация слов: «Не мог он ямба от хорея, / Как мы ни бились, отличить». Это речевая метка Онегина. Даже не будучи поэтом, можно легко представить себе более подходящие варианты: «мираж», «удар», «урок» и т.д. Рассказчик-Пушкин с умыслом оставил тут первые девять строк Онегина в первозданном виде как демонстрацию речевого стиля соавтора, а затем в пяти заключи-

тельных строках дал комментарий с исчерпывающей характеристикой языка Онегина:

> Сперва Онегина язык
> Меня смущал; но я привык
> К его язвительному спору,
> И к шутке, с желчью пополам,
> И злости мрачных эпиграмм.

Важно подчеркнуть, что речь Онегина в повествовании всегда выделяется интонационно. За очень редким исключением, она звучит в миноре: тяжёлые переживания, мрачное настроение, фрустрация, тоска, негативные и язвительные эпитеты – это отражение его мыслей и чувств. Резкая, неожиданная смена интонации повествования от пушкинской – воздушной, летящей – к тяжеловесной и приземлённой, характерной для мрачных онегинских вставок, легко определяется в первой главе между 18-й и 19-й, 28-й и 29–30-й, а также между 58-й и 59–60-й строфами. Речь Онегина является непосредственным выражением его характера, это основное средство формирования образа Онегина в романе.

46-я строфа – это прямая отсылка к тексту рассказчика-Онегина в последующих главах, но она повествует не только о языке графомана Онегина и его мизантропии. Эта строфа показывает читателю, каким образом рассказчики вместе трудились над первой главой. Здесь видно, что рассказчик-Пушкин работал поверх текста Онегина как редактор, исправляя его огрехи и создавая окончательный вариант. В дальнейшем, например, в первой строфе восьмой главы, можно увидеть обратное: там уже рассказчик-Онегин корёжит текст рассказчика-Пушкина, пытаясь ухудшить его, чтобы скрыть свою собственную несостоятельность в качестве поэта.

Первая глава удивительно богата контрастными мотивами, к числу которых кроме уже упомянутых можно причислить тему женских ножек, подробно развитую страдающим Онегиным, и прямо обра-

щённую к нему по этому поводу реплику рассказчика-Пушкина в 31-й строфе: «Когда ж и где, в какой пустыне, / Безумец, их забудешь ты?» Сюда же относится и тема романтического заморского путешествия рассказчика-Пушкина, трансформировавшаяся у депрессивного Онегина в тему бегства из России куда угодно, хоть в Африку.

Чтобы избавить читателя от последних сомнений в том, сколько рассказчиков ведут повествование, А. С. Пушкиным создана отдельная онегинская глава. Целиком и собственноручно написанный Онегиным фрагмент повествования «Отрывки из путешествия Онегина» представляет собой не только искромётную пародию А. С. Пушкина на творчество бездарных поэтов-графоманов, но и важное дополнение к основной идее романа как образец самостоятельного стиля Онегина в стихосложении.

«Разговор книгопродавца с поэтом» как пролог романа. Важно отметить, что автор, предложивший читателю разделить голоса рассказчиков, ни разу не бросает своего читателя одного в решении этой и других трудных задач. С помощью автора читатель становится в существенной степени соавтором романа. Именно от него зависит, как глубоко ему удастся проникнуть в авторский замысел и какой сюжет он в итоге получит. Автор при этом не скрывает своих замыслов, но требует активной работы читателя, предлагая ему необходимые подсказки. В изданиях первой главы 1825 и 1829 годов «Евгений Онегин» имеет пролог – стихотворение «Разговор книгопродавца с поэтом», с характерной для пролога латинской нумерацией страниц перед основным текстом. В классическом театре Прологом назывался специальный актёр, который в начале представления выходил к рампе и сообщал зрителям в художественной форме основную идею театральной постановки, облегчая её восприятие. Считая «Разговор книгопродавца с поэтом» прологом-подсказкой к «Евгению Онегину», можно рассматривать его основную фразу – «Не прода-

ётся вдохновенье, но можно рукопись продать» – в качестве главной идеи романа. Пользуясь подсказкой пролога, следует предположить, что суть романа – рассказ о том, как Онегин купил рукопись Пушкина и нанял его в качестве своего *nègre littéraire** **, литературного редактора и наставника, с тем чтобы написать роман о себе, а также научиться у него мастерству стихосложения в процессе совместного творчества. Таким образом, скрытая, она же главная сюжетная линия романа об отношениях рассказчиков – сквозная и неизменная тема, определяющая основное содержание всего произведения и его композицию,– формируется не тем, *что* сообщается рассказчиками читателю об Онегине и Татьяне, а тем, *как* рассказчики это делают.

О полном отсутствии у Онегина способностей к стихосложению и упорному труду рассказчик-Пушкин сообщает трижды. Сначала – в 7-й строфе первой главы:

> Высокой страсти не имея
> Для звуков жизни не щадить,
> Не мог он ямба от хорея,
> Как мы ни бились, отличить.

Затем в 43-й строфе той же первой главы:

> Онегин дома заперся,
> Зевая, за перо взялся,
> Хотел писать – но труд упорный
> Ему был тошен; ничего
> Не вышло из пера его…

И, наконец, в 38-й и 39-й строфах последней, восьмой главы:

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* Примечание 11 Пушкина к «Евгению Онегину», биография Ганнибала, напечатанная в первом издании 1833 года, и также в издании 1836 года, где сказано: «Автор, со стороны матери, происхождения африканского…», есть не что иное, как ещё одна подсказка автора к основному замыслу романа.

** Ghost writer (совр. англ.).

А точно: силой магнетизма
Стихов российских механизма
Едва в то время не постиг
Мой бестолковый ученик. …
Дни мчались; в воздухе нагретом
Уж разрешалася зима;
И он не сделался поэтом,
Не умер, не сошел с ума.

Приведённая 38-я строфа важна ещё и тем, что раскрывает отношения рассказчиков: Онегин открыто назван Пушкиным его учеником. Интересно отметить, что во всём романе у рассказчика-Пушкина нет ни одного негативного эпитета, они все принадлежат Онегину, с единственным исключением: сам Онегин назван «бестолковым». Видимо, он действительно заслужил ироническую и презрительную характеристику соавтора. Онегин за несколько лет повествовательного времени так и не стал поэтом – как ученик Пушкина он оказался полностью неспособным к этому труду.

Роман неоднороден по стилю, его ритм и настроение подвержены резким перепадам, поэтому повествование создаёт впечатление «лоскутного одеяла» – результат попытки соединить несоединимое: гений Пушкина и графоманство бездарного Онегина. Первые три главы написаны рассказчиками в соавторстве – как, видимо, планировалось изначально. Пользуясь «рыбой» Пушкина и следуя наставлениям своего учителя, Онегин пишет свои строфы, которые затем исправляет Пушкин, устраняя технические огрехи начинающего поэта и обучая того мастерству стихосложения. Энергичные, живые, летящие строфы рассказчика-Пушкина уравновешивают в первых трёх главах тяжеловесные, депрессивные вставки Онегина. Начиная с четвёртой главы последний работает самостоятельно, пользуясь шаблонным текстом – «рыбой» – для каждой главы, которую ему высылает рассказчик-Пушкин. Вступление к роману «Не мысля гордый свет забавить, / Вниманье дружбы возлюбя… » – это не посвящение Плетнёву (ни-

каких оснований так считать нет), а сопроводительное письмо рассказчика-Пушкина Онегину, которое он пишет, высылая тому написанные им главы. В дальнейшем, начиная с четвёртой главы, онегинские вставки уже не редактируются поэтом, и в повествовании начинают набирать силу мрачные интонации Онегина. Так, ключевой в четвёртой главе является 30-я строфа – явная отсылка к 46-й строфе первой главы:

Но вы, разрозненные томы
Из библиотеки чертей,
Великолепные альбомы,
Мученье модных рифмачей,
Вы, украшенные проворно
Толстого кистью чудотворной
Иль Баратынского пером,
Пускай сожжет вас божий гром!
Когда блистательная дама
Мне свой in-quarto подает,
И дрожь и злость меня берет,
И шевелится эпиграмма
Во глубине моей души,
А мадригалы им пиши!

Кроме раздражения и злости, выдающих автора, здесь снова видна проблема переноса ударения в онегинских стихах. В приведённом фрагменте переноса ударения требуют уже два слова. В слове «библиотека» ударение в естественном варианте произношения никак не могло падать на букву «о». Во французском языке, которым А. С. Пушкин владел как родным, ударение в слове «bibliothèque», по общему правилу, всегда приходится на последний слог, поэтому предположение о переносе ударения в слове «призра́к» из 46-й строфы первой главы как об иллюстрации отсутствия способностей Онегина к стихосложению получает в 30-й строфе четвёртой главы более чем достаточное обоснование.

Начиная с четвёртой главы в тексте встречаются многочисленные пробелы. Отсутствующие

в романе строфы пушкинского текста удалялись самим Онегиным, который намеревался вписать туда что-то от себя, самостоятельно, но не смог. Изъятия Онегина могли состоять из нескольких последовательных строф: к примеру, с 1-й по 6-ю строфы в четвёртой главе, отдельных строф – 36-я строфа четвёртой главы, или всего нескольких строчек в строфах – например, в 17-й строфе шестой главы. Надежды Онегина, что он сможет писать хорошие стихи самостоятельно, не оправдались, поэтому проблему создания стилистической однородности своих вставок и пушкинского текста герой был вынужден решать редактированием «рыбы» соавтора, низводя написанное им до своего уровня. Так, в восьмой главе, окончательно убедившись в своей несостоятельности, Онегин портит стихи Пушкина, выборочно заменяя там его рифмы на более слабые и целые строчки на свои, выбирая из доступных ему вариантов те, что похуже. Улучшить собственное мастерство стихосложения Онегин так и не смог.

Многоуровневое повествование. Композиция романа предполагает различные уровни восприятия, и читатель волен выбирать любые из них по своему желанию и вкусу. Открытый уровень о несложившихся отношениях Онегина и Татьяны – уровень «энциклопедии русской жизни», проработан в мельчайших деталях, и даже не особенно вникая в подробности повествования, читатель получит на этом уровне огромное удовольствие. Тем же, кто желает подняться выше, предстоит приложить некоторые усилия. Прежде всего от читателя потребуется способность на слух отличать хорошие, талантливые стихи Пушкина от стилизации, созданной автором для языка графомана Онегина. Здесь было бы также неплохо освободиться от стереотипа о том, что из-под пера Александра Сергеевича не могло выйти ничего посредственного. Читатель, который услышит голос Онегина, многое узнает о его характере и мыслях. При всех фантастических перспективах, которые открываются на

этом уровне, главное и наиболее ценное открытие всё ещё ждёт читателя впереди. Ключ для выхода на высший уровень, рассказ о том, как это сделать, дан в самом тексте – авторский замысел станет понятен тем, кто сможет повторить то, что сделала Татьяна, обнаружившая пометки Онегина на полях прочитанных им книг. Читателю предстоит не только найти вставки Онегина в отдельных главах, но и проследить, как угасал его творческий порыв, как страдала его психика, как осознание Онегиным собственной несостоятельности в качестве поэта заставило его портить стихи Пушкина. Вот как портились стихи в рукописи романа (по А. Н. Баркову) [1]:

> В те дни, когда в садах Лицея
> Я безмятежно расцветал,
> Читал охотно Апулея,
> А Цицерона не читал,

«Действительно, из-под пера гения не может выйти стилистическая небрежность типа "читал – не читал" (а таких мест в романе более чем достаточно); гений сразу пишет вот так:

> В те дни, когда в садах Лицея
> Я безмятежно расцветал,
> Читал украдкой Апулея,
> А над Вергилием зевал …

Это – черновик той самой пушкинской строфы; вариант, который первым приходит гению в голову и ложится на бумагу. А вот как эта же строфа выглядела уже в беловой рукописи:

> В те дни, когда в садах Лицея
> Я безмятежно расцветал,
> Читал охотно Елисея,
> А Цицерона проклинал …

Тоже неплохо, но самый первый вариант был всё же лучше. Однако и этот почему-то не устроил

Пушкина, и в окончательном виде закрепилось то совершенно бездарное "читал – не читал", которое мы имеем в каноническом тексте».

Тема «Моцарта и Сальери» как главная идея романа. Полный провал Онегина как поэта-графомана, неспособного к самостоятельному творчеству, и несовместимость в творчестве графомана и гения определяют основную идею романа, выраженную в классической теме «Моцарта и Сальери». Аналогией убийства Моцарта в романе являются стихи рассказчика-Пушкина, испорченные Онегиным. Роман требует от читателя хорошего слуха и независимости суждений, но вместе с тем он самодостаточен, предназначен самой широкой аудитории и не предполагает наличия филологического образования с учёной степенью или специальных знаний о нравах и быте девятнадцатого века, выходящих за рамки общеизвестных. Ключевая фраза пролога – «Не продаётся вдохновенье, но можно рукопись продать» – прямо указывает на коммерческий характер отношений Онегина и Пушкина. Роман об Онегине, таким образом,– это очень личный рассказ А. С. Пушкина о себе, о неких обстоятельствах в его жизни, про которые он не мог сказать открыто. Если эта догадка верна, то можно полагать, что в реальной жизни А. С. Пушкин также практиковал коммерческое творчество – писал стихи на заказ для нуждающихся, а те в дальнейшем выдавали их за свои. Одним из таких «авторов» мог быть Николай Гнедич – успешный переводчик «Илиады», очень хороший декламатор, но весьма посредственный поэт. В тексте «Евгения Онегина» есть отсылка на идиллию Гнедича, которая считается его самым удачным самостоятельным произведением. Гнедич выступал в салонах как декламатор своих переводов Гомера и, по-видимому, выдавал там эту идиллию за собственное сочинение. Отличаясь по размеру от онегинской строфы, она выглядит в основном тексте «Евгения Онегина» как инородная вставка. Её присутствие могло бы

быть оправданно в качестве одной из подсказок читателю об авторском замысле, как указание на то, что её настоящим автором был сам А. С. Пушкин, что он, как и его двойник в романе, помогал друзьям в стихосложении. И если так, то вот перед нами неизвестное ранее стихотворение А. С. Пушкина:

Вот ночь; но меркнут златистые полосы облак.
Без звезд и без месяца вся озаряется дальность.
На взморье далеком сребристые видны ветрила
Чуть видных судов, как по синему небу плывущих.
Сияньем бессумрачным небо ночное сияет,
И пурпур заката сливается с златом востока:
Как будто денница за вечером следом выводит
Румяное утро.– Была то година златая.
Как летние дни похищают владычество ночи;
Как взор иноземца на северном небе пленяет
Сиянье волшебное тени и сладкого света,
Каким никогда не украшено небо полудня;
Та ясность, подобная прелестям северной девы,
Которой глаза голубые и алые щеки
Едва оттеняются русыми локон волнами.
Тогда над Невой и над пышным Петрополем видят
Без сумрака вечер и быстрые ночи без тени;
Тогда Филомела полночные песни лишь кончит
И песни заводит, приветствуя день восходящий.
Но поздно; повеяла свежесть на невские тундры;
Роса опустилась; … … … … … … … … …
Вот полночь: шумевшая вечером тысячью весел,
Нева не колыхнет; разъехались гости градские;
Ни гласа на бреге, ни зыби на влаге, все тихо;
Лишь изредка гул от мостов пробежит над водою;
Лишь крик протяженный из дальней промчится деревни,
Где в ночь окликается ратная стража со стражей.
Все спит. … … … … … … … … …

Завершая это краткое эссе, следует отметить, что Онегин – уникальный персонаж литературного произведения, единственный в своём роде, волей и гением автора наделённый способностью портить стихи о себе. Тема «Моцарта и Салье-

ри» – стержень и главная неизменная идея произведения, объединяющая разнородные по стилю и настроению главы «Онегина» в единое целое. Это центр кристаллизации всей громады романа, благодаря которому гениальные поэтические взлёты, соседствующие с демонстративно поданными беспомощными строфами и чудовищными рифмами вроде «утеса-черкеса» или «слилось-отозвалóсь», зияющие пустотой пропуски в тексте, спокойные лирические отступления и редкие по накалу страсти эпизоды повествования обретают композиционное единство. «Евгений Онегин» – непонятый и недооценённый шедевр мировой литературы, поскольку немногие произведения могут сравниться с ним по глубине замысла и мастерству исполнения.

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Section 10. Science of law

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LAW ON HUMAN TRAFFICKING CRIME PREVENTION AND COMBAT OF CHINA — REFERENCE VALUE FOR LAW ON HUMAN TRAFFICING CRIMINES PREVENTION AND COMBAT IN VIETNAM IN THE CONTEXT OF GLOBALIZATION AND SCIENTIFIC TECHNOLOGY REVOLUTION NOWADAYS

Abstract. In order to create a legal basis for the fight and prevention human trafficking crime, China has made recommendations and priority solutions to limit and prevent human trafficking. Especially it has criminalized all forms of human trafficking, established and systematized official mechanisms and procedures countrywide. The article was carried out extensive research into and clarify China's policies in human trafficking crime prevention and combat, on that basis, draws reference values on the law on preventing and combating human trafficking crimes in Vietnam in the context of globalization and the current scientific and technological revolution.

Keywords: Law on human trafficking crime prevention and combat; China; globalization; science and technology revolution.

1. Overview of human trafficking according to China law

The state of human trafficking in Vietnam and Southeast Asian countries is becoming more and more sophisticated and complicated; victims are concentrated mostly in China. China is the destination of 65–70% of victims of human trafficking in neighboring countries, in which the highest number of victims come from Vietnam [1]. The reason for that situation comes from China's geographical position as well as intrinsic social problems. It is a large country, bordering and having a long history of trade, attachment and influence with many countries in the region (Vietnam, Laos, Thailand, Myanmar…), people in the border areas of China and these countries had exchanges, travel, trade, and living conditions, creating favorable conditions for human trafficking crime to have the opportunity to operate long ago. On the other hand, China maintains a prolonged "One Child Policy", leading to a huge excess of men and a serious gender imbalance. Moreover, due to the need for economic reform and development, China has a serious labor shortage and needs foreign labor to fill the gap. From the above reasons has created an increasing motivation for cross-border human trafficking crimes.

In the context of globalization and scientific and technological revolution, the situation of human trafficking crimes tends to organize and internationalize. Along with the reflection and impact of countries, China has given views that against the crime of human trafficking and continuously through laws to suppress this crime type. However, until now, China has not had a specific law on the crime of human trafficking. China law also has not developed a specific concept of "human trafficking". The term "trafficking in persons" is criminalized with the crimes of "kidnapping and selling women and children" (Article 240 of the Penal Code) and "children buyers and kidnapped women" (Article 241 Criminal Code). On the other hand, the term "trafficking in persons" under China law includes only two subjects: women and children, not men.

In Article 240 of the Criminal Code of the People's Republic of China in 1997 (the nearest revised and supplemented edition in 2017), stipulates: "Anyone kidnaps and sells women and children shall be imprisoned for a period of time from five years to not over ten years and punishable by fines; if it is one of the following case, they shall be incarcerated for a term of not over ten years or life imprisonment, fined or confiscated of property; if the case is particularly serious, it will be faced the death penalty and property foreclosures:

1) The leader of a gang that kidnaps and sells women and children;

2) People who kidnaps and sells three or more women or children;

3) Adulterers and traffickers;

4) Engaging or forcing kidnapped women into prostitution or selling kidnapped women to others in order to force them to work as prostitutes;

5) Using violence, coercion or drug use to abduct women or children;

6) For the purpose of treason, stealing infants and children;

7) Causing serious injury, death or other serious consequences to kidnapped women, children or their relatives;

8) Selling women and children abroad.

By considering the above provisions, it can be seen that China law on human trafficking crime prevention and combat is strictly regulated in many legal documents; the term "trafficking in persons" is mentioned in many angles and in a wide range with many specific acts, including acts of intermediary aimed at putting victims in a situation where they have to participate in "sexual transactions", "unequal labor and pay" or "for organ".

In the context of globalization and the scientific and technological revolution with many current intertwined opportunities and challenges, criminal organizations are increasingly sophisticated, operating in many forms, using many methods and procedures for the purpose of deceiving and putting victims in a position of dependence, domination and control by these organizations, the development of "opening" regulations like this brings valuable practical reference for the process of developing and perfecting the law on prevention and combat of human trafficking in Vietnam.

2. The law on human trafficking crime prevention and combat of China -Advantages and disadvantages

* Advantages

The Criminal Code of China has set strict legal framework for acts involving offenses trafficking in persons, particularly kidnapping and trafficking of women and children. According to Article 240 of the China's Penal Code, those who kidnap and sell women and children shall be sentenced to imprisonment for a term of not less than 5 years but not more than 10 years and fined; if there is one of eight aggravating circumstances, the offenders shall be sentenced to imprisonment of more than 10 years or life imprisonment, moreover, it is fined or confiscated of property. Besides, the Law also clearly stipulates the penalty frame for "buyers" (Article 241) or people who obstruct the rescue of women and children by state agencies (Article 242), specifically:

Article 242 of the China's Penal Code stipulates that "Whoever uses violence or intimidation to obstruct the rescue of women or children by state em-

ployees shall be convicted and punished according to the provisions of Article 277 of this Law." [2]. Article 241 "Whoever buys a kidnapped woman or child shall be punished for a term not exceeding three years, detained or supervised criminally", and may even be punished following the provisions of synthetic penalty for criminals if both buying kidnapped victims and forcing sexual intercourse or depriving or restricting the victim's personal freedom; that means separating crimes to synthesize penalties without being considered as aggravating circumstances, different from the provisions of Vietnam law [3].

Overall, the criminalization of all acts related to trafficking in women and children of China law is a severe deterrent for the purpose of punishing and suppressing human trafficking crimes in accordance with the real situation. country's practice. The author considers that, for the next time, when the country's socio-economic continuously develops, along with the human trafficking problem becomes more complicated and seriously threatens public order and safety. China criminal law regulations can be a source of research for Vietnamese legislators.

* Disadvantage:

Firstly, China law has not defined closely and accordingly the term "trafficking in persons" with the TIP Protocol, charge of human trafficking in China is only set to women and children. With the current trend of globalization in everything, the moving influx of labor is happening all across in the world, prostitution is not only limited to women but also to men, the shortage of male labor has led to an increase in criminal activity of human trafficking in which male victims increase. Therefore, the regulation of the subject of trafficking under China law creates a legal "gap".

Secondly, the act of kidnapping as the main act to identify the crime of "kidnapping and selling women and children" is not really consistent with the actual situation. Nowadays, along with the continuous development of the economy, society, science and technology, new social relations, inadequacies constantly arise, that need to have law adjustment, criminal activities

increasingly sophisticated, complex, not only be simply kidnapping; human trafficking criminals can perform many methods and tricks directly as well as indirectly to deceive and seduce people into employment agencies, marriage brokers, tourism activities, etc. it purposes of defrauding people, especially cross-border trafficking in human. This can be seen as one of the "gap" for human trafficking criminals to choose China as the destination for victims from bordering countries.

3. Practical application of China's anti-human trafficking law

Nowadays, Chinese Government firstly announced "National Human Rights Action Plan (2009–2010)" on April, 13rd, 2009, China's human rights associated process began and gradually deepened. The development of different branches of law, including criminal law, is deeply influenced by the trend of strengthening human rights protection based on the constitutional principle of "respecting and protecting human rights". From "Anti-Trafficking in Persons Protocol" of the United Nations to "National Human Rights Action Plan (2009–2010)" of China, "China's Action Plan Against Trafficking in Women and Children" (2008–2012)", "China's Anti-Trafficking Action Plan (2013–2020)" all require the Government to take the main responsibility for crime prevention, combat and victim rescue [4].

China has made recommendations and priority solutions to limit and prevent human trafficking, such as: Respect the legal process, and actively investigate, prosecute and convict perpetrators of forced labor and sex trafficking, including as accomplices in government officials. China has updated its legal framework to criminalize all forms of human trafficking, including the organization of prostitution of minors under the age of 18, established and systematized formal mechanisms and procedures, actively to identify victims of trafficking across the country, including labor trafficking victims, Chinese victims returning from abroad and victims from vulnerable groups such as migrant workers as well as foreign and Chinese women and children arrested for alleged prostitution; train

frontline officials on how to do it. The state has expanded victim protection services to include comprehensive counseling, medical treatment, reintegration and other rehabilitation support for victims.

The Chinese Government uses social media as well as spread posters and other materials at transportation and community centers to raise public awareness of the issue, even poor rural areas. At least municipal government has funded anti-trafficking films. Scholars and experts point out that the gender imbalance caused by the former one-child policy may continue to lead to crime of human trafficking in China.

4. Reference values of China law on the prevention and combat of human trafficking crimes for Vietnamese law

Firstly, to complete the provisions of the criminal law on the crime of human trafficking following the direction in the current law that is a number of new acts have arisen that criminal organizations use. The term "trafficking in persons" under Vietnam law means the act of "using force, threatening to use force, deceiving or other tricks" to commit one of three acts specified in Article 150 of the Penal Code. Vietnam in 2015 (amended and supplemented in 2017). Vietnam's law does not have specific guidance on applying the term "other tricks" in any cases, so as "other tricks", in reality, many problems have arisen in social life. issues and acts without the use of force, threats to use force, or deception to commit acts of human trafficking.

Secondly, to develop specific guiding documents for the regulation of human trafficking crime to distinguish it from other crimes, it is advisable to separate some circumstances into new crimes instead of being considered as aggravating circumstances leading to difficult situation to determine crime. Specifically, consider the following situation:

The crime of human trafficking with the circumstance of "taking the victim's body parts" (point a, clause 3, Article 150 of the Vietnam Penal Code 2015) and the crime of murder (point h, clause 1 Article 123 of the Penal Code). Considering the situation, the person who commits the crime of human trafficking aims to get the organ "heart". Therefore, in this case, the wrongdoer knows that "heart" is an indispensable part in maintaining human life, if there is no heart, the victim will die; the wrongdoer still commits the crime resulting in the death of the victim, the definition of crime in this case has many conflicting views. In the author's point, in this case, it need to prosecute for two crimes of murder and human trafficking.

Thirdly, strengthen the internalization and complete the law on human trafficking crimes to meet the Conventions and Protocols that Vietnam has ratified. In there, accelerating the development of specific policies and guiding documents on receiving verification and supporting victims of trafficking; coordinate with China in reviewing, identifying, verifying and supporting victims to return home while reducing stigma and integrating into the community.

4. Conclusion

With the study from theory to practice of the law to prevent and combat human trafficking of the People's Republic of China, the author desire to contribute to raising public awareness about human trafficking prevention and combat. and is a reference source in proposing and advising on the promulgation and amendment of policies and laws; improve the capacity of the functional forces to perform official duties and international cooperation in order to improve the effectiveness of human trafficking crime prevention and combat in Vietnam in the next time.

References:

1. The first six months of 2020. Vietnam's Police and Border Guard forces investigated and discovered 236 cases, arresting 308 subjects of human trafficking and trafficking in people under 16 years of age to China.
2. See also Article 242 of the Penal Code of the People's Republic of China.

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WHAT ARE THE EFFECTS OF ONLINE HATE SPEECH ON A DIGITAL SOCIETY IN A FRAGILE DEMOCRACY LIKE GEORGIA?

Abstract. With the growing importance of social media across the globe, digital society has witnessed an upsurge in the amount of "hate speech" circulating online. Large majority of states lack legal framework that would deal with "hate speech" and would serve a useful purpose in drawing redlines between freedom of expression and hate speech so that hate speech is not normalized under disguise of freedom of opinion and expression. Consolidated democracies such as Germany have adopted laws that aim to regulate certain aspects of hate speech. When it comes to fragile and unconsolidated democracies, absence of laws, lack of communication with social media platforms as well as pitfalls in the judiciary system creates a set of challenges. This article discusses examples of online hate speech trending on Georgian social media. Georgia has been selected as a case country because it has fragile and unconsolidated democracy, problems of territorial integrity as well as tense political relationship with neighbouring Russia. Georgia is facing numerous challenges in connection with content moderation practices of online media. The article highlights not just external political factors that influence amount of online hate speech but problems inside the country that often serve as the basis for provoking conflicts between what is already a very polarized society. Hate speech rarely becomes subject of legal proceedings in Georgian courts but it has previously been discussed by the Georgian Media Regulator, Communications Commission. Often decisions handed down by the regulator are disproportionate to the aim and show a tendency to overregulate. The Article highlights that one of the ways to reduce amount of online hate speech in fragile democracies is strengthening relations with social media platforms and adopting self-regulatory bodies, such as setting up a Social Media Council model proposed by Article 19 and also pursuing activities that would enhance levels of media literacy amongst different societal groups.

Keywords: social media, digital society, online hate speech, religious hate speech, homophobic hate speech, principles of international law, incitement to acts.

1. Introduction

Social networks are platforms where users can "communicate, organize and share important information that impacts their lives" [6]. The biggest impact of social media platforms is the fact that it offers humans the freedom to express themselves freely. In that sense, of course, it does not mean that anyone can freely discriminate or use hate speech. Moreover, in this sense, it means freely sharing stories and problems that would not be visible in normal information networks. Control is the ability of a publisher to decide what content is presented on the platform. Everyone can choose what they want to publish on a social media platform; every user is provided with control over his/her content. Facebook defines "sharing" as a criterion for "contact, stay, and connect" [9]. Through this feature, Facebook believes that the world is becoming more open and transpar-

ent [13] and that it will create a better understanding and connection between people [13]. Due to the fact that platform content moderation systems developed very quickly, they are not designed to handle complexity and nuance. The platforms often state that they make attempts to protect freedom of expression. In practice, however, this means that racist and sexist comments are free online, masked by satire and irony [13]. Activists fighting against racism and sexism are particularly worried because platform decisions to tolerate insulting humor indicate that it is acceptable to have good opinions [13]. Suzor argues that hate speech is normalized in disguise [13].

For the purposes of this article, case country in question is Georgia, as it serves as an interesting example as a post-soviet country with a fragile democracy. Georgia is located in the Caucasus and Russia has occupied its territories of Abkhazia and South Ossetia. Russia and Georgia have always had a strained political relationship which led to the war in 2008 and further occupation of Georgian territories by Russia. According to Freedom on the Net Reports Georgia is the most democratic out of its neighbors which includes Azerbaijan, Armenia, Turkey and Russia [10]. To present day, social media in Georgia is unregulated. Disinformation and hate speech are the biggest challenges on social media. They are spread by extremist groups inside the country as well as by Russian intelligence agencies from outside the country.

Georgia has a very polarized society on political grounds. It faces both internal and external polarization. There are pro governmental groups and radical opposition groups. Georgia has a recent history of political prisoners, evidence of torture and inhumane treatment in prisons, media censorship and illegal surveillance of users. Almost all members of Georgian society are implicitly or explicitly affiliated with a ruling or opposition political party. Extremist right wing group is associated with Georgian Orthodox church, who to this day holds significant power over Georgian people.

Social media is plagued with hate speech, libel, defamation and fake news and rights of users are not sufficiently protected. Politicians are often targeted with hate speech on social media based on religious affiliation, physical characteristics or gender. It is obviously not just politicians who feel unprotected on social media, but also users who get attacked by other users who hold differing views. Georgia has no law for regulating online hate speech. Content moderation on social media is not effective and it is easy to detect hate speech. This leads to further polarization of the Georgian society and erosion of what is already a very fragile democratic state.

2. International Legal Framework of Freedom of Speech

Freedom of speech and expression is a fundamental human right protected by international treaties, conventions as well as state constitutions: Resolution No. 59 of the General Assembly of the United Nations 1946, Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights 1948, Article 10 of the European Convention on Human Rights, Article 19 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights 1966, Recommendation of the OECD Council on Open Government 2017 and Article 11 of the EU Charter of Fundamental Rights. Freedom of speech also protects freedom of opinion, which is an absolute right. However, platform recommendations and microtargeting may be compromising a right to form an opinion of a user, by implementing and imposing certain ideas through platform recommendations and microtargeting, which is a well-tested technique for spreading disinformation and manipulating freedom of opinion [5].

Freedom of expression is not an absolute right and maybe restricted only in accordance with exceptions provided for by law and when the limitation of a right is legitimate and proportional to the aim. This right is often interfered with by governments with the assistance from social media service providers.

Freedom of speech in a democratic society was discussed in a case of Handyside vs. United Kingdom [7] where stated that: "Freedom of expression constitutes one of the essential foundations of such a society,

one of the basic conditions for its progress and for the development of every man. Subject to (legitimate restrictions) it is applicable not only to "information" or "ideas" that are favorably received or regarded as inoffensive or as a matter of indifference, but also to those that offend, shock or disturb the State or any sector of the population. Such are the demands of that pluralism, tolerance and broadmindedness without which there is no "democratic society".

3. Definition of Hate Speech

There is no concrete definition of hate speech [12]. At times, it is unclear when "Freedom of Speech" turns into "Hate Speech". Article 20 of International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights 1966 states that "Any advocacy of national, racial or religious hatred that constitutes incitement to discrimination, hostility or violence shall be prohibited by law". Furthermore, Article 4 of International Convention on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination 1965 states that it "shall declare an offence punishable by law all dissemination of ideas based on racial superiority or hatred, incitement to racial discrimination, as well as all acts of violence or incitement to such acts against any race or group of persons of another color or ethnic origin, and also the provision of any assistance to racist activities, including the financing thereof". Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe Recommendation No R 97(20) 30.10.1997 on "hate speech" defined hate speech as "all forms of expression which spread, incite, promote or justify racial hatred, xenophobia, antisemitism or other forms of hatred based on intolerance, including: intolerance expressed by aggressive nationalism and ethnocentrism, discrimination and hostility against minorities, migrants and people of immigrant origin".

4. US Approach to Hate Speech

Most democratic countries have anti-hate speech laws, however, despite the ongoing debate in the US, the U. S. Supreme Court has to present day avoided adopting constitutional definition of hate speech. That is to say that hate speech has not been formally established as an exception to the First Amendment. However, "incitement to imminent lawless acts" does not fall under the protection of the First Amendment [14]. Pursuant to the unanimous decision handed down by the Supreme Court in the case of Bradenburg v. Ohio in 1969, Freedom of Expression can only be limited when it aims to incite lawless acts imminently and when there is a high probability that such acts will result from such actions [2].

Strossen submits that there is no clear and consistent definition of "hate speech" [14]. There are several arguments against adopting hate speech laws in the US. Firstly, if adopted as legal terms, "incitement to violence" or "incitement to illegal acts" is a broad definition that could catch all types of speech including political speech. Secondly, adopting broad hate speech laws could jeopardize future of political speech, which is obviously key to democracy. Secondly, there is no evidence to suggest that in countries where there are hate speech laws such as Germany and France, there is less hate speech and thirdly, even if there is a correlation between adopting hate speech laws and reduced hate speech content, the purpose does not justify the means as it leads to silencing of diverse views held by minority groups and in the end these processes lead to the erosion of democracy.

5. EU approach to Hate Speech

Article 10 of the European Convention on Human Rights protects freedom of speech. Degree of protection that this Article offers is dependent upon context in which speech is used and whether it is used for the purpose of pursuing legitimate aim. Political speech enjoys a high degree of protection. Political speech entails speech expressed against political debates, during election campaigns, criticism of political parties and against state governments. Often political debates are full of strong expression that may fall borderline on hate speech, but yet it enjoys protection under freedom of speech because it serves the aim of enhancing democratic processes. However, in many European states including Ger-

many, France, Denmark and the Netherlands, hate speech is criminalized.

6. Online Hate Speech

Hate Speech is used widely on internet and it is almost an uncontrolled phenomenon. This problem has been further exacerbated by the emergence and increase in the use of social media. Facebook's Community Standards define hate speech as "a direct attack on people based on what we call protected characteristics-race, ethnicity, national origin, religious affiliation, sexual orientation, caste, sex, gender, gender identity, and serious disease or disability" and protection is also provided for immigration status". Facebook's definition of hate speech is quite broad and certainly broader than that of Youtube or Twitter. After David Kaye, Special Rapporteur on the promotion and protection of the right to freedom of opinion and expression issued "Report on Content Moderation" in 2018, there seemed to be an agreement that social media platforms would apply or at least base their decisions on the standards of International Human Rights Law, for instance in the case of Facebook's Oversight Board. In a subsequent report issued by David Kay, he criticized social media companies for their handling of hate speech. He said that "Companies likewise are not taking seriously their responsibilities to respect human rights…It is on their platforms where hateful content spreads, spurred on by a business model and algorithmic tools that value attention and virality. They have massive impact on human rights and yet all fail to articulate policies rooted in human rights law, as the UN Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights call upon them to do" [15]. Furthermore, Kaye has submitted that when it comes to "hate speech" definition in offline world is very vague, even in instruments of International Human Rights Law. Therefore, as the evidence and case law discussed in this article suggests, most challenges come under the category of when free speech becomes hate speech and vice versa. Developing jurisprudence and "case law" on matters on how social media companies handle hate speech would certainly shed light to this problem, which is what Facebook's Oversight Board is attempting to do.

In the case of Balsytė-Lideikienė v. Lithuania [1], the ECtHR noted that user expresses aggressive nationalistic sentiments as his speech was aimed at inciting hate speech towards Polish people and Jews. The Court deemed limiting user's right of expression as legitimate and reasonable as such interference was necessary for protection rights of other users and reputation in a democratic society. Delfi AS v. Estonia [4] was one of the cases that was first discussed in a court where user responsibility for comments on a portal was discussed and comments were deleted on the grounds of containing hate speech. Even the most democratic states have faced problems of hate speech and abuse on social media. In July 2021, English footballers have become targets of racial abuse online after England's loss to Italy in the European football championship final penalty shootout. Furthermore, in the USA social media has played a pivotal role in orchestrating violence on Capitol Hill in January 2021.

Generally, human right treaties are binding on states and not on private organizations. However, since social media platforms have assumed a quasi-public role (arguably by default), they are no longer entirely private. Social media companies have their own standards and regulations for protecting human rights that are at times more stringent than the international human rights standard. The UN Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights (UNGPs) sets out an institutional framework for private companies. The Guiding Principles are meant to be a framework for private companies for respecting and protecting human rights. They are not binding but nonetheless, in future could form as a basis for developing jurisprudence for social media companies. In recent years, we have seen numerous attempts of developing global framework of digital rights for social media companies. In their work Gill, Redeker and Gasser (2015) classified four documents looking towards established, for social media platforms

a bill of rights. These four included "What next for the Social Network Users' Bill of Rights?" [24], "A bill of Rights for Users of the Social Web" [11], "Bill of Rights for Social Network users" by Ello [19] and the "Bill of Privacy Rights for Social Network Users" [16]. These articles possess not an ounce of value in regards to being legally binding, but rather they were published as guidelines by non-governmental organizations or individuals within the last decade.

7. Facebook's problems of Inconsistent Content Moderation

In 2017, in Packingham v. North Carolina, the Supreme Court ruled that Facebook was a public space and limiting freedom of expression in a public space would lead to violation of freedom of speech [18]. Critics argue that Facebook has assumed a role of "speech police" whilst applying its "Community Standards". It has also been submitted that guidelines that content moderators follow when moderating content are not transparent and from what one witnesses Facebook's content moderators are mainly motivated by their desire to satisfy popular opinion rather than actually distinguish between which content should be filtered and which should be left as it is. As Facebook is a public space according to Justice Kennedy's ruling in Packingham vs North Carolina [18], then one is faced with a more difficult set of questions such as what is speech, whether all types of speech have same level of protection etc.

8. Legal Framework on Hate Speech in Georgia

In Georgia, "freedom of expression" is codified in Article 24 of the Constitution. Despite the fact that Georgia is subject to UN "International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination", hate speech in Georgia is not criminalized. Georgia has not yet adopted anti hate speech laws. According to draft "Audiovisual law on Media and Radio Services", „indecent" and "obscene" language could be classified as hate speech [8]. Before adoption of the Audiovisual law, Clause 56 of the Broadcasting Law governs categories of broadcasted programs that could be deemed to contain hate speech [8]. Violations under Clause 56 of the Broadcasting Law are then governed by the Code of Conduct of Broadcasters [8]. Namely, under Clause 56, any type of content that in any form contain incitement of conflict on grounds of race, ethnicity, religion or incitement of discrimination or violence in an implicit or explicit manner are banned. Also, any program that is aimed at insult or discrimination on grounds of ethnicity, religion, views, sexual orientation, gender or caste or any other quality are prohibited with the exception of when these programs are broadcasted with the purpose of actually illustrating the problem.

However, this is about to change with the adoption of the audiovisual law. "Hate Speech" is not criminalized in Georgia which means that if a person uses "hate speech" on social media which falls outside the remit of broadcasting law, legal proceedings can be started in court on grounds of compensation of immaterial harm.

Georgian constitutional court notes that "In general, state cannot restrict speech based on the fact that a type of information or ideas may be emotionally detrimental or can lead to incitement of an "unacceptable act" [8]. Unfortunately, in Georgia, literacy levels on what falls under the category of "hate speech" is very low and users find it very difficult to distinguish between "hate speech" and "freedom of expression". This is further aggravated by the fact that "hate speech" is mainly spread by politicians from the ruling party as well from the leading opposition parties and bots and trolls who work for political parties. Also, satellite TV channels to the biggest political parties, such as POST TV, Mtavari Arkhi and their journalists broadcast hate speech in their programs, even though this leads to a very polarized environment. Ruling party in power, "Georgian Dream" practically does not react to hate speech (no laws in force, ignorance of particular cases). As these cases go unpunished, people do not view use of hate speech as a problem. In 2018, Georgian president Mrs. Salome Zourabichvili, became target of an online hate speech during her electoral campaign. As

a result, she called for the criminalization of online hate speech in Georgia. This idea was deeply unpopular and opposed by human rights organizations.

In Georgia, there is ample recent evidence to support the observation that "anti-hate speech laws" if adopted could in fact lead to state censorship. Georgian media regulator, Communications Commission censored a TV program of a pro-opposition TV channel, Mtavari Arkhi for featuring Minister for Finance in an "awkward position" which was classified as a "hate speech" [26]. Civil Sector deemed this as a disproportionate and illegitimate act of use of power by Communications Commission motivated by political considerations as the broadcaster, "Mtavari Arkhi" is known to be very critical of the ruling party, "Georgian Dream". Therefore, it is questionable whether fragile democracy such as Georgia would benefit from having a legislation similar to Germany's NetzDG as it may be used as a tool for state censorship.

9. Pitfalls in the Practice of Georgian Judiciary

Several laws regulate freedom of expression in Georgia, in particular the Law on Freedom of Speech and Expression and the Law on Electronic Communications which provide civil penalties for making defamatory statements online.

In 2015, amendments to the criminal code criminalized "public calls to violent actions" aimed at "causing discord between religious, racial, ethnic, social, linguistic, or other groups" under Article 239. Accordingly, this law covers online acts of incitement.

In Georgia, online freedom of speech is protected, however there are cases, when the government responds to online internet users in response to their expression of hate speech and incitement of violence, often such responses are disproportionate.

For instance, in 2019, the Court in its precedential decision found a student guilty of petty crime, due to the fact that student used insulting language about a lecture in a closed Facebook group. In view of human rights activists this precedent may put un-

der question boundaries of freedom of expression. It can be the basis for suing users for using insulting language.

"In November 2018, a court in Tbilisi sentenced user Orkhan Abbasov to four years in prison for a 2016 Facebook post made during clashes between Azerbaijan and Armenia. Abbasov, an ethnic Azeri, called on his Facebook friends to besiege the Armenian embassy in Georgia and take the Armenian ambassador hostage. Although Abbasov deleted the post after several days, the court convicted him in accordance with Article 330 of the criminal code, which prohibits public support of terrorist activities and terrorist organizations or publicly calling for terrorism" [10].

These cases are especially worrying in light of the fact that Georgian court lacks independence, which significantly challenges democratic development of the country. Despite the fact that several set of reforms have been implemented in Georgian court, independence from state still has not been achieved. Particular problems emerge from the lifetime appointments of judges who are known to be unqualified and have made numerous unjust decisions during their career. According to the report issued by "Non-governmental organization "International Transparency, Georgia" "Amongst the institutions operating in the country, Georgian court is one of the institutions that is least trusted by the public. 53% of Georgian public think that, the Court system is under the influence of the governing party, and another 50% think that court is not impartial [20].

10. Online Hate Speech in Georgia

Internet is part of our daily lives and we live in a digitalized world. Some countries have gone as far as enshrining right to access Internet in their constitutions, this includes fragile democracies such as Georgia. Amendments to the Georgian Constitution have provided extra layer of safety amid "Internet Shutdowns" that have taken place in countries such as Belarus and Turkey (UN Report, 2021) [25]. Disproportionate measures such as "Internet Shutdowns" violate the requirement of necessity, legitimacy and

proportionality that are usually preconditions for limiting a right as international human rights law conventions do. Social Media usage has increased rapidly during the outbreak of Covid 19 in 2020, as due to imposed lockdowns users started spending more time online. Social media is plagued with content containing misleading information or disinformation and hate speech. Social Media in Georgia is dominated by political, religious, homophobic and gender-based hate speech.

10.1 Religious Hate Speech

Orthodox religion plays a pivotal role in the life of Georgian society. Constitutional agreement between the Georgian state and Georgian Orthodox Church highlights the role of the Georgian Church in the state [21].

The Constitution of Georgia describes the interrelations between the Church and the State "The State declares full freedom of belief and religion, and also recognizes the special role of the Apostolic Autocephaly Orthodox Church of Georgia in the history of Georgia and its independence from the State." (Par. 1 of Article 9 of the Constitution). During the last decades, based on the public polls, Georgian Patriarch is the leading figure that is most popular with the Georgian public above all political leaders.

Big part of the Georgian society carries out daily religious rituals and demonstrate sensitive attitude when it comes to critics of the Georgian Church. At the same time, Georgian Church still practices archaic rituals and often becomes target of ridicule and hatred in social media.

Hate speech entails not just insulting, condemnation, criticism, making fun of someone due to his/her religious views on religious grounds, but also actions that aim to incite violence or discrimination against religious groups. ECtHR rules that, when criticism is insulting feelings of religious people, positive obligation arises upon a state to protect feelings of religious groups to ensure protection of their religious rights. In 2017, painting by Georgian painter Lia Ukleba showed Mary, the mother of Je-

sus holding a pistol against her head. The painting was circulated on social media and led to debate between human rights activists who argued that it was merely a form of expression and on the other hand, users who believed this was just an open-end attack on Orthodox religion, insult and degrading behavior that amounted up to "hate speech". Considering the context and the history of Georgian Church, such form of painting could be classified as hate speech. Despite numerous reports on Facebook, the painting was circulating on social media without any form of content moderation.

Also, it is worth highlighting that there are radical groups amongst supporters of the Georgian Church who can be aggressive, they successfully use social media for creating events and organizing demonstrations that often turn into violent scenes resulting in assaults and even deaths.

10.2 Homophobic Hate Speech

Georgia has an unstable political scene. In July 2021, over 50 journalists were attacked by homophobic groups protesting a planned LGBT Pride march. Protests of extreme right-wing groups such as Georgian March are usually organized through Facebook. This was the case in 2019 when a group backed by Georgian Orthodox Church protested screening of a Georgian film on homosexual romance. Film premiere took a violent turn and had a worldwide press coverage for all the wrong reasons.

According to the report issued by Media Development Fund in 2019, a total of 1918 statements have been detected that contain discriminatory language including across six online journals: Sakinform, Netgazeti, InterPressNews, Georgia and the World, PIA and MarshallPress. 63.3% of these statements contained homophobic message whilst 28.1% contained xenophobic messages. Out of the xenophobic messages, 51.5% contained anti-migration discourse and 25.3% contained Turkophobic statements. The messages included phrases such as "migrants = rise of crime, sexual violence, demographic threats", "the educational system prepares adolescents for Otto-

manization and Arabization", "Turkey is a historic enemy"; "If Russia is an occupier, then Turkey is an occupier as well" [3].

Posts of similar character have been circulating in social media. In March 2020, when Covid 19 spread in the municipality of Marneuli which is populated with ethnic Azerbaijani people, when it was not yet spread in other regions and cities of Georgia, Social Media became plagued with comments full of aggressive xenophobic statements towards Azerbaijani people such as "Encarcerate All!", "Kill them all", "Rip their heads off". Authors of xenophobic statements highlighted the fact that Azerbaijani people who are citizens of Georgia, do not speak Georgian language. Aggression became so viral that young Azerbaijani people started an online campaign "No to discrimination", "I speak Georgian and I am complying with regulations and staying at home!"

Similar cases happen quite often on Facebook. This example clearly falls under the definition of "incitement to violence". However, hate speech of this kind is often unnoticed both from the side of the state as well as from the side of the platforms. Such cases are solely reflected in accounts and reports prepared by civil society representatives [22].

11. Selective Fact Checking in Georgia

Social media platforms have reached some degree of transparency over political advertising but the information available is often too limited and checks are optional. Georgian NGOs have become part of a fact checking network of Facebook in order to report disinformation in the run up to Parliamentary elections in 2020. NGOs that have become part of the fact checking networks are not carrying out their functions in an objective way. This is due to the fact that they are mainly made up of former state officials who are now heading non-governmental organizations.

Unlike, advanced democratic states, Facebook has no formal representation in Georgia. More recently, a weak relationship has been established with Facebook, by Georgian fact checking organization, Media Development Fund. As it was mentioned many organizations in civil sector as well as this particular NGO, are often made up of people who used to work at high positions of the Nationalist Party, party previously in government, therefore the reporting and fact checking is often selective and one sided and tends to serve interests of promoting political agenda for a particular party instead of taking steps towards achieving a fair social media space for all.

12. Platform Liability in Georgia

As mentioned in the report of the Special Rapporteur on the promotion and protection of the right to freedom of opinion and expression (A/74/486, para. 55) social media companies have "responsibility as creators of platforms on which hateful content thrives".

In spite of problems that come from social media, Georgian stakeholders never express the opinion that Facebook should share responsibility for these events that are organized through the platform. In the framework of Facebook's Inauthentic Coordinated Report numerous Georgian websites operated by bots and trolls have been shut. This was widely discussed in media, however, none of the discussions questioned Facebook's decisions.

Usually extremist groups inside Georgia or Russian security forces are blamed, but never social media service providers. Also, no one seems to question legitimacy of the "investigation" conducted by Facebook and whether in fact Facebook had legitimate grounds for closing accounts, pages, groups that Facebook proved to be linked to one particular party or another.

Moreover, lack of case law and legislation in Georgian courts on social media goes to show that social media service providers are viewed as neutral and unattainable by Georgian society and therefore their decisions are not questioned.

13. Conclusion

Hate speech is difficult to regulate. One must think carefully before constructing obligations or any type of legal framework that would make social media service providers responsible for proactively moderating content, as this may have a tremendous chilling

effect and detrimentally affect core democratic values. Arguably, there is certain type of content where it is legitimate for social media service providers to have a legislative role. There is a strong argument for the legitimacy of social media platforms to be free to decide on what appears on the newsfeed. On the other hand, this may interfere with user's right to form an opinion. Balancing rights and freedoms will be a constant struggle for regulators, academics, platforms and human rights' organizations.

Based on the nature of the internet, it seems that even if particular content is published for the duration of one minute, damage has already been incurred. This can have lifelong affects if a matter in question involves personal reputation or data of a user. Thus, when it comes to harm originating from social media, talk of restitution is often irrelevant.

As highlighted in the report by UN special rapporteur for Human Rights [23], in governing online hate speech, Facebook must rely on principles of international law, even though managing such volume of content which is created by more than 2 billion users on daily basis whilst having a regard for different cultural contests, is beyond the capabilities of even the most gigantic technological company such as Facebook. Georgia, is an example that hate speech is expressed in more than one way, which goes unnoticed by state structures as well as by social media platforms, such as Facebook. We witness number of comments and posts that fall

under the category of "incitement to acts" against group of persons of another ethnic origin or against people based on their religious views. Reporting mechanism is almost useless, as Facebook only reacts to reports if it is connected to inauthentic coordinated behavior and is part of a large scheme or alternatively, if Facebook receives numerous reports about it (this has been the reason why one of the medical groups "Med Guide" has been shut several times) or if the report is made by NGO that is part of Facebook's third party fact checking network [24]. Therefore, this type of reporting is often selective and based on political preferences of a reporter and does not in fact aim to eradication or reduce hate speech. Large part of reporting concerns fake news and disinformation and not hate speech. Creation of Facebook's Oversight Board is certainly a step forward, but it is still early days to judge whether the Board will be effective for individual countries, however this instrument will not be able to tackle all challenges. Therefore, it is recommended that further research needs to be conducted amongst academic circles and international organizations, about the type of mechanism that can be implemented in future. An example of one type of regulation concept is the social media councils proposed by Article 19. Also it is important to enhance levels of media literacy amongst different segments of society and to conduct trainings for constraining spread of online hate speech.

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