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**POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC  
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FORMS OF POLITICAL,  
ECONOMIC, AND SOCIAL  
RESILIENCE DURING PANDEMIC  
TIMES**

October 21st, 2022

Federal University of Santa Catarina, Brasil

Edited by **Andreaia Giacomozzi, Risa Permanadeli,  
Irina Bondarevskaya**

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Federal University of Santa Catarina, Florianópolis, 2022

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## **ART-MEDIATED CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION**

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### **Abstract**

The paper deals with description of art-development techniques in the context of psychological adaptation of migrants. Instructions to art-development techniques Lotus-collage, Wish-hand, Hands of reciprocity are described. Art-development techniques through awareness of feelings, emotions, states help adults to see changes from the point of opening perspectives for development. Art-development techniques can serve for prevention of depressive states. Integration of migrants in accepting communities and societies is one of the most important topics in citizenship education. Groups of psychological support can serve for prophylaxis of deep depressive states and enhance emotional adaptability. Consequently, highly qualified migrants are able to contribute much more effectively in the development of accepting communities by realizing their skills.

### **Introduction**

Promotion of development is one of the basic tasks of educators which concerns not only definite people but also communities and societies in which educators work. Citizenship education both formal and informal opens space for development of social skills necessary for living in the modern world. One of such skills is respect for diversity which in its essence undermines prejudices.

Representatives of different social groups can contribute into development of communities and societies if they are given opportunity to develop themselves. Prejudices brought by some educators into education activity hinder personal development of representatives of disadvantaged social groups and consequently hinder development of communities and societies.

Modern societies encounter quick changes which require quick adjustments. These changes lead to diversification of societies and communities. Global businesses, availability of information, travelling and growing migration require development of skills concerning

tolerance to diversity. In such conditions, educators need both to develop such tolerance in themselves and spread it through their teaching activity among pupils and students.

Tolerance to diversity can encounter ideological, religious, gender relations, etc. Norms widely spread in definite communities and societies that will require much tolerance itself and development of skills in changing such stagnated norms for the sake of development on the levels of a person, a community, a society and global human civilization.

In modern global world development, communities and societies become impossible without respect to diversity. Prejudices, on the contrary, lead to stagnation. Changing stagnated norms require much time and efforts when it goes in evolutionary way without violating human rights.

## **Objectives**

The **aim** of this article is to present art-development techniques which can be applicable in citizenship education of adults in the context of migration.

## **Results**

Inclusion of migrants into accepting communities is one of the most important topics in citizenship education. Highly qualified migrants experience a range of psychological challenges due to professional downshifting and necessity to acquire new skills very quickly. Difficulties in finding a job corresponding to the level of qualifications, can lead to depressive states of different degrees. Those highly qualified migrants who were forced to change place of living due to war risks can also experience temporary decrease of cognitive abilities and emotional inadaptation. Groups of psychological support can prevent deep depressive states and enhance emotional adaptation. As a consequence, highly qualified migrants are able to contribute much more effectively to accepting communities by realizing their skills to the full.

In order to contribute into psychological support of Ukrainian highly qualified migrants, NGO Center for Personal and Social Transformations launched an online project “World Roads” with online meetings every Sunday. Art-development sessions last 1,5 – 2 hours and consist of drawing algorithms and modeling a solution of request (resource or goal) with baking foil or colored plasticine. In general, art-development sessions help migrants to containerize intense emotions and find solutions to problems in complicated life situations. Participants of art-development sessions come through art-development transformations.

Art-development techniques, elaborated by me, mostly concern resources and identity, and as a consequence solution to request comes out from subconscious as an insight.

Art-development techniques through awareness of feelings, emotions, states help adults to see changes from the point of opening perspectives for development (Bondarevskaya, 2020). In this article, I would like to present the following art-development techniques: Wish hand, Hands of reciprocity, and Lotus-collage.

***Wish hand*** is an algorithm/art-development technique which suits for adults experiencing crisis of identity and middle age crisis. Such crises are especially sharp among highly qualified migrants/refugees. Before starting to draw, participants are urged to ask themselves: what kind of life they want to live, what they hold in their hands in such life. This technique is also applicable to more particular situations, especially with high level of uncertainty, when there is not enough information to make a decision. In such case, questions concern what a person wants to obtain, to hold in hands in this situation.

Instruction for drawing includes tracing outline of a hand with a pencil on a paper vertically and then filling in the hand shape with simple geometric forms like circle, oval, square, triangle. It is possible to add lines. Every geometric form bears meaning of what a person wants to hold in hands in a particular situation or in life in general. It is preferable to draw using colored pencils. If participants are willing to draw a geometric form without understanding what meaning it can contain, it is possible. Understanding the meaning can come later. Participants can write meanings of geometric forms on the drawings or in some other places. It is important to pay attention to personal meanings of colors. If somebody does not like the hand which he/she drew, it is possible to draw another one.

***Hands of reciprocity*** is an algorithm/art-development technique which helps adults to see what they give and what they obtain in relations or in interaction. This art-development technique promotes acceptance of a situation, acceptance of personal position in a situation in order to improve it or leave it. It also promotes love to oneself and self-acceptance.

Instruction. On a horizontally situated paper, trace outline of one hand putting the hand diagonally on the paper, then trace outline of another hand putting the hand along another diagonal so that hands partly overlap each other. The first hand is the hand which you use to take, the second hand is the hand which you use to give. Look attentively on the overlapping zone to see geometric figures. Mark and fill in with colour those figures which you are willing to see more vividly. Do you see shape of heart somewhere? Are you willing to fill it in with colour? You can add more geometric figures to taking and giving hands if you wish. Describe your vision of situation verbally. Did you have any insights during drawing? How do you feel about your drawing and about situation? Did your understanding of situation change?



*Lotus-collage* is an algorithm/art-development technique which suits for adults who experience crisis of identity, middle-age crisis or suffer from high level of uncertainty. This art-development technique combines effects of mandala and collage. Psychological effects of mandala were widely described by art-therapists, e.g. O. Voznesenska (2015). Psychological effects of collages were distinguished and described by O. Sknar (2008).

Instruction for the first stage of Lotus-collage technique. In the middle of horizontally situated sheet of paper, draw a circle inside which there will be collage. You can also cut a circle with image and glue it in the middle of a sheet of paper. Collect images which reveal positive emotions in you. Images of what you want to have in your life. You can also cut words. Glue the collage inside the circle thinking about what you want to have in your life.

Around the circle contour, draw petals using coloured pencils. You can write inside petals what personality traits and other resources can help you to have what you want to have in your life. You can also write on petals what actions should be committed to have in life what you collected inside the circle. Who you can apply for help and support?

What emotions do you have looking at your Lotus?

What insights and understandings did you have during this stage of technique?

Instruction for the second stage of Lotus-collage technique. Space around your Lotus-collage bears the meaning of what you want to have around you. Some participants do not want to fill in this space and prefer to leave it empty. That can mean psychological isolation as the result of negative experience or something else. The space around Lotus is to be filled in with images of what participants want to be surrounded by, what makes them feel joy and happiness.

Art-development technique Lotus-collage effects emotional state of participants, helps to see positive opportunities and contains diagnostic component. It is important to ask about personal meanings of images and symbols as well as choice of colours when participants describe their Lotus-collages verbally.

Every art-development session which lasts 1,5 – 2 hours is finished by making solution or resource with coloured plasticine or baking foil. On this stage, most participants have insights promoted by fine motor skills usage. That is usually the solution of the request.

## **Conclusion**

The mentioned above art-development techniques can be implemented in psychological adaptation of refugees. These techniques were tested on the project “World roads” implemented by NGO Center for Personal and Social Transformations that was designed for

Ukrainian refugees and Ukrainians who stayed in Ukraine during the war with the Russian Federation in 2022.

Moving to safe regions from war is accompanied by negative emotional states which are caused by high level of uncertainty, necessity to change profession, low income, etc. besides war trauma. Many refugees pass through the state when they are not able emotionally to feel “taste of life” even when they have everything for that. Art-development techniques can serve for prevention of depressive states development among refugees.

Most adults do not use or minimize fine motor skills which are effective for stabilization of emotional state in any age. Quite often emotions effect decision-making. Awareness of emotions through drawing psychological algorithms, usage of coloured pencils, markers, coloured plasticine and baking foil modeling engage fine motor skills of arms, promote expression of emotions in creativity, their transformations through creativity and consequently enable to look at the situation from new side, see situation in integrity, in the context, from the point of opening perspectives and opportunities.

Refugees frequently have to make decisions which are difficult to make only rationally in conditions of high uncertainty – experience of successful decisions in the past becomes irrelevant in changed conditions of the present. Subconscious of an adult person processes information very quickly but it is not easy to obtain access to results of this information processing. Making decisions only rationally can be misleading as it is easy not to take into consideration a factor which will become crucial in the future. Every person will have his/her crucial factor depending on individual system of values and beliefs. It is worth mentioning that addressing subconscious in order to choose optimal decision does not exclude rational models of decision-making but is rather complimentary to them.

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# SOME THEORETICAL REFLECTIONS AND FINDINGS CONCERNING SENSITIVE OBJECTS OF REPRESENTATIONS

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## Introduction

In the social representations field, there are social phenomena that even if they meet the conditions to be approached as an object of representation, they can be characterized by an ambiguous content due to the presence of certain "hidden areas". These phenomena can be treated as sensitive ones. Their sensitive feature results from the conflictual intergroup dynamic that they may create, and for this reason sometimes the social discussions about them are avoided in the intergroup frame. Being self-censored in various social interactions, these phenomena can remain relatively "absent" in the attempt to research them. The problem faced by researchers in investigating the social representations (SR) of these phenomena would be: is a representation present or not in this case?

## Objectives

In this paper, I am going to briefly discuss several aspects: how these phenomena, as objects of representation, can become sensitive; what are the socio-ideological conditions that make them like this in the collective imaginary; and how they manifest in the intergroup context, as well as, within research situations.

## Results

### *A social phenomena can become an "object of representation" (OR)...*

...namely, an object of social knowledge, derived from the direct or indirect experience of the group, having profound social implications. The appearance of an OR generates public debates that can be contradictory, leading to potential conflicts and social imbalances. Any OR, as Kalampalikis and Apostolidis explain (2021), contains certain "zones of tension", i.e., each object involves certain conflicting contents. In accordance with these authors, we will emphasize that, depending on the OR, the identification of these "zones of tension" allows for a better understanding of the context in which the meanings and practices related to the object are elaborated. These meanings can be consensual, varied or polarized, being expressed in relation to those who are involved in the process of anchoring, communicating and negotiating the meanings, being, at the same time, the expression of the historical, sociocultural and group context (Kalampalikis and Apostolidis, 2021).

### ***An OR can furthermore become a "sensitive object"...***

...depending on the way it is approached in the academic environment, the way it is communicated in society or in specific social groups, and the dynamics of intergroup relations. Sensitive objects are objects with a strong identity and symbolic stakes, based on intergroup antagonisms, being perceived as significant for one group and threatening for other social groups, and with counter-normative aspects, "areas of tensions" and contradictions in their SR content (Cojocaru, 2018).

### ***How do OR can become sensitive objects, respectively?***

Institutions with social authority (religious, political, medical, scientific etc.) contribute to the legitimization of some beliefs or opinions that become socially acceptable (Guimelli, 2010). When opinions and beliefs are legitimized by social institutions, they will be expressed openly, otherwise they will be silenced, especially when there are risks of social sanctions. Their sensitive character is also determined by the nature of intergroup relations, by normative and counter-normative social behaviours that are approved or disapproved by the society (Staerkle, 2013). Those sanctioned by society, but still accepted by the social group, will be masked in a public register. In this sense, Vala (2013) argues how anti-racist normative pressures after the Second World War determined transformations in the SR of racism; Liu *et al.* (2002) show how the severe control exercised by the state over the educational system and mass media blocks the exposure of alternative visions of history, implicitly, the emergence of polemical SR; likewise, Guimelli *et al.* (2010) note that the judicial verdict in the case against *Charlie Hebdo* led to changes in relation to certain counter-normative beliefs in the content of SR of the Muslim community. Once certain beliefs acquire a level of legitimacy, the masking strategies, that subjects usually resort to camouflage them, are no longer necessary.

Sensitive objects can also be determined by certain past controversies that have not been resolved. In this case, they are not directly related to the present in-group knowledge, experience or social practices, but they are related to the in-group past, to the actions or social practices undertaken in the past and which are transmitted to subsequent generations (e.g., studies show that guilt for the negative actions of the in-group in the past is experienced more intensely by later generations than by those who participated in those actions).

Historical events considered "shameful" can also become sensitive objects. Delouvé (apud Wolter, 2010) presents an example in this sense: the defeat at Sedan – this episode in the history of France caused an explosion of public shame, the name "Sedan" also having the role of nexus, generating an intense emotional charge and a strong rejection.

### ***Difficulties to capture the content of SR...***

...over time, the discourse on sensitive objects can turn into a taboo issue. Due to the perceived incapacity to influence the *Other* in public debates, and following a prolonged period of inability to develop social consensus, the sensitive objects can go into a register of "silenced" topics, which are not discussed, at least not in public debates. Being subject to self-censorship in various social interactions, they could remain absent in the attempt to analyse them, being characterized by contradictory discourses and difficulties in structuring some SR in the collective imaginary, with ambiguous cognitive elements whose central and peripheral elements are difficult to clearly capture. The dilemma faced by the researchers investigating the representation of these objects would be: is an SR present or not in this case?

We can highlight two types of "sensitive objects" (cf. Cojocaru, 2018): a) the social phenomena which although triggering a representational process, due to its extremely sensitive character, since the emergent period of an SR, still remain a poorly defined object at the representational level, and b) the object of representation which becomes sensitive over time, after repeatedly being confronted with a denied or contested representation from the *Other*. Therefore, it is difficult for the first to be *represented* in the collective imaginary, and for the second, to be *re-presented* in an intergroup context. Although contradictory meanings can coexist in the content of a SR, we would add that these meanings coexist, without excluding each other, as long as they are not expressed in an intergroup frame marked by polemical discourses (cf. Cojocaru, 2018). In this case, the discourse related to sensitive objects is limited to in-group settings, where it can be freely expressed, without causing tensions with the *Other*. Outside this context, discourse, and implicitly the potential conflict, lie dormant, unvoiced, non-externalized.

In the case of sensitive objects, to recognize the discourse of one group (implicitly, its SR) means to deny that of another group. They are not complementary, but *conflictually* opposed to each other. This opposition of discourses related to sensitive objects and the difficulty of addressing them electrifies social interactions. Therefore, the communication framework is often restricted to that of the in-group. Sensitive objects are objects that fall into the gap with a less satisfactory reality, take the form of polemical SR for various social actors, generating conflict situations, derived from the contradictory nature of discourses and placing social groups, but sometimes also academic ones, in apparently irreconcilable oppositions.

## Conclusions

Research of sensitive objects raises several questions that researchers should try to answer: why certain elements of SR content are not expressed by the people and why they do not appear in the data collected from them; what are the factors that influence the subjects' discursive productions and how could we access the "unspoken" part of the SR; respectively, what are those psychosocial conditions of interaction that favour the emergence of a more truthful discourse. In relation to a sensitive object, the subjects produce a normative discourse under usual conditions of interaction, therefore special conditions are needed to access the latent content of the subjects' speech. That means a permanent resizing of the research strategy, a readjustment of the methodology and, consequently, a refinement of the analysis that will allow a better understanding.

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# DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIAL SKILLS AND PERSONAL RESILIENCE TO SOCIAL CHALLENGES

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## **Introduction**

In the life of an individual, social skills are a fundamental condition for successful personality development, mental health, and competent resolution of difficult situations.

Many people are currently suffering from a variety of external and internal conditions, such as the ongoing COVID-19 pandemic, isolation, broken communication lines, the socio-economic crisis in the world, migration processes due to wars and their impact on citizens of other countries. In addition, there is a high workload and, as a result, an inability to constructively overcome a stressful situation, which leads to premature burnout of employees and disruptions in the work process.

Why is resistance so important? This is a component of our life, which not only affects the mental health of each of us, but also leaves an imprint on the quality of our life, on the individual resources of the individual.

An important element of mental resilience (that is, the ability to withstand social and individual challenges) is the formation of a constructive model of behaviour that supports the mental health of the individual. Therefore, the issue of preservation and development of sustainability is a practical-oriented problem of modern society.

In order to cope with increased work demands, it is extremely important to strengthen the psychological stability of employees. Even when faced with high demands, resilience allows for adaptation and development, and thus promotes mental health. Concept of resilience not only applies to individuals, but is also used in the context of teams and organizations.

## **Objectives**

The development and maintenance of stress resistance is an important component of a specialist's mental health. The topic of development and maintenance of resilience is relevant for today, adaptation to external challenges, formation of constructive models of behaviour will ensure the generation of mentally healthy workers in the future. This article proposes to reveal the essence and features of resilience and the factors of its influence on the personality.

## **Results**

In many studies, resilience has many meanings and usually refers to the ability of a dynamic system to respond adaptively to environmental influences. There are two distinct dimensions in the resilience framework: exposure to significant risk and evidence of positive adaptation (Luthar & Cicchetti, 2000; Luthar et al., 2000; Zautra et al., 2008). It is important to understand resilience as an active dynamic, an adaptation to stressors, rather than as an inert trait or predisposition.

The end of the 20th century is the peak of stress resistance research. During this time, researchers collected a large amount of data on resilience and began to develop various psychotechnologies to support and develop it.

Developing social skills and personal resilience to social challenges is very important today, especially when it comes to promoting and supporting mental health in the workplace. This is a promising way to prevent mental disorders, negative effects of stress and professional burnout. A variety of social factors, such as the digitalization of society, new demands from employers - all this leads to increase in stress at work, and promoting resilience becomes an additional interventional approach in health promotion, alongside the reduction of actual stress. However, there has also been criticism of focusing only on promoting sustainability in the workplace. Critics believe that only by developing resilience can workers adapt to a work environment that has always been stressful. Instead, the focus should be on improving working conditions, e.g. reduction of tension and stress.

However, the example of an unexpected global crisis, such as the one we are currently experiencing with the Covid-19 pandemic, shows very impressively how important mental capacities really are to cope with stressful exceptional situations. Therefore, it is useful to acquire and train resilience skills early on. Coping with crises and severe stress is required of us throughout our lives - both in private and professional spheres.

In the context of the environmental and economic crisis of the 21st century, during the COVID-19 pandemic, research on stress resilience has reached a peak of relevance. Since around 2000, the topic of resilience research has also gained international importance in relation to migration. Psychiatrist Borys Tsyurulnyk, Swiss teacher Corina Wustmann, Indian psychologist Sunia S. Luthar from Arizona State University and many other researchers who worked extensively on resilience, made the main contribution to the study of resilience.

Resilience research is important today, because understanding a person's capacity for constructive behaviour that leads to psychologically positive adaptation helps in the development of special intervention programs for psychoprophylaxis and development of resilience, abilities to independently overcome stressful situations, etc.



When analysing resilience studies, one can highlight the most important factors that influence the resilience of a personality. That is personal factors, environmental influences and process factors:

- *Personal Factors* – your own culture, community, social and school environment, family support;
- *Environmental influences* – cognitive abilities, emotional intelligence, expectation of self-efficacy, tolerance for uncertainty, problem-solving oriented;
- *Process Factors* – the ability to recognize opportunities and perspectives in a crisis, the acceptance of the unchangeable and the concentration of all energies on what needs to be dealt with next and the strategies developed in the process;
- *Negative Factors* – insecure attachments, low cognitive skills, poor ability to self-regulate tension and relaxation and fixation on problems.

Resilience is primarily a process by which people respond to problems and changes by adapting their behaviour to external triggers. This process includes:

- Triggers that require resilience (e.g. trauma, fear, stress, strain);
- Resources that contribute to resilience (e.g. self-esteem, a positive outlook on life, a supportive social environment, support from loved ones);
- Consequences (e.g. formation of constructive behaviour, accumulation of resources, recovery, distribution of workload, etc.).

Resilience can make an important contribution to a person's ability to recover or respond to challenges and changes. If resilience is considered as a human trait, then it is mostly innate. Resilience can make an important contribution to a person's ability to recover or respond to challenges and changes.

In addition to general factors, there are also factors that influence group and individual resilience: poverty, family, migration, genetic influences.

## **Conclusions**

These and further scientific explorations were included in the development of a program for the support and development of resilience, which will take into account the peculiarities of the working conditions of a modern specialist - external and internal factors. With the further development of society, the topic of resilience will be constantly relevant. In the use of multi-vector psychological tools, it is necessary to emphasize the emotional sphere of the individual, his creative and cognitive potential for the formation of behavioural strategies for adaptation to stressful situations.

Effective for preventive work on stress resistance is the analysis of the working environment of a specific organization, firm, etc. Such an analysis will prevent possible employee's burnout and preserve his/her mental health. The correct emotional reaction to a stress trigger reduces its impact on the individual. Each stressful situation is directed to the inner emotional world of the individual, in which all elements are subordinated to cognitions and help the individual to achieve balance in the search for a resource to preserve the mental health of the individual.

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**(IM)IGRATION THROUGH THE POLITICAL SPEECHES OF BRAZILIAN  
PRESIDENTS: DILMA ROUSSEFF, MICHEL TEMER, AND JAIR  
BOLSONARO**

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**Abstract**

The speeches of political leaders are essential sources of information on various subjects, in this case, (im)migration, and contribute to the formation of opinions, beliefs, and social representations, especially for their sympathizers and followers. In Brazil there was a political shift from a left-wing government (Dilma Rousseff) to her Vice President Michel Temer (center), to the current President Bolsonaro (right-wing) from 2014 to 2021, with the creation of new immigration law in 2017, in the middle of this transition. Thus, we propose to analyze how the political-institutional discourses on immigration varied during this period. Therefore, we analyze the official political speeches and the posts on social networks on the subject of the three Presidents who governed during this period of alternation of political parties in Brazil and great political polarization on various topics. We observed an intense polarization in the speeches of the three Presidents analyzed. Dilma Rousseff and Michel Temer talk about welcoming immigrants with the concern of guaranteeing their human rights in Brazilian territory, even having Michel Temer take practical measures to guarantee this reception (new immigration law). The speeches of President Bolsonaro point to the opposite. This contributes to the construction of controversial social representations among Brazilians on the subject.

**Introduction**

Human mobility is a phenomenon that accompanies the history of humanity and has significantly increased in recent years, mainly due to political and armed conflicts and inequality of economic development between different countries. This increase in migration impacts migration control policies that have become more hardened, based on security issues to the detriment of humanitarian issues (Ramos, 2013).

The speeches of political leaders are essential sources of information on various

subjects and contribute to the formation of opinions, beliefs, and social representations of the people, especially their sympathizers and followers. On a global scale, polarized representations that lead to processes of otherness are opposed by nationalist populist political leaders/governments that represent immigrants as dangerous invaders or a threat to the economy of the host country. It concerns the idea of security versus inclusive representations driven by the identification of “otherness” between “you-I-we” as human being and citizens of the world. Such contradictions contribute to the construction of controversial social representations regarding immigration.

Social representations (SR) consist of an everyday content of ideas that give coherence to our religious beliefs, political ideas, and spontaneous connections. They also allow us to classify people and objects to compare and explain behaviors, objectifying them as part of our social context, consisting of the interface of two realities - the physical reality, in connection with the reality of imagination and feelings, and the external reality, which is located in a collectivity and, therefore, subject to the rules of the group (Moscovici, 1988).

This theory offers a dialogical approach to understanding the psychosocial aspects of attributing meanings and communication (Castro & Mouro, 2016). Attributing meaning to a particular object is never individual but always a joint attribution between the Ego and the Alter. Therefore, the relations between Ego-Alter-Object would be a condition for the emergence and transformation of the attribution of meaning and representations (Moscovici, 1988). It is also essential to recognize that the communication process involves conflicts between the Ego and the Other regarding the representation of a socially relevant object, which generates a “battle of ideas” (Castro & Mouro, 2016).

These "battles of ideas" specifically concern the controversial SR that guides group identities, of which contours are well known. These groups elaborate rules, justifications for beliefs, and behaviors for the daily practices of their group (Wagner, 1995). The competing groups share antagonistic and irreconcilable views of the same objects. Subsequently, shared beliefs take on the dimensions of artifacts of group identification and become more extreme and divisive as the rivalry and violence between groups increase (Martin-Baró, 2000).

## **Objectives**

There was a political shift from a left-wing government (Dilma Rousseff) to her Vice President Michel Temer, to the current President Bolsonaro (right-wing) from 2014 to 2021, with the creation of new immigration law in 2017, right in the middle of this transition. Thus, we propose to analyze how the political-institutional discourses on immigration varied during this period. Therefore, we analyze the official political speeches and the posts on social

networks on the subject of the three Presidents who governed during this period of alternation of political parties in Brazil and great political polarization on various topics.

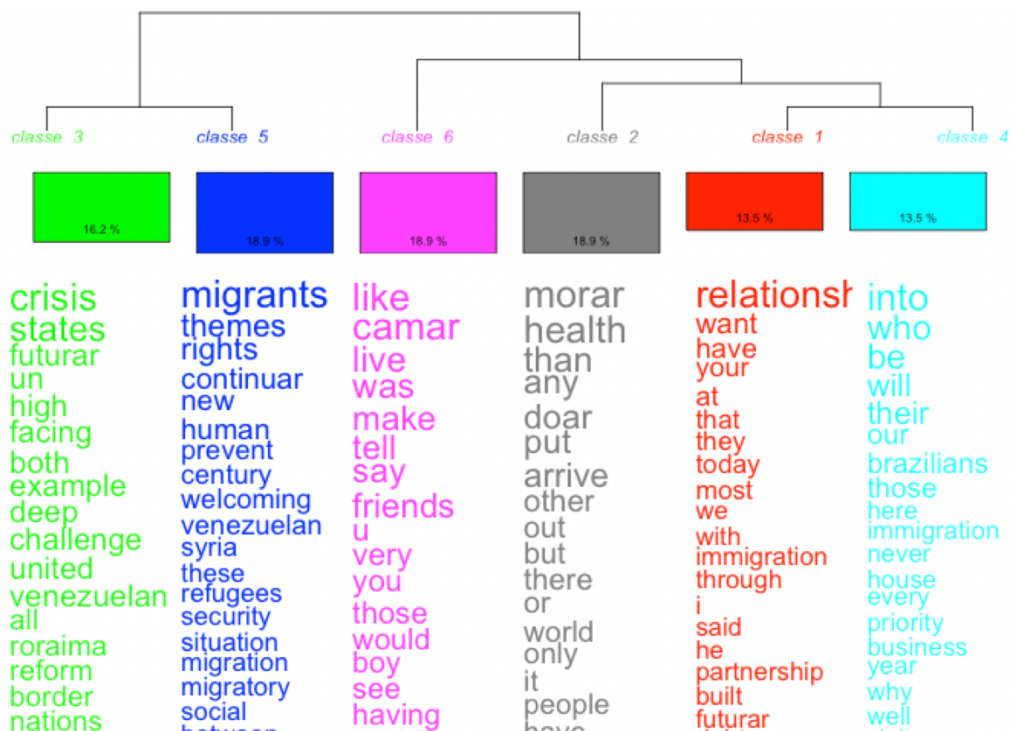
## Methodology

This is a qualitative study in the form of documentary research. Data sources for this study are various styles of written materials, from official institutional political speeches to social network posts. Thus, we analyzed the official institutional speeches and social networks (Twitter, Facebook, Youtube) made by Brazilian Presidents regarding immigration to understand the arguments political leaders build and give meaning to immigration in Brazil. The textual material was analyzed using the lexical analysis software IRaMuTeQ.

## Results

The textual *corpus* was composed of 49 speeches, of which 20 were given by former President Michel Temer, 16 by current President Jair Bolsonaro, and 13 by former President Dilma Rousseff. This *corpus* was divided into six classes through the lexicographic analysis of Descending Hierarchical Classification (DHC) based on the analysis with the IRaMuTeQ software, which retained 75.51% of the text segments (TS). Figure 1 shows the dendrogram with the classes and words with the highest association with the class and its frequency.

Figure 1. Results dendrogram.



Class 4 contains 13.5% of TS and was related to the speeches of President Bolsonaro, with a political position marked as right-wing, in 2019, via Twitter. The excerpts involve talks concerning immigrants “**into** our homes” as a species of invasion of immigrants in the homes of Brazilians. It is associated with the words **who**, **be**, and **will**, to question who these people are entering the country. The class can be seen in the following excerpt: “*We **will** never refuse help to those in need, but immigration must not **be** indiscriminate, there is a need for criteria seeking the best solution according to the reality of each country if we control **whom** we let **into** our homes why would we do differently with our Brazil*”(President Bolsonaro, right-wing political position, Twitter, in 2019).

Class 1 also contained 13.5% of TS and was related to 2018 and speeches by Michel Temer and Dilma Rousseff. The “**relationship**” address Brazilian relations with other countries in terms of friendship and investments in favor of mutual growth. The word **want** outlines the desire to maintain cooperation and immigration as something positive. In this class, the word **have** appears to highlight that Brazil has this partner and the possibility of helping refugee immigrants.

Class 2 represented 18.9% of the *corpus* and was associated with Bolsonaro's speeches in Youtube videos and newspaper reports. The term **more** appears in Bolsonaro's speeches to indicate the growth of the Brazilian population, making it difficult to establish an open border. **Health** emerges to indicate the area of Brazilian health in the speeches of the different presidents for different purposes. Jair Bolsonaro indicated the insufficiency to serve immigrants; Michel Temer indicated the existing network in the country that would also be available to immigrants, and Dilma Rousseff's speeches indicated the partnership with other countries to expand and improve the health network.

Class 6 comprised 18.92% of TS and was associated with official speeches by President Dilma Rousseff. The word **came** identifies the origins of immigrants and **like** compares how the Brazilian reality alternates according to the time. Still, the country will receive immigrants who need it. It can be observed in the following excerpt:

*We, Brazil, are a nation formed by people from the most diverse origins who live here in peace; even in times of difficulties of crises **like** those we are going through, we will have our arms open to welcome refugees.* (President Rousseff, left-wing political position, official speech, in 2015).

Class 5 corresponds to 18.9% of the TS and is composed of speeches that address the **immigrant** and refugees seeking shelter in the country, especially Venezuelans; as this is a currently important **theme**, especially concerning **human rights** and the **continuity** of the

plans to receive those people who continue to have their rights violated.

Class 3 corresponds to 16.2% of the *corpus* TS and considers speeches that indicate a humanitarian **crisis** experienced by many countries, especially in Venezuela, and the position of providing resources to the Brazilian **states** in the reception of immigrants; however, there is also a differentiation from the **United States**. In Dilma Rouseff's speech, **future** appears to indicate the need to build a future and international peace.

## Conclusions

We observed an intense polarization in the speeches of the three Presidents analyzed. Dilma Rouseff and Michel Temer talk about welcoming immigrants with the concern of guaranteeing their human rights in Brazilian territory, even having Michel Temer take practical measures to guarantee this reception (new immigration law). The speeches of President Bolsonaro point to the opposite. This contributes to the construction of controversial social representations among Brazilians on the subject.

The literature indicates a resistance to the entry of immigrants into the country and the constant adoption of more significant restrictions and legal impediments by the government. The image of the immigrant as a threat reinforces their rejection and contributes to the xenophobic discourse that considers immigrants the cause of national problems (Bortoloto & Santos, 2018). In this context, the discourse of rulers is also an essential element in influencing the creation of social representations about immigration, which can influence certain social practices in relation to this social group. This marks the importance of political leaders contributing to discourses aimed at integration and not at xenophobia and violence.

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# **ULOS TRADITIONAL WEAVING RESILIENCE IN LUMBAN SUHI-SUHI TORUAN SAMOSIR VILLAGE IN THE POST COVID-19 RECOVERY**

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## **Abstract**

Based on the aforementioned setting, this study seeks to explain how the traditional Ulos weaving in the Lumban Suhi-Suhi Toruan Samosir as a tourist village survived the pandemic. This study uses descriptive qualitative approaches including in-depth interview, ethnographic and literature research. This study discovered that Ulos managed to develop into a practical, contemporary, and stylish commodity while conserving the cultural and philosophical core of Batak people's existence. Soon after the outbreak, Lumban Suhi-Suhi Toruan Villagers engaged in cultural resiliency activities including Martonun Sadari and the Fashion Show. Due to artistic imagination and negotiating skills, the traditional weaving industry can continue to exist. To conclude, revitalization is carried out by instilling pride in local culture and recognizing abilities supported by a high artistic potential.

## **Introduction**

In addition to economic, health, environmental, and social issues, the Covid – 19 pandemic also caused issues with culture and tourism. The tourism sector and Indonesia's creative economy have been in decline since the country began to prohibit large-scale social activities in 2020. One of the impacts of this crisis was felt by the villagers of Lumban Suhi-Suhi Toruan, Samosir, North Sumatra. Geographically, this village is situated in Samosir next to Lake Toba, and it is home to 570 families, for a total population of 2,000 people (Hudaya Kandahjaya, et al., 2020). This village is known as the Ulos center and has several Ulos weavers who still use traditional looms that carry indigenous wisdom in the Samosir area.

However, due to constraints on the community's mobility space, the manufacture of traditional Ulos made by this village is severely limited. The government's decision to abolish customary and religious activities during the pandemic makes this point quite obvious. As a result, the village economy suffers, forcing locals to seek alternative sources of income. However, this condition gradually changed when Covid-19 transmissions began to decline. The construction of social mobility gradually returned to normal, providing new energy for the resurgence of tourism and the local economy in the village.

Women over the age of 40 dominate the Ulos weavers in this village. Women who weave or work as *partonuns* are viewed as both the breadwinner and the drivers of the family economy, as well as the custodians of local culture. Due to the sheer restrictions imposed by Covid 19, the *partonuns* continue to work to uphold traditional skills in addition to the heritage of their ancestors and the Batak people's philosophy of life. As producers, the *partonuns* strive to generate advancements and successes without sacrificing an Ulos' symbolic meaning. To ensure the survival of traditional Ulos weaving in the post-Covid era, the local community is collaborating with the local government to establish a creative economy and tourism by preserving Ulos as a Batak cultural identity.

Ulos has evolved its purpose into one that is both contemporary and artistic, in addition to being rigorous and monotonous. The revitalization of Ulos is undertaken in order to promote local pride and acknowledge the artistic abilities of the Batak people. Some of the revitalization activities carried out are Martonun Sadari and Fashion Show. These activities are expected to be able to revive the existence of Lumban Suhi-Suhi Toruan as a tourist village of Ulos and introducing the Ulos woven fabric to a wider audience. This invention is a new step for the village in its efforts to reignite local pride and preserve Ulos, following the pandemic. This study attempts to explain the survivability of traditional Ulos weaving in the Lumban Suhi-Suhi Toruan Samosir as a tourism village after the pandemic using this background information.

### **Objectives**

This study attempts to explain how the traditional Ulos weaving in the Lumban Suhi-Suhi Toruan Samosir tourism town survived the pandemic based on the foregoing context.

### **Methods**

In-depth interviews, field observations, digital sources (webinars), and literature reviews were all used as descriptive qualitative approaches in the field study. In the analysis, both primary and secondary data sources were used. The key data sources consist of interviews with the village chief of Lumban Suhi-Suhi Toruan. In the meantime, secondary data on Ulos and Batak culture are obtained through documentation and book research, as well as prior digital research (social media and internet). The author of this study also incorporated webinars as a part of secondary resources with the aim to illuminating data analysis.

## Results

In the effort to present Ulos Hutaraja Village, Lumban Suhi-Suhi Toruan Village conducts Martonun Sadari as one of its local wisdom-based community empowerment programs (Hita Do Hutaraja II, n.d.). The majority of the Ulos weavers are local women over the age of 40. The local government hosts Martonun Sadari, a one-day weaving competition, once a week. In this activity, the weavers demonstrate the traditional Ulos weaving method using an Ulos loom, named Sorha, a rotating tool for spinning yarn made of wood. Sorha is made easier today by using the technologies brought by Japan during the colonial era. The Sorha of today can spin with the effort of only a single person.

Panels must be used and are present in all Ulos manufacturing, both manual and industrial, during the weaving process (Jamaludin S. Hasibuan, 1985). The panels at Ulos need to be connected to *Dalihan Na Tolu*. Moreover, the three enormous panels that are generally found in Ulos are made up of the left and right panels, as well as a panel in the middle that exhibits decorative designs. These three panels follow a significant colour scheme and are able to provide mutual support while describing the construction of the Batak people's dwellings (Jamaludin S. Hasibuan, 1985).

During the martonun activity, the Ulos weavers will practice the traditional way of weaving. Various types of Ulos are woven, starting from *ragi hotang*, *sadum*, or *sibolang*. Moreover, through the woven Ulos, the weavers will explain the philosophy of life and Batak rites to the visitors. In the history of Batak culture, the Batak community's observance of several customary rites is crucial. As a cultural and social creation, Ulos must be present in this scenario. It takes place as a result of its importance and a requirement for Batak traditional emblem. It is often used at Batak festivities, Ulos is a traditional shawl-shaped textile made by the Batak people. Ulos was developed as a mark of respect for persons who follow traditions and take part in religious festivals.

Furthermore, the villagers hosted a fashion exhibition using Ulos dress in contemporary and imaginative attire in addition to Martonun Sadari's activities. The village administrators organize this regular event that showcase the presence of Ulos dress in various styles of contemporary fashion ingenuity in order to preserve tradition based on local expertise. A second fashion event that this community supports in addition to Martonun Sadari is the Fashion Show. The local government conducted the event to both inform Indonesia's younger generation and preserve the long-term viability of the village heritage, notably Ulos woven materials.

This festival is the part of Hita Do Hutaraja, a tourism event program initiated by the local government to engage young people as cultural contributors. Every year, the festival

known as Hita Do Hutaraja is held. It combines village activities with artistic performances including Tor-Tor dances, fashion shows exhibiting Ulos-made apparel, and weaving demonstrations presented as operas. There are three age groups to categorize the activity in this program (Hita Do Hutaraja II, n.d.), kids ages from three to twelve, teenagers ages thirteen to eighteen, and adults ages nineteen and older. As a core for Ulos production in the community, Lumban Suhi-Suhi Toruan is committed to preserving Ulos through artistic expression and technology integration through podcasts and social media. Since the epidemic started, this situation has given Ulos Hutaraja Village newfound motivation to become a well-liked tourism attraction for both domestic and foreign visitors. As part of the program to honor the weavers as cultural warriors, many Batak fashion designers also took part. The Ulos cloth in the display was made by Ulos weavers in Lumban Suhi - Suhi village with the assistance of other partners.

Ulos, which was formerly and exclusively acknowledged as a traditional and sacred textile, is in the process of changing. Without losing any of its enormous value, Ulos is commonly turned from a high-end fabric into a smart fashion line. Ulos has been updated into a modern, flexible product (Niessen, 1985). Ulos has now retransformed, with the exception of its steadfast dedication to religious and cultural values. The objective worth of Ulos is not diminished in the midst of modernity. Instead, it must uphold quality, distinctiveness, and simplicity. Customs must continue to be formal in order to maintain their symbolic value and applicability.

Ulos has been innovated in design, materials, and manufacturing techniques. Ulos can be customized to the goods being created in terms of material. For instance, cotton fabric or other similar materials can be used in place of creating garments. In addition to material-related improvements, creative manufacturing techniques can be used to create Ulos (Gultom, 2012). Thus, the villagers have high hope for the development of digital tourism and the village economy through an annual fashion show in order to create a sophisticated and autonomous tourism creative village.

## **Conclusions**

Ulos has succeeded in becoming a useful, modern, and fashionable good while preserving the philosophical and cultural foundation of Batak people. Lumban Suhi-Suhi Toruan Village participated in cultural resilience exercises including Martonun Sadari and the Fashion Show promptly after the pandemic. The ancient weaving industry can survive due to artistic inventiveness and negotiating abilities. In order to revitalize Ulos, pride in the local culture and recognition of skills supported by substantial artistic potential are fostered.

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# INTERMEDIA AGENDA-SETTING ON INDONESIAN GOVERNMENT'S POLITICAL POLICY MESSAGE IN A PANDEMIC

(Big Data Analysis of the Relation of Online Media and Twitter Agenda in January-August  
2022 on the Topic of Moving the National Capital)

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## Abstract

The emergence of new digital media has shifted the role of the mainstream media as the “opinion leader” which is assumed to be able to influence public assumptions. In addition, the massive use of social media makes it easy for everyone to produce news by uploading various interesting information. One of them is the topic of Moving the National Capital from Jakarta to East Kalimantan, which was presented suddenly, causing controversy, where at that time Indonesia was in the context of political issues during the pandemic. The decision to transfer power was widely quoted in the media and became a topic of discussion on social media. Therefore, this study was conducted to know what mass media’s agenda (issue and attribute salience) affect Twitter’s agenda and what mass media’s agenda (issue and attribute salience) is affected by Twitter’s agenda. This study used correlational quantitative research using the Intelligence Media Analytics (IMA) system for online media analysis, and the Intelligence Socio Analytics (ISA) system for social media analysis. The results of this study revealed that there was an agenda-setting at the second level or at the country level. Within a period of three months, there were more than 25 thousand reports in online media in Indonesia, and almost 180 thousand conversations were responded to on social media. Online media tend to give a neutral framing of government statements, while Twitter tends to give a negative framing rather than other social media with around 130 thousand conversations from more than 40 thousand active accounts. The increasing number of internet users is also influencing the agenda-setting process by setting agendas online and being seen by others as issues, which is salient.

## Introduction

The emergence of new media in the digital era revived the Agenda-Setting theory introduced by **Maxwell McCombs and Donald L. Shaw**, in 1968. Initially, well-known newspapers were often proven to lead issues developing on radio, television, magazines, and other newspapers. By the time goes by, the appearance of new digital media has shifted the role of the mainstream media as the “opinion leader” which is assumed to be able to

influence public assumptions. In addition, the massive use of social media makes it easy for everyone to produce news.

Several previous studies have stated that the study of intermedia agenda-setting regarding the dynamics of agenda-setting interplay between the media agenda and social media agenda on various topics has become an academic consensus. Today's emerging media diversity allows for a reciprocal influence on the intermedia agenda-setting (Asur et al., 2012; Guo & Vargo, 2018; Su & Borah, 2019; Vargo et al., 2017).

In Indonesia, the study of intermedia agenda-setting is still limited. In fact, the phenomenon regarding this study is quite interesting to explore almost 17 thousand online media in Indonesia in recent times provides an overview of the need for distribution of huge information and aspirations. Meanwhile, only 1000 of them have been officially registered as members of the Indonesian Press Council. The rest are non-mainstream media, specific media (communities, groups, etc.), and partisan media – which of course are not bound by standard journalistic rules. All of these media compete with each other for public attention, by uploading various interesting information, no matter what.

Social media is also growing rapidly with the trend of people using social media to find out the latest, more updated issues. Mainstream media began to play a position through their accounts on social media to attract the attention of the public who are hungry for quick information. It is at this time that the agenda-setting process takes place across all platforms. The study of intermedia agenda-setting will be more powerful if it is placed in the context of a fairly complex case involving a government policy. One of them is the topic of Moving the National Capital from Jakarta to East Kalimantan.

This topic is one of the crucial, interesting issues since it is related to the context of government decisions made during the pandemic. The moving of national capital is planned to be carried out in 2024, where President Jokowi's leadership term will have ended after two terms. The topic of moving the capital – which is also carried out by several countries – becomes complex in the pull of the political context, the change of power. Moreover, the decision was presented suddenly, causing controversy, where at that time Indonesia was in the context of political issues during the pandemic. The decision to transfer power was widely quoted in the media and became a topic of discussion on social media.

**Walgrave & Aelst (2016)** show that the media is one of the sources of influence on the political agenda. The prolonged pandemic period has forced the Indonesian government to properly regulate political policy strategies. The failure of the government's public communication strategy can lead to resistance resulting in disrupting the development process and, even more extreme, will be able to thwart this big national project. The power of

the media agenda depends on the issues at stake, on the parties in government or opposition, and on the party's ownership of the issues.

### **Objectives**

This study was conducted to know what mass media's agenda (issue and attribute salience) affect Twitter's agenda and what mass media's agenda (issue and attribute salience) is affected by Twitter's agenda.

### **Methods and Procedure**

This study uses correlational quantitative research using various statistical analyzes, measuring instruments, data processing, and content analysis to examine the extent to which variations in one factor are related to other factors. This is referred to as simple correlation, because it only connects two variables (Rachmat, 2019). To analyze big data, this study used the Intelligence Media Analytics (IMA) system for online media analysis, and the Intelligence Socio Analytics (ISA) system for social media analysis. Both are systems that work 24 hours in real time, automatically, with robots. However, IMA analyzes based on influencers, media reporting, sentiment towards an issue/character, determination of priority issues leading to recommendations and the most effective media campaigns, while ISA is based on influencers (actors), sentiments, emotions, network, location, profile, and prioritization of important issues. To test the existence of this correlation, at least two test tools are needed, namely, Standard Deviation and Granger Causality.

### **Results**

Through the IMA system to monitor news in the media and ISA to analyze conversations on social media, public attention on the topic of the National Capital is quite big. This study found that within a period of 3 months, there were more than 25 thousand reports in online media in Indonesia, and almost 180 thousand conversations were responded to on social media. The peak of the news occurred in January 2022, when the discourse on the National Capital began to appear in the media.

Based on the percentage, the sentiment that appears in the online media was 45.16% a neutral sentiment followed by 32.16% positive sentiment and 22.68% negative sentiment. This shows that the reactions that appear in online media provide a neutral framing. In addition, there is a significant correlation between online media exposure and the behavior of internet users in providing comments and opinions on issues raised by online media. The higher the exposure of an issue related to the National Capital, the higher the public



responses to the issue. Online media as a representation of mainstream media remains the main reference source or main preference for social media users.

Of the five social media platforms studied, namely Tiktok, Twitter, Facebook, Instagram, and YouTube, this discussion about IKN is more often discussed on Twitter with around 130 thousand conversations from more than 40 thousand active accounts. Of the 30 keywords that appeared, there were six keywords related to the National Capital with the highest score being the keyword “new capital city”.

On Twitter, sentiment analysis is addressed through statements or sentences in posts. Negative sentiment dominates more than neutral and positive sentiment, with an insignificant percentage, namely 36.32% for negative sentiment, followed by neutral sentiment as much as 31.69% and positive sentiment as much as 31.99 %. The negative reactions raised by Twitter users indicate that Twitter users think this policy is not right, because the government is still not ready to carry out the moving of National Capital.

Based on the regional map, the responses given were expressions of surprise, ridicule, and anger. The majority of these responses came from the people of DKI Jakarta and East Kalimantan, the number of users discussing the theme was 18,995 and 15,778, respectively. This score is very far when compared to other regions whose score is not more than 3,100, even some of them only count in the tens.

This finding shows that Twitter is still one of the people’s preferences in responding to various government policies, although as a percentage, sentiment needs to be considered because the flow of opinions that appear is carried out openly and followed by other accounts. This is evident in stating that the Moving the National Capital theme received the most posts and comments in January 2022 with a total of 3,908.

## **Conclusion**

Government policies that are socialized on online media need to be balanced with socialization on social media, with the same character and language frequency according to the demographics of Twitter users. This is very much needed by the government to minimize unwanted impacts. The results of this study answer the question that there is an agenda-setting at the second level or at the country level. Online media tend to give a neutral framing of government statements, while Twitter tends to give a negative framing. The increasing number of internet users – people who actively participate in communication activities, such as seeking information, expressing views, discussing issues, and building their own communities – is also influencing the agenda-setting process by setting agendas

online and being seen by others as issues, which is salient. Attributes of Issues on Online Media and Twitter on government policy messages on the topic of the National City

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**FEAR AND DISTRUST TOWARDS SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS IN THE  
BEGINNING OF THE CORONAVIRUS PANDEMIC (SARS-COV-2): RESEARCH  
CARRIED OUT IN THE REPUBLIC OF SRPSKA / BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA**

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**Abstract**

This paper presents the results of empirical research about dominant attitudes of citizens of the Republic of Srpska / Bosnia & Herzegovina toward pandemic situation and social changes in everyday life caused by it. Many respondents did not have clear and established attitudes about numerous issues related to pandemic situation. On one side, citizens show fear about public and individual health; on the other side they show distrust toward institutional system and possibility to keep situation under control. *Fear* and *distrust*, as reactions to the coronavirus pandemic, have led to the closure within primary communities, as well as to the isolation and exclusion from the wider social management and decision making systems. We are witnesses of the creation of a new social order, without any clear expectations as to how it might look like in the future. Research was carried out from 27 April 2020 to 5 May 2020, at the time of the first wave of the corona virus pandemic, a month and a half after declaring a state of emergency, and two months following the first cases of infection in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The survey was conducted by using the *Google Form* platform for data collection and *snowball* sampling technique. This type of research proved to be the most suitable, given that during the first wave of the pandemic free movement and social interactions were restricted. The sample included 1.146 citizens from 40 municipalities in the Republic of Srpska.

**Introduction**

The pandemic caused by the Coronavirus (SARS-CoV-2) has led to the re-shaping of all the segments of life, both those of individuals, limiting their daily life routine, and those which are collective, involving social, political and economic relations. Measures introduced by different states to prevent its spreading and to protect public health significantly affected the understanding of social and cultural norms by the public, often causing their modification and rejection (Trninić, Janković & Perić Romić, 2021). Therefore, we are witnessing the

creation of a new social order, without any clear expectations as to how it might look like in the future.

According to the postmodern sociological paradigm, contemporary social relations are based on *uncertainty* and *insecurity*, which is why every individual has to learn how to live without a clear vision of future consequences of the decisions he/she makes in the present time. On the one hand, it is important to *trust* expert knowledge and abstract systems. On the other hand, individuals must act strategically in order to position themselves properly in the new living environment (Giddens, 1991; Beck, 1992). As for the former, it is about collective acting, whereas the latter relates to the social acting of an individual, in other words, proper social and personal positioning, with conscious risk-acceptance of all life-related choices.

We can analyse the reactions to the pandemic caused by the Coronavirus in the Republic of Srpska, i.e. Bosnia and Herzegovina, through the aforementioned paradigm. The citizens had two fold reactions to the virus: (1) *fear*, resulting among some citizens in *irrational denial* of the presence of a true public health hazard, even in the denial that the pandemic factually exists; (2) *distrust* towards social institutions, entity and state political structures, which were forced to adopt measures to suppress the pandemic, and towards health institutions, which should have ensured the protection from infection spreading. Both types of reactions ended up in the *adjustment* to a newly created situation, and this was actually the life strategy chosen by the citizens of the Republic of Srpska, that is of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

## **Objectives**

Collection of data on lifestyles in the beginning of the pandemic caused by the Coronavirus (SARS-CoV-2) was aimed at identifying changes in everyday life of Bosnia and Herzegovina, i.e. the Republic of Srpska citizens. An additional objective of this research was to establish the level of trust in public institutions, which were making and implementing political decisions, as well as to the institutions dealing with the public health protection. This research was carried out from 27 April 2020 to 5 May 2020, at the time of the first wave of the Coronavirus pandemic, a month and a half after declaring a state of emergency, and two months following the first cases of infection in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

## **Methods**

This research was carried out through an online survey, and by using the *Google Form* platform for data collection, with the application of a *snowball* sampling technique.

This type of research proved to be the most suitable, given that during the first wave of the pandemic, free movement and social interactions were restricted.

The sample included 1.146 citizens from forty municipalities in the Republic of Srpska, i.e. Bosnia and Herzegovina. The largest percentage of respondents were females (69,2%), highly-educated (54.5% of respondents have university degree, and 5.2 % have college education), younger population (30.7% of respondents are in the age group up to 25) or middle-aged (65.5% of respondents are aged 26 to 55), from urban areas (71.5%), experts by vocation (24,6%), or unemployed (37,4% of respondents, including the students). Such a sample structure is a result of a snowball technique and an online survey, and is a consequence of the limitations in the sense that the respondents had to have a computer/smart phone, internet connection and had to be active on social networks. Taking into consideration, a very high percentage of educated respondents, we may presume that their opinion about the pandemic has been formed based on different sources of information, by selecting obtained information and critically reasoning about their accuracy.

## **Results**

This research demonstrated that the dominant reaction of respondents at the very start of pandemic was the spreading of fear. It is well-known that in dangerous situations and those filled with uncertainty, a human being surrenders to the pressure of fear, which minimizes or prevents rational reasoning and making right decisions in any crisis situation (Krech, Crutchfield & Ballachey, 1962). Fear, caused by the pandemic outbreak, branches in two directions: fear of respondents for their own health (and the health of their family members) and fear of pandemic consequences.

The largest percentage of respondents agreed with the claim *“The pandemic is the biggest evil that the mankind has faced in the last one hundred years”* (42,3%), while almost the same number of respondents rejected this claim (40%). People older than 56 were in the group of respondents who feared the pandemic the most, and among them 67.4% gave their support to the above claim. The respondents gave even gloomier forecast regarding the further course of the pandemic. As for the apocalyptic claim *“When it comes to the pandemic, the human kind is still to see the worst of it”*, it was supported by almost half of respondents (46,7%), while a smaller percentage rejected such a forecast (29.4%). This claim was mostly supported by respondents from rural areas (52.7%), who were ill-informed, as well as by those less educated ones.

If we take a closer look at the consequences which the pandemic is to cause, according to the opinion of respondents, we come to interesting conclusions. There is a much

higher number of respondents who were more afraid of the economic consequences of the pandemic – unemployment growth, decline in economic activities and investments (66.4%), than the health consequences – impairment of mental health and the loss of loved ones, being identified as the most significant problems by only a small percentage of respondents (8.5%). It is clear that in poor societies, like ours is, the existential fear in a material sense supersedes all other fears, including the fear for one’s own physical and mental health. Although there is a widely known saying in our culture, “health is priceless”, it’s apparent that this saying has no worth in the current situation.

*Fear*, as a reaction to the pandemic, its social and psychological consequences, is reflected on the strengthening of ties with primary groups. Individuals again turned towards their families, re-strengthening mutual bonds and relations within a family, while health measures that were introduced and which imposed lockdown, movement restrictions and working from home, favoured such a reaction. The family, (following the situation that happened in the nineties, known as the “destruction of society” in ex-Yugoslavia - Lazić, 1994; Bolčić, 1994), became the major “stabilisation force” and “the factor of integration”, bearing the burden of the pandemic and trying to substitute for the failures of the health system and the weakness of social institutions to properly cope with the pandemic. The answers given by respondents clearly demonstrate this. In the vast majority of families in the Republic of Srpska, *the family members started spending more time together doing joint activities* (82.1% of families) and *took more care of each other* (74.7%). In a bit more than one half of the families, *household chores became equally divided: cleaning, tidying up, looking after children* (56.7%), and the family members became *more tolerant to each other* (55.7%). Simultaneously, a lot of time spent at home with the family and the disruption of a daily routine had led to the situation that a smaller number of families experienced the disruption of family relations, with the display of antisocial and deviant behaviour. Every fourth respondent confirmed that *the members of the family found each other tiring and could hardly wait for the situation to get stabilised*. In every fifth family, *the members argued and quarrelled more often now*, and the same number of families faced alienation – *we do not pay much attention to each other, each of us is dealing with his own things*. Every sixth family encountered certain problems with regards to mental health – *we are practically at the edge of our nerves*. Similar findings have been observed in other aspects, demonstrating the worsening of marital relations, whereas different authors started talking about a new phenomenon – “corona divorces” (Manning & Payne, 2021).

If *fear*, as a reaction, can be perceived from a micro level, such as family is, then *distrust* as a reaction to pandemic primarily concerns disrupted socio-political relations in the

wider community. Low democratic standards, economic backwardness, disordered health care system are the reasons for the growing distrust in the social institutions at the time of the pandemic. All this has led to the absence of cooperation, which is required for increasing the trust between the citizens and entity/state institutions, which have been managing the fight against the pandemic and which should have ensured public health protection. Countries with a high level of democracy react much better to any challenge (such as the current global pandemic is), than those with the authoritarian socio-political system (Sen, 1999).

This survey shows that only a part of citizens have doubts in the measures for ensuring collective and personal protection against the pandemic, recommended by health institutions and the highest authorities. Thus, 74.6% of respondents believe in the *effectiveness of wearing masks and keeping a physical distance* as a measure to prevent infection (while 13.5% do not believe in this). Only 56.7% of respondents thought that *staying at home* was a safe prevention measure (23.2% do not believe in its effectiveness). There is 65.8% of respondents who believe that long-term isolation, staying at home and stress are more dangerous to health than the Coronavirus itself (21.1% were against this claim).

## **Conclusions**

The social reaction to a pandemic depends on the readiness of health institutions, on social cohesion (citizens' trust in institutions), cultural patterns (high contact cultures have more difficulties to abide by protection measures, requiring social distance) and life habits (maintenance of hygiene standards and population discipline) (Trninić, Janković & Perić Romić, 2021).

*Fear* and *distrust*, as reactions to the Coronavirus pandemic, have led to the closure within primary communities, as well as to the isolation and exclusion from the wider social management and decision/making systems. These are wrong life (both individual and collective) strategies for dealing with the pandemic. That is why it is necessary to strengthen the institutional system and to restore social trust, which would provide for the *adaptation* to the amended life circumstances in any crisis situations.

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## LOMBLEN WOMEN WEAVER: BETWEEN CLOTH AND WOOD

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### Introduction

Cloth has accompanied the development of human civilization started from the bark to the most up-to-date smart cloth. From cloth culture, we can trace a society's view of life.

Cloth as a cultural artefact is closely related with female gender. Scholars have studied how girls were taught to spin, weave, embroider, make lace, knit, crochet, and sew. (Auslander, 2014; Harper, 2017) These activities are dominated by women. That fact makes the gender notion as common sense.

I grew up in a family where the male members were carpenters and merchants, while the female members were dressmaker. The smooth, soft, and supple quality of the cloth are the qualities that are expected to be found in women. In contrary, the hard, strong, rigid are qualities that attached to men. Therefore, I think cloth is identical to woman, while wood identical to man. Historians of gender and sexuality have been drawn to spinning, weaving, embroidery, knitting, quilting, and tailoring as highly feminized forms of labour. As well as, the products themselves have been systematically used to construct gender (Auslander, 2014). For example, handkerchief is a visual representation of woman.

In 2018 I was doing textile research in a small island called Lomblen in East Nusa Tenggara. As a 3T region (*Terdepan, Terluar Tertinggal* means leading, outermost, lagging), Lomblen quite isolated. The people live simply and modesty. I met a master of weaver in the slope of Mount Ile Ape. She said that wood is female. This statement bothers me because it is contradictory with my previous understanding. In this case, culture differences shape different gender understanding.

Lomblen weavers are more at ease expressing themselves through weaving than to writing. They weave cloth to commemorating life events and rituals. Life events such as birth, marriage, pregnancy, to death are always accompanied by the presence of cloth. "Almost all societies use objects to mark gendered roles at birth, adolescence, marriage, and old age as well as at the stages of sexual life."(Auslander et al., 2014; Gittinger, 1979; Kagiya, 2010) Through the quality and amount of cloth brought during the wedding ceremony, women also determine the position and dignity in society. In NTT, dowry (*belis*) is loaded with the amount of cloth that can be equated with the amount of ivory, buffalo, horses, pigs. Thus, women formulate their existence in social relations through cloth.

Likewise, the ritual of planting, harvesting, building a house is always marked by the presence of women's woven cloth. Those rituals show the local belief system that regulates the relationship between humans, God, and nature.

Women role are important in rituals because women are responsible for stomach affairs. These custom regulations enhance the presence of woman through wood and cloth. Although women sometimes aren't involved in decision-making, the presence of cloth and cuisine is a way for women to attend. Without the presence of female-made cloth and cooking involving firewood, it is almost certain that the ritual won't be carried out. In this sense, it can be said that it is women who are actually in control of society through cloth and wood. (Referring to Permanadeli, 2015:100). Their everyday and artistic practices of gender and sexuality broke many stereotypes about the workings of gender and sexuality in the modern world (Auslander et al., 2014).

This study objectives are to search for relation between gender and materiality. The article focuses on textile tradition in Lomblen, East Nusa Tenggara.

### ***Belief system and gendered labor***

The thing that stands out about the Lomblen people is their belief system. Lomblen people believe that the union of men and women is something divine. Although colonialism has made the majority convert to Catholicism, local beliefs are still very strong. They believe that God the Mighty Creator is present in the union between male and female form. They call God as *Ama Lera Wulan*, *Ina Tana Ekan*. *Ama* means father, *lera wulan* means The Sun and stars. *Ina* means mother, *tana ekan* means The Earth. They associate objects with gender. It shows that they gendered the stars as male and the earth as female. Their local belief system shows gender relation. It reveals the gender equality.

It also reflects in the division of labor between man and woman. Men are responsible for finding a source of livelihood, while women are responsible for managing, caring for, and providing for the needs of the family. Cooperation between men and women is aimed at survival.

Men daily activities are tapping sap, hunting deer for inland men, fishing for those on the coast, and working abroad as migrant workers. Men's activities are mostly outside and are subjugating and conquering. It is associated with the nature of the sun and distant stars. Those objects determine planting time, harvest season and the time to go to sea. The tools are made of metal and shining like stars.

Women daily activities are cooking, gardening, weaving, and exchange goods. Their activities are carried out around their domestic space. These are associated with the nature of earth. Earth's soil is a place where living things grow. It has the quality of giving, nurturing, and protecting. The tools come from the ground.

### ***Object and gendered making***

Related to nurturing and protecting, Lomblen people think that the house is female. Their house is made of wood. A house protects its inhabitants from the weather and wild animals is a metaphor of a woman protecting a family. It is also in line with the protective function of cloth. A strong marker of this is the presence of the breast carving at the entrance of a traditional house. Breast is a female symbol. House built by men, cared for and supported by women.

The mechanism of the house is understood as a woman's body that is fertile, nourishes, and protects. Bones and flesh are like supporting wood, woven bamboo, and palm fiber roofs. The kitchen is the womb which is the core of life. From this perspective, Lomblen people associate wood and cloth with women.

Women weave cloth to protect the body. From this cosmology and division of labor it can be understood why cloth is important as a protector. Women took on their roles through the textile tradition. The rules regarding the manufacture of cloth for ritual needs regarding environmentally friendly materials, such as the use of 100% hand-spun cotton cloth, the use of natural colors, and manual weaving are customarily regulated. (Kagiya, 2010:142)

Women daily activity is started early in the morning preparing food for the families. From collecting firewood for cooking, to harvesting food in the garden is the responsibility of women. Food derived from the soil is closely related to plants and wood. After that, they weave cloth. Woven cloths are produced using *gedogan* (backstrap) looms and natural dyes. The tools and materials also made from wood. The cotton fiber as raw materials, the dyes from root, bark, leaves are also part of woody plants. In this sense, what is meant by wood is not limited to solid wood for building and furniture needs. Plants as whole are associated with wood and earth.

Other times, a Lamalera weaver also confirmed this. From dawn until dusk, women activities in Lomblen are related with wood. She said that Lomblen women have to be strong like wood and flexible like cloth. This shows a different gender construction of material.

In this case, cloth is not associated with soft, smooth, and supple qualities. For Lomblen women weaver, cloth contains strong, flexible, and independent qualities. Wild cotton yarn is handspun then dyed. Hand spinning creates uneven and rough yarn texture.

Plant dyeing makes the yarn stiff. The woven cloth is thick and strong. These qualities are in line with wood. For Lomblen weaver, both cloth and wood are female. This shows how women weaver of Lomblen construct their identity using cloth and wood. Together they make up the gender of Lomblen women. “The materiality of things mirrors that of the body, gender is therefore produced through things as much, or perhaps more, than through words.”(Auslander et al., 2014)

Material culture as a source is important, especially in low literacy communities. People express themselves through things they make, things they wear, things they use in everyday lives. Things and objects become a medium of communication. In this sense, cloth and wood pair and unite. Cloth is object for self-define and for make meaning. This shows that textile tradition can expose “truth” which cannot expressed in words, but through cloth culture.

## **Conclusion**

So far, the construction of gender only refers to a modern system in the Western sense. It turns out that gender construction is also closely related to cosmology. It reflects in people's daily lives through object, material culture, and their representation. Gender construction contextualize according to social space and cultural practice.

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# THE QUEEN AND HER GLOBAL FANS IN SOCIAL MEDIA DURING PANDEMIC ERA: AN EMPIRICAL STUDY

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## Introduction

In 8th September 2022, Elizabeth II, the Queen Regnant of United Kingdoms, passed away and suddenly the world erupted into unprecedented tight-knit community-like response. Citizens from countries that are not joining the Commonwealth Nations, let alone Commonwealth Realms, suddenly putting their hearts in their sleeves and writing in their social media. It is more comprehensible if mourners come from traditional countries like Canada or Australia where she was their actual head of the state. Other heart-felt condolences came from United States of America who fought for their freedom from colonial Britain, Germany, Japan, and Argentina.

Suddenly the world in general has its most newsworthy subject, The Queen, who during her lifetime never herself served as a subject. Those in bandwagon are people who categorize themselves as royal expert, royal fans, and even royal haters. People were deluged with information on symbols found in traditional succession, laws, history, garbs, relationships between her majesty and her subjects, traditional religious and military services and so on. All of them are hot and trending in news. Suddenly world media understands the importance of covering her death and all that comes with it.

All over the world, her death and the details of subsequent successorship, state headship, and plans of her funeral and all protocols that came with it, were talked about through mainstream media channels. Any news, updates of news, her successor, schedule of her trip and flight back to London, her lying in state, funeral details, both religious and military ceremonies, and her family members are all read, perused and studied by anyone who followed the aftermath. The conservative journalism is almost got beaten by new media, the social media – popular medium for younger generations.

In the condition where social media is rampant and serves as both unifying and divisive factors in society and community, the fandom of Queen Elizabeth II in her time of death reveals an unforeseen legacy that is her loyal and global fans united in values and representation of classic values.

## **Objectives**

The Queen's global phenomenon is an opportunity to study and review current dynamic social condition. The past few years we see cancel culture that subsequently create wokeness and politically correct opinions started by academics. However, someone who was born before the time of Baby Boomers, and who led so-called archaic institution, suddenly becomes social media darling that transcends all of these factors. What kind of factor that garner her loyal and global fandom?

## **Method and Procedure**

This preliminary study monitoring is conducted through internet-based media method, especially social media channel that is twitter platform. The biggest factor of Elizabeth II's global fandom was definitely the information technology. It provides broadband that does not crash under the massive clicks to the streaming services. It also gives the public more options when they need to have information and data about the funeral and the Queen herself. The technology also provides our current mobile society through preferred social media application.

It is reported by Twitter that the internet broke with about 30 million tweets about the Queen since her passing up to 20<sup>th</sup> September 2022. The day of her death announcement was the highest volume of conversation ever since on the micro-blogging platform. The hashtag #QueenElizabeth holds over 5.2 billion views on the app.

For this research, twitter accounts monitored are both official and unofficial. The official ones are those affiliated with Royal Household connections and/or mainstream media with known media brand. On the other hand, the unofficial accounts are individuals who have massive followings due to their connection or understandings of current events and strong opinions.

Both official and unofficial ones are from individuals or institutions of differing opinions and affiliations of the late monarch. The individuals' account used in this monitoring have more than 10.000 followers and not necessarily have blue ticks.

Blue ticks in twitter accounts, like those of other social media, indicates twitter has confirmed identity of the person who manages the account regardless of number of followers. The official ones of affiliated accounts are of that media mainstream ones or royal household related.

Reason of method of using twitter application is opted as it provides rapid updates and interaction directly amongst accounts and individuals – both pro and contra against the monarch and the institution.

On the other hand, broadcasting through streaming although internet-based, was not included in this monitoring as it does not provide interactive media during the event of Queen's death. However, the official social media of broadcasting companies with twitter is used to monitor as they are part of mainstream media. They are also provided to give a general perspective on how mainstream media competes and yet complements social media.

All the hashtags are read meticulously and followed through to the accounts' link be it as part of mainstream media or personal blog. Tweets with links for news and blog perused are listed in the reference at the end of this paper.

## **Results**

The late Queen Elizabeth was born before the era of Baby Boomers generation – of which it became a derogatory term among younger generations. She was born in 1926, and was active in providing preparation and preparedness of facing Germany during World War II. She received her position as an Army Reserve specializing in mechanical skill after proper training. At the time of her ascension as Queen, Great Britain still had colonies all over the world and an Imperium. When she died, the said Empire had crumbled and in its place is Commonwealth Realms and Commonwealth Nations.

As other people in her generations, she had to navigate modern day rapid changes, especially those thrust by technology. Her character that was based by classic values such as loyalty, perseverance, hard work, as well as her many privileges were becoming unpopular. Adding to those issues were her family's problems. Three out of her four children were divorced, some with dramas that were worthy to be made into an attention-grabbing soap opera.

Then, pandemic hit in 2020. It occurred during her old age and subsequently must learn everything that even people younger than she had difficulty to adapt. She was 94 years yet must function through internet-based technology to fulfil her daily obligations as monarch of a realm. Just as she faced the pandemic, she saw its end relatively unscathed and even able to enjoy the celebration of her Platinum Jubilee in June 2022.

The Queen led this so-called archaic institution through post-World War, without higher education (she was home schooled), a woman in a man's world, adjusting to global politics that cost her her Empire, facing giants of heroes or men of power in her generation, transforming herself from a daughter, a wife to a navy officer, a reigning queen, to a being mother, grandmother to her family, and in the end to be matriarch of her country and to some to aspiring young women in leadership positions.

Twitter captures her dynamic roles perfectly. When breaking news of her poor health condition was blasted in twitter, those in mainstream media started to prepare their followers on the account of worst development. Accounts with affiliation to Royal Households talked about what would be implemented should her demise confirmed. On the other hand, personal accounts with massive following started to alert their followers about the imminence of her passing. This can still be seen in twitter accounts affiliated royal family and those with mainstream media.

During 3 hours of the waiting time, personal accounts only retweet or provided link to the update distributed from mainstream media. It included the movement of the Queen's immediate family to Balmoral, the place where she was in residence during summer time. The personal accounts also responded to some questions about terms unfamiliar from their followers.

When the Queen was confirmed to be no more, the news was distributed through mainstream media, twitter personal accounts began to change their profiles with picture of the Queen. They started to retweet or provided link of personal or individual or informal institution about update in Balmoral. The issues discussed were usually about tradition, be it military or religious, that shrouds the passing of the monarch and her succession, personal memories or encounters with the Queen.

The personal accounts then began to respond on issues against the late Queen when they saw other personal accounts attacked her. The most popular response was about the Queen's accountability on slavery. This issue was a popular subject by American and British personal accounts. More than one accounts often asked the Royal Family to pay reparation to Africa as part of their atonement against the sin of their forefathers. One academician from Carnegie Mellon even prayed that the Queen should died a painful death. This tweet then subsequently deleted by twitter.

For those proponents to monarchical ruler, in this case The Queen, opened up and analysed history into unforeseen area. The proponent accounts came from diverse citizenship, backgrounds and races as well as coming from various professions. @Royally Blunt account came from Nigerian descent who directly went against accounts that called The Queen as racist and asking for payment for slavery. The conversation did not stop in the proceedings of state funeral and political issues. There was an American who is known as Body Language Expert @knesix who discussed body language and its relation to relationship dynamics amongst Royal Family members.



And then there was a #1 hashtag #QueueForTheQueen that has over 1 million conversations. The hashtag shows the many features of the queue and conversations amongst the queuers and viewers. An account holder such as @It'sALawyer'sLife wrote her experience during queueing to pay her last respect to the Monarch. She, like those in other twitter handles, also wrote her experience when she queued, on how strangers being kind to each other during 14 long hours they stood together, and how those kindness grow into a sense of belonging and in the end becomes a bonding element. In the end those share experiences made them a community. This was not special only for her, but it was known occurred to other queuers as shown in other twitter accounts and even broadcast. This sense of belonging and uplifting experience was also reported by journalist of NPR. Despite feeling occasionally marginalized, members of society felt the funeral and its proceedings events helped them to grow and feel united.

The last state funeral Britain's ever held was that of Churchill's who was touted as The Last Lion due to his prowess during World War II and its aftermath. His state funeral was called "the last time that London would be the capital of the world." However, Queen Elizabeth II's funeral was more majestic in everything. There were 2,000 attendees in Westminster Abbey, including nearly 90 world leaders and 200 representatives of world countries. There were 142 Royal Navy sailors pulling the monarch's coffin to and from Westminster Abbey afterwards. It was known that there were 4,000 military personnel on parade in her last journeys to her final resting place. All of the activities conducted in churches or the streets were done under the pandemic condition.

Those watching live broadcast and streaming through available channels were calculated to have 29 million viewers just in United Kingdom only. The world number watching the funeral was considered 4.1 billion according to Jon Jackson of Newsweek last 19<sup>th</sup> September 2022. He quotes Carolina Beltramo, a television analyst with WatchTVAbroad.

## **Conclusions**

The factor that provided Queen Elizabeth's global fandom is the technology. Information technology, to be precise its applications, could be considered single-handedly responsible over the late monarch's internet fandom. This technology that has its infrastructures all over the world due to rapid development is fast becoming the staple for people all over the world.

The internet itself records a British monarch's death (or any other head of state) for the first time as no monarch has ever been remembered before. Before Elizabeth II reigned, the internet has not existed yet, nor social media. Due to its digital form, the Queen's life and death are recorded, documented, analysed, and discussed to infinity. Due to sequential updates and funeral procedures, micro-blogging application twitter becomes a central hub for discussion. The contents of discussions oscillating between the emotional, the critical, and the entertaining, whilst at the same time provide hashtags for easy research and information.

The internet also becomes a unifying power to global citizens in their search for data and information. It gives global citizen options to read, learn, study, research and view so many subjects close to their hearts. The monarch itself does not leave her legacy due to the internet, but rather her legacy is multiplied beyond her own kingdoms due to the internet.

Social media and its utilities are beyond their creator's dream, and it is through this modern pipeline, the former Queen was able to leave her legacy. Her legacy was not only recorded for perpetuity. Her life, her service, her many achievements, her ideas and thoughts, were all recorded but perhaps more importantly her fandom that grew because of the interactive communications between social media users.

Through the Queen's funeral proceedings, her own people learned a lot about their kingdoms and its history, her character, her gravitas amongst global leaders, besides of her many castles and lines of succession through twitter and its conversations. Viewing streaming services and reading conversations as well as queueing down the streets provide the feeling of belonging and sense of inclusion amongst strangers. The most important legacy she left might be the sense of belonging as a community that passes beyond nationalities and communities at a global scale.

The latest fact check confirms that the viewers of her funeral was 4.1 billion people. The viewing was done through smart television, laptop, and smart phone and tablets. This fantastic number was only for the funeral itself, whilst the preceding state processions are yet to be aggregated.

Her legacy that eventually becomes the history of the Kingdom itself as well as its values was discussed amongst younger generations in a borderless society through interactive conversations, and naturally they were passing down from one generation to another generation. Therefore, her passing inadvertently becomes a model of representation of values and its transfer that united people from different background, race, belief and countries and subsequently created a classic fandom in a modern day.

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# FROM FORCED MIGRATION TO «CROSS-DISCIPLINARY NOMADISM»: MOSCOVICI'S THEORIES FERTILIZED BY HIS LIFE EXPERIENCE AS REFUGEE

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## Introduction

This paper – based on the invited opening lecture of the 10<sup>th</sup> P.E.S.C. *International Seminar* held on line from the *Center for Social Representations studies* (Jakarta, Indonesia, October 21, 2022) - is nourished by the wish to share some reflections based on the most significant book that has accompanied me from the emotional and intellectual point of view during the whole 2022 summer.

On several occasions Moscovici had told me about a memoir that would follow the volume *Chronique des années égarées* published by Stock in 1997 on his adolescence in Romania, marked by the Holocaust: a second book of souvenir, which - due to the confidentiality related to intimate memories connected to living people - he hesitated to publish and continued to develop as personal notes and opportunities to reflect on his life. And in fact, it was from a rich series of handwritten fragments discovered as a “*trésor dans une armoire*” by his sons Pierre and Denis Moscovici, after his death on November 15, 2014, that Alexandra Laignel-Lavastine reconstructed with elegant wisdom and historical accuracy “*the memorial archaeology*” of his tormented existence as a refugee who arrived in Paris in January 1948 at the age of 22.

A book of intimate memories and fragments of private life, which rise to a meta-reflection of interest for all humanity and for the knowledge gained in the suffering of one's experience as a refugee and for feeling perpetually a foreigner in the chosen country, abandoning oneself in tragic circumstances his native land: “*Comme Chagall, je suis pour ainsi dire né deux fois: à Braïla, en Roumanie, pas hasard (Vitebsk pour Chagall, en Biélorussie); et à Paris, par choix. Terre d'exil, terre d'asile*”. (Moscovici, 2019, p. 36). A book that teaches us through a poetic narrative that has nothing to do with the standard formatting of scientific publications and with academic language for the few, but which reaches the hearts and minds of all those interested in a horizon that, starting from the narrow space of our short individual existences, looks beyond towards the infinite and an elsewhere that we do not know. A book that opens us to reflect on the role played by deep pain (to the point of verging on suicidal intentions), its elaboration through the profound and exclusive friendship with two other refugees, the discovery of a love (“*le visage de l'amour*”) who became in 1955 his wife Marie Moscovici, the vital trust placed from great masters in a

young man - passionate about knowledge, who wished to become un “*homme d'étude*” - obliged to survive with humble jobs in the tailoring (“*couper d'occasion*”) and production of shoes in life conditions of “*un sans-personne à Paris et l'atelier de confection du père Krauze*”, marked by “*la pauvreté, la solitude et la peur*” (Moscovici, 2019, p.77, 84).

“*Je pris alors conscience d'une des étrangetés de la condition d'étranger : j'observais le peuple de Paris, mais lui ne me voyait pas, comme si j'évoluais derrière une vitre sans tain.*” (Moscovici, 2019, p.89).

“*Au début, j'étais littéralement un sans-personne à Paris. Je n'avais plus de passé, pas encore de présent, et l'envie me prenait souvent de fondre en larmes comme un enfant et de quitter ce réduit sinistre*”  
(Moscovici, 2019, p. 78)

Honestly before reading this posthumous book, I never imagined finding out how deep was in Serge the sense of loneliness and suffering as a refugee in France to the point of inspiring suicidal tendencies:

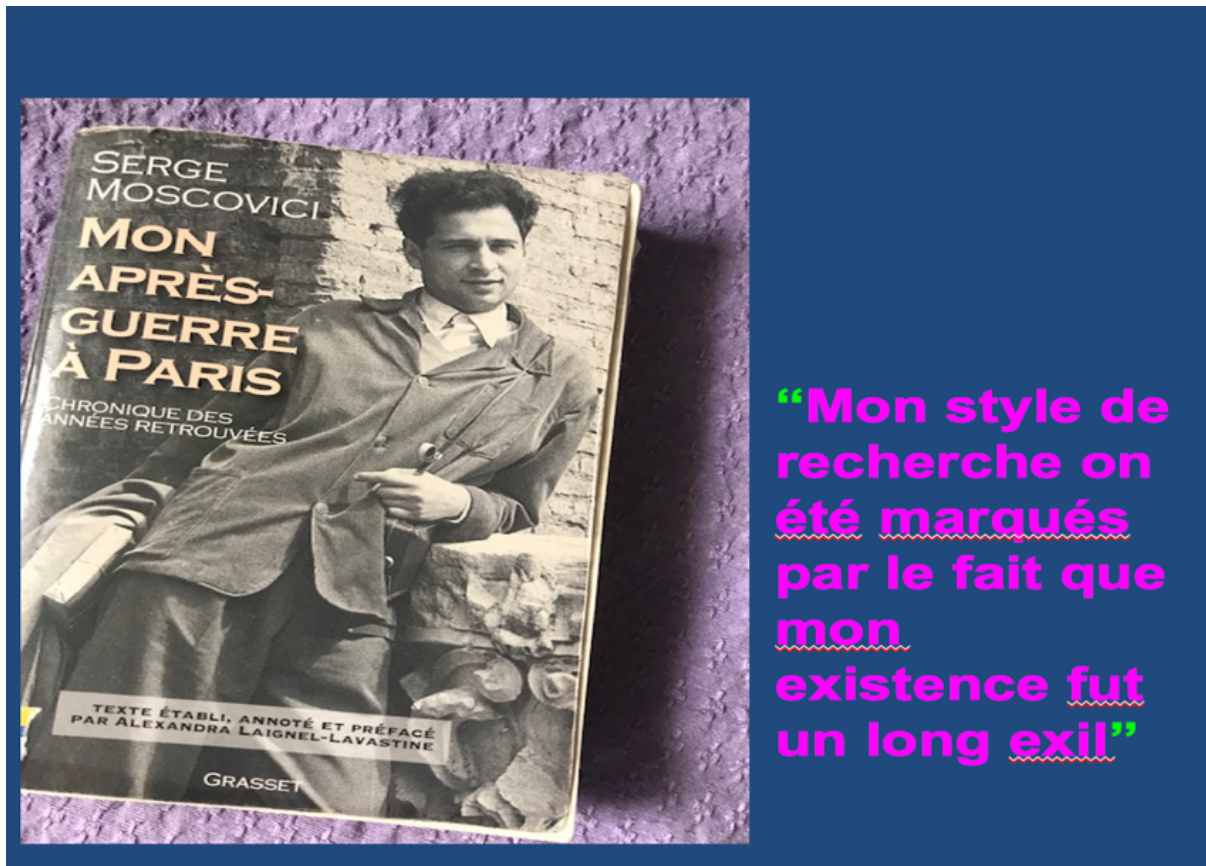
“*Dans le Paris d'après-1945, un étranger était considéré comme un être potentiellement suspect. J'avais choisi la France, mais la France, elle, ne m'avait pas choisi et s'occuper d'un réfugié de l'Est qui venait de recevoir six millions d mort en héritage n'était lors l'affaire de personne*” (Moscovici, 2019)

At the same time, it is impressive how vital and resilient was the need for profound friendships and intellectual relationships among the “*trois billets de loterie perdants*” (Paul Celan, Isaac Chiva and Serge Moscovici), who – together other friends of refugees, like André Schwarz-Bart – significantly constituted “*un petite troupe de sans-patrie issue de toute l'Europe*”.

The book *Mon après-guerre à Paris. Chronique des années retrouvées*, published posthumous in 2019, is indeed one of (if not the) most fascinating books of Moscovici's *Opera Omnia*. It is not only a book of memories of the outstanding narrative quality about his life as refugee and that of refined intellectuals like him, such as the poet Paul Celan and the ethnologist Isac Chiva: the “*trio de Mètèques*” inseparable friends of exile who allowed him to survive, although one of them, Paul Celan, “*un poète errant, perpétuellement traqué par un ennemi invisible*”, “*(...) à Paris, il est ainsi passé du statut de poète inconnu à celui de poète méconnu. Il avait en tout cas trop souffert pour tomber dans la vacuité de la gloire. Et c'est délibérément qu'il donné la mort en se jetant dans le vide, du pont Mirabeau*” (Moscovici, 2019, p.129, 149).

Although *Mon après-guerre à Paris* is a book free from the constraints of the formalization of scientific reified thought and canons, nevertheless it offers profound insights not only on the intellectual climate of that time and an entire generation of well-known scholars of the second half of the century XX (among others Jacques Lacan, Lévi-Strauss, André Schwarz-Bart, Lucien Goldmann, Jean Stoetzel, Jean Dubost, Maurice Merleau-Ponty, Alain Touraine, Fernand Braudel, Clemens Heller, Edgar Morin....) who made *Paris a European capital of culture* and a permanent laboratory of ideas, and on the role of academics mentors and professors, such as the psychiatrist and psychoanalyst Daniel

Lagache and the historian of sciences Alexandre Koyré, on his own path towards knowledge: “*deux hommes ont joué un rôle déterminant*” (Moscovici, 2019, p.197) . Above all it is a book that illuminates the fertilization of Moscovici theories driven by his condition as a refugee and the genesis of the "cross-disciplinary nomadism from his experience of forced migration” (see Fig. 1 and 2).



**Figure 1.** Moscovici’s meta-reflection about the influence of his experience of the exile on his style of research

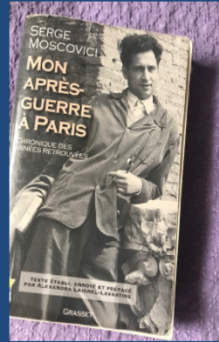
“Je suis bien conscient que mes centres d’ intérêt et mon style de recherche ont été marqués par le fait que **mon existence fut un long exil** - une vie puis une autre, ce fut cela ma vie -, et que **je n’ai jamais pu mener un parcours étudiantin un tant soit peu linéaire**”

“ Pour en revenir à la psychologie sociale (...)à mes yeux, la discipline devait être mixte, hybride ou ‘métissée’ (...)avait vocation à étudier une classe de phénomènes sociaux-psychiques à part – les croyances, entre autres – dans un groupe comme chez l’individu, mais sans le réduire à de ‘purs’ mécanisme individuels ou collectifs. Cela m’est resté: j’ai toujours revendiqué **mon nomadisme disciplinaire...** »

justement observer un jour: « Toi, tu procrastinait tu avais peur de commencer parce que tu te disais que tu n’y arriverais pas, d’où le délai qu’il te fallait pour te lancer dans l’écriture. Je n’ai pas besoin de préciser que cette peur te venait de très loin et de très tôt. Moi, j’avais aussi peur de ne pas parvenir à faire un travail, c’est possible, quoi j’avais hâte d’en finir. D’où mon impatience à m’y mettre. » Chiva a raison: toute ma vie, j’ai eu tendance à reporter les choses au lendemain. L’autre vérité, c’est que je suis paresseux de nature – mais il n’y a justement que les paresseux qui travaillent! Et l’écriture a été une des rares sources de sérénité dans ma vie.

→ Mon métier est peu à peu devenu ma colonne vertébrale. Je suis bien conscient que mes centres d’intérêt et mon style de recherche ont été marqués par le fait que mon existence fut un long exil – une vie puis une autre, ce fut cela ma vie –, et que je n’ai jamais pu mener un parcours étudiantin un tant soit peu linéaire. En outre, il me fallait une discipline qui me vienne de l’intérieur, ayant toujours mal supporté les contraintes imposées du dehors. De là, mon sentiment d’étrangeté devant ce qu’il est convenu d’appeler la communauté scientifique de ce qui est convenu d’appeler la communauté scientifique de ces institutions. Elles ont leur programme intellectuel, leurs priorités et leurs hiérarchies dans le domaine des idées, des langues ou des valeurs. Et il arrive assez souvent qu’ailleurs, la recherche s’occupe davantage des intrigues de la cinquième roue du charrosse.

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→ Pour en revenir à la psychologie sociale, il me déplaisait de la concevoir comme une simple spécialité ou une branche mineure de la psychologie. Ce genre de spécialisation finit toujours par faire sombrer une science dans l’isolement. À mes yeux, la discipline devait être mixte, hybride ou « métissée » de par son caractère d’auto didacte. La psychologie ou la sociologie seules, s’échouaient à décrire ou à cerner. Bref, il m’apparaissait que la psychologie sociale avait vocation à étudier une classe de phénomènes sociaux-psychiques à part – les croyances, entre autres – dans un groupe comme chez l’individu, mais sans les réduire à de « purs » mécanismes individuels ou collectifs. Cela m’est resté: j’ai toujours revendiqué mon nomadisme disciplinaire, les cloisonnements étanches entre sciences humaines et sociales me paraissant stériles, de même que la pratique consistant, soit à faire des expérimentations de laboratoire à n’en plus finir pour accoucher d’une source, soit à s’enfermer dans le romarin de la théorie théorisante.

→ C’est dire si, compte tenu de mon passé roumain, des heures et malheurs du temps, les phénomènes idéologiques – qui n’étaient pas rassurants, ni pendant ni après la guerre – ont eu leur mot à dire dans mes choix. La connaissance psychosociologique avait à mes yeux vocation à s’insérer dans l’action politique au sens où il s’agissait d’aller à la rencontre des problèmes qui se posent à

Figure 2. Moscovici’s reference to his disciplinary nomadism.

Thus, in the secret folds of this posthumous book found as a "treasure in a closet" we discover the existential roots that led to the genesis and development of Moscovici’s theories: *social representations, active minorities, the social history of nature*, among them very much more intertwined than what is unfortunately still not recognized in literature today.

Reading this book on his experience as refugee, it was incredible for me to realize how much the painful experience of resisting to the *assimilation* processes - that cause loss of existential identity - has stimulated Moscovici's interest in an innovative and non-cloning style of thinking. Driven by his motto “*not for proving, but improving! invention is more important than demonstration!*” he generated original theories such as that of *social representations, active minorities, human history of nature*, all interrelated by the interest for the style of influential thinking and societal dynamic through communication.

This discovery was the main reason for which I liked to direct the attention of the participants in the 10<sup>th</sup> PESC International Seminar and, two weeks later (November 7, 2022), of the doctoral trainees met on line for the inaugural opening intensive training session for the relaunched *International Joint doctorate in Social Representations, Culture and Communication*, which inherits three decades-long history I created as founder and coordinated under the auspices of Serge Moscovici, as Program Director, with the legitimation of the innovative idea by the EU Commission in 1993 and its implementation in 1996, transforming a dream into an institutional reality (<http://www.euophd.net/europeaninternational-joint-phd-institutional-history-and-recognition-0>). The motivation to share the existential roots of Moscovici’s cross-disciplinary nomadism with young generation of doctoral research trainees has been driven by the wish that his innovative

thought and unconventional way to live in the academia will continue to inspire our and their works, making his legacy alive.

*“...il me fallait une discipline qui me vienne de l’intérieur, ayant toujours mal supporté les contraintes imposées du dehors. De là, mon sentiment d’étrangeté devant cet aspect glacé, respectable et légèrement bureaucratiques de ce qu’il est convenu d’appeler la communauté scientifique et ses institutions. Elles ont leur programme intellectuel, leurs priorités et leurs hiérarchies dans le domaine des idées, des langues et des valeurs. Et il arrive assez souvent que les chercheurs s’occupent davantage des intrigues de couloirs, la recherche à proprement parler devenant alors la cinquième roue du carrosse. Cette rigidité académique peut sembler assez incompatible avec la solitude, la transgression et l’excès de la pensée que je représente aux yeux de certains. (...) Sans doute la science est-elle un jeu ou une compétition comme les autres. (...) Mais dans la recherche aussi, il y a les arrivistes et les artistes. Les premiers savent d’avance où ils veulent aller, les seconds savent d’où ils veulent partir (...) Et, en général, on va plus loin quand on sait d’où l’on part quand on sait où l’on veut arriver. (...) la science est avant tout un art comme les autres”*  
(Moscovici, 2019, p. 222-223)

The impressive impact that this book has had on my soul and mind - while I was reading it, carrying it with me always like an inseparable friend met again after years of nostalgia for not being able to meet Serge in person since that November 2014 - is also linked to the coincidence that, like many of my generation born after the Second World War and spared from direct experience of world conflicts, I suffered empathetically for the tragic condition of Ukrainian refugees due to the atrocities of the war that broke out in the heart of Europe, while at the same time I kept working to present new results of a large research program on immigration issues, in the Symposium “*Multi-Agents Institutional, Political and Media Discourse on (Im)Migrants: Social Representations from the two sides of the Atlantic and of the Mediterranean*”, organized at the *9th International Conference of Community Psychology* (Naples, September 21-24) (de Rosa, 2022).

## **Objectives**

Starting from some reflections presented in the Introduction, the aim of this paper - due to the words’ limits - is restricted to underline the interest of the interpretative key of one of the empirical results related to the process of “*de-personification*” and “*un-naming*” in the social representations of the (im)migrants, as already illustrated in previous publications related to the analysis of the political-institutional discourse on immigration (de Rosa, Taieb and Latini, 2021a, b). This will contribute to show how Moscovici’s meta-reflections on his auto-biographical experience as refugee narrated in *Mon après-guerre à Paris. Chronique des années retrouvées*, move well beyond his private life space, generating some of main concepts of his theory on Social Representations.















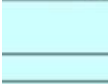




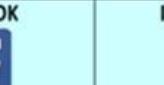


« Écrire son autobiographie ne consiste pas à relater son histoire, mais à réfléchir sur la façon dont on l'a vécue, à converser avec les absents, les lointains. Et moins à faire le récit de ses souvenirs qu'à les faire dialoguer entre eux. Je me suis employé à retrouver le jeune exilé que j'étais dans le Paris d'après-guerre, sans jamais oublier le mot de Montaigne selon lequel, en se peignant soi-même, on peint tous les hommes puisque « chaque homme port en soi la forme entière de l'Humaine condition ». (Moscovici, 2019, p. 361)

## Results

The process of “*de-personification*” and “*un-naming*” at the core of the social representations of the (im)migrants was one of the consistent empirical results of a broad research program on the Social Representations of immigrants, launched since 2017 and still ongoing for further development thanks to the transnational project “*Social representations of immigrants from multi-voice and multiagent institutional policies driven discourses and their echoes in the media: a comparative analysis between Canada and Italy*” jointly submitted with Lilian Negura and approved by SSHRC for 2020-2023 and for further ongoing collaboration with Andreia Giacomozzi and other Brazilian colleagues from UFSC (Universidade Federal de Santa Catarina).

In particular – moving from the key concepts of the “*personification*” and the “*naming*”, as essential to the “*objectification*” and “*anchoring*” processes well defined by the social representation theory (Moscovici 1961/1976;1980) – we provide a new lecture of these key dimensions that build social representations, introducing the terms of “*de-personification*” and “*un-naming*”. In particular the analysis of the sources related to *National and International Scientific Centers and Programs* provide empirical evidence that both the words *Visibility* and *Invisibility* appear, showing the duality of the naming/un-naming process and personalization/de-personalization processes referred to the migrants as *People* (anyway as anonymous people and numbers), or through their multiple denomination *Stranger* (de Rosa, Taieb and Latini, 2021b, p. 47).

SOURCES OF THE SCIENTIFIC, POLITICAL INSTITUTIONAL and LAY PEOPLE Multi-Agents DISCOURSES on MIGRATION by EXPERTS, POLICY MAKERS, JOURNALISTS AND CITIZENS					
DISCOURSE by ACADEMIC EXPERTS in SCIENTIFIC LITERATURE					
• INSPIRED by the SOCIAL REPRESENTATIONS THEORY		• INSPIRED by OTHER THEORIES AND DISCIPLINARY APPROACHES OF SOCIAL SCIENCES			
555		201			756*
INSTITUTIONAL AND POLICIES DRIVEN DISCOURSE by national and international Political Institutions, Political Leaders, Religious Authorities, Associations, NGO.....					
					814*
					
DISCOURSE by JOURNALISTS in ONLINE NEWSPAPERS and MULTI-MEDIA BROADCAST					
					
114	253	266	275	1247	2155**
					
40		40		40	120**
DISCOURSE 'by' and 'for' LAY PEOPLE AND CITIZENS IN SOCIAL MEDIA					
					
2858	1563	798	1010		6229**
TOTAL sources updated as * November 18, 2020; ** December, 9 2019					10,074

**Figure 3.** The Institutional and Policies driven discourse among other sources of the multi-agents discourse on migration by experts, political leaders, journalists and citizens.

“Our analyses of the political-institutional discourse demonstrate once more the polarization between:

- from one side the relevance of the *(de)personification* and *(un)naming* of the marginalized out-groups, as a new key of the *objectification* and *anchoring* processes that build social representations;
- from the other side *naming* and *personification* through narratives of migrant’s human condition (as survivor, person, human, refugees) in the action-driven discourse by NGO versus the un-named migrants in the discourse (making them invisible) even in the institutional documents.

In between the two poles an *economic driven representation of immigrants or political refugees* named as newcomer, alien contextualizes the discourse by leaders with different political orientations.”

(de Rosa, Taieb and Latini, 2021a, p. 49).

“Results from other research lines of our wider project (de Rosa et al. 2019; 2020 a, b, c, d, e; 2021a, b, c, d) show how the multiple denominations of migrants — also corresponding to different legal status (refugee, (im)migrant, stateless, newcomer, alien, undocumented, asylum-seeker...) — are often merged in the discourse “for” and “by” lay people in “polarized representations of the (im)migrants as “un- known”, “foreign” often assimilated from one side with “dangerous”, “extraneous” and generally presented in the media as “invaders”, even stigmatized as “criminal” or potential “terrorists” — legitimizing “fear” and evoking the “need for

barriers” and protection of the own territory by the population of the host country —; from the other side as “forced new home seekers” and social victims.”  
(de Rosa, Taieb and Latini, 2021a, p.141).

Coherently with the wider mother-research program launched in 2017 (de Rosa etAl,2019; 2020a,b,c,d,e; 2021a,b,c,d,e.), taking into consideration the contextualization of the discourses on immigration beyond the national borders, more recent research results of the transnational collaborative developments presented in the Symposium “*Multi-Agents Institutional, Political and Media Discourse on (Im)Migrants: Social Representations from the two sides of the Atlantic and of the Mediterranean*” (de Rosa, 2022) also highlights the *echo chamber* effect played on global scale not only by the media (in particular by social media), but also by the official discourse of governmental political leaders and authorities, who legitimize inclusive versus exclusionary policies towards the immigrants.

To reach the focus of the present contribution - aimed at showing a concrete example of how Moscovici’s *Chronique des années retrouvées* as refugee in Paris illuminates the reading of our results based on more than 10.000 *media sources* (fig. 4) and *field studies* on immigrants of 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> generations to Italy and to Germany from worldwide countries of origin (de Rosa et al. 2019; 2020 a., b., c., d, e. f.; 2021a, b, c, d. e. f. g.; 2022, a; forthcoming a., b., c.) - it is enough to simply draw the attention of the readers to a single document strictly related to his life experience: the *certificate of refugee* (Fig. 4). Finally obtained in 1955 - after 7 years of his arrival in Paris in 1948 - by the *Ministry* at that time in France in charge of *Public Health and of Population* (letting Moscovici joking about the *hygienist* connotation in the choice of the responsible Ministry), the experience of a single man confirms the *bureaucratic barriers* implemented by the State administration everywhere experienced by millions and millions of immigrants and even of refugees. But more significant – in order to reflect on the fertilization by life experience of key elements of the social representation theory as the above addressed processes of *anchoring* and *objectification* trough *naming/un-naming* and *personification/de-personification* - is the story narrated by Moscovici in the chapter II (*Un sans-personne à Paris et l’atelier de confection du père Krauze*) about his *re-naming* as “*Serge*” as a sort of rebaptism from his birth name Strul-Hers that appears in the official certificate (probably ignored even by most of the scholars who knows Moscovici as Serge all over the world). This experience of forced identity change, on the same year of his arrival in Paris (1948), provoked and indeed acted by the insight of the père Krauze for transforming him in a “*bon immigré*” assimilated to the France culture surely has fertilized in Strul-Hers/Serge Moscovici his meta-reflection on the identity implications through the

processes of *naming* (in this case *re-naming*) and *personification* involved in the social representation's construction (Fig. 4)

“Strul ou Serge, je commençais en tout cas à oublier qui j’étais, sinon le jeune homme le plus vieux et le plus esseulé de l’univers. Je savais pourquoi j’étais venu à Paris: il s’agissait de réussir là où j’avais échoué à Bucarest après la guerre.” (Moscovici, 2019, p. 84)

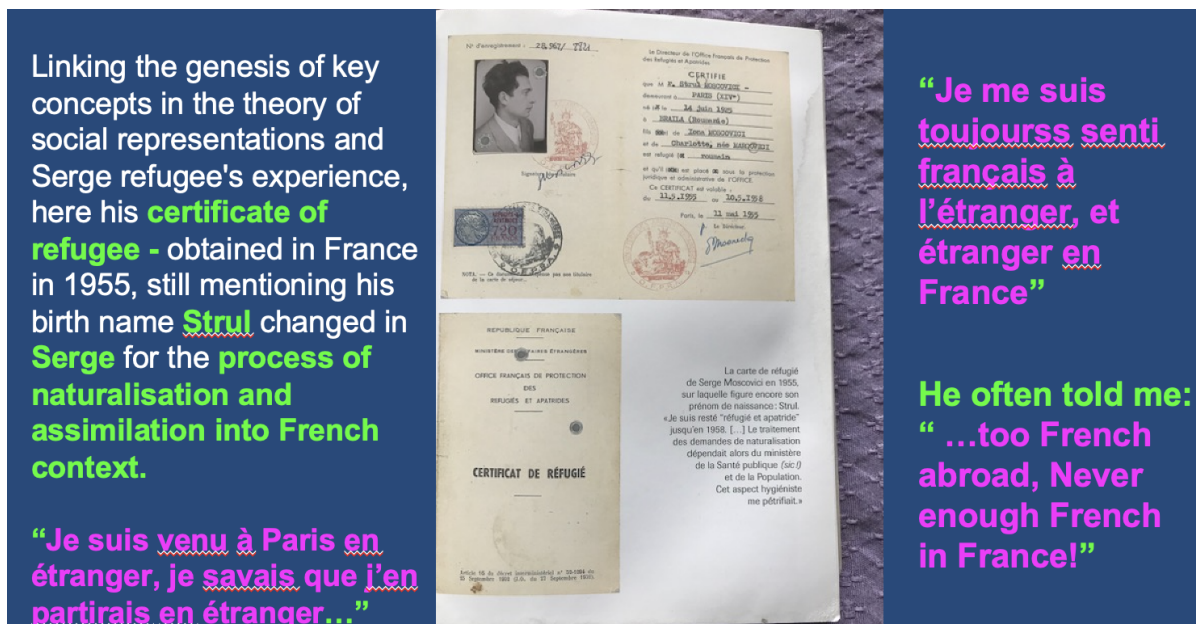


Figure 4. The *certificate of refugee* obtained by Serge Moscovici in 1955 with his original birth name: Strul-Her

## Conclusions

Moscovici’s auto-biographical experience that the resistance to total assimilation up to the change of one's identity connotations (which makes cultural “*assimilation*” very different from an inclusive “*integration*”) has contributed not only to fundamental elements of his theory of social representations, but also of some insights of the *active minorities theory* regarding the communicative processes of influence and the minorities’ ability to oppose identity resistance: see among other Moscovici’s works his classical books *Psychologie des minorités actives* (1979) and *L’Age des foules* (1981).

Another indicator in this sense was his prolonged interest since the beginning of 1990 in the study of Gypsy minorities, whose nomadism has a different peculiarity from that of migrants. Exemplary in this regard is *La “phobie” du nomade*, a contribution presented in the I.S.MU Round Table at the occasion of the *European Amalfi Prix for Sociology and Social Sciences* and published in 1996.

“(…) les culture locales, parce qu’elles sont locales, sont sujettes à cette phobie du nomade, cette aversion envers les groups qui persistent dans leur no man’s land. A la fois comme une fondation et une transgression de leur culture. In ne faut pas le confondre avec la phobie de l’étranger, car le nomade n’est pas un étranger. C’est

une *phobie double*, car le nomade est un *Doppelgänger*, un double autochtone de cette culture. Or, cette phobie a pris aujourd’hui une extension alarmante dans tous les pays où vivent les tsiganes. Je ne méconnais pas les facteurs économique et politiques, la crise qui les nourrit. Mais ces facteurs ne doivent pas nous cacher la spécificité de la part nomade dans les sociétés où l’on commence à brûler leurs maisons, à encercler les villages par des forces de police, et à provoquer leur départ après avoir tenté en vain de les sédentaires” (Moscovici, 1996, p. 88)

As mentioned in the introduction, the resistance to assimilation processes that oppose the freedom to self-determination, which Moscovici developed in his youthful experience as a refugee, has also acted at a scientific level in his resistance to cloning, rather than innovating the disciplines that interested through a consistent "*cross-disciplinary nomadism*" between the various social sciences and between physical and natural sciences, reinterpreted through his passion for the history of science and his interest in the dynamics between scientific knowledge and common sense.

As well as the reflections of a young refugee in France - who was adolescent in Romania facing to the "*culture de la mort*" experiencing the barbarism of which men were capable for the extermination of the Jews by the Nazis and later confronting his dream towards communism in Russia betrayed by the conversion into totalitarian, imperialist and anti-democratic regimes - has been a fertilizer for the reconceptualization from part of Moscovici of the nature-culture relations and of the social history of nature, promoting his pioneering "*naturalisme subversif*" and contribution to the ecological political movement in France: see among other contributions his books *La société contre-nature* (1972), *Hommes domestiques et hommes sauvages* (1974), *De la nature: pour penser l’écologie* (2002) and the interview to Moscovici by Pascal Dibie "*Rénchanter la nature*" (2022).

“Le jeune épistémologue que j’étais, fort d’une certaine expérience vécue de la violence de masse, était forcément frustré par cette façon de transformer la psychologie sociale en science des paramètres, comme si elle ne pouvait avoir de valeur plus générale.

Je dis ‘jeune épistémologue’ car en 1943, en Roumanie, je m’étais subitement pris de passion pour les sciences et leur rapport à la nature. Au point que je m’étais frénétiquement immergé dans l’écriture de quelques brefs essais, dont mes amis suivaient la progression. Depuis ce problème m’a toujours habité. On ne rappellera jamais assez que notre génération a grandi, à l’est de l’Europe, dans une culture de la mort où l’on ne voyait rien de mal au fait de ruer à des fins politiques.

La nature était une façon de se révolter contre cette culture mortifère.” (Moscovici, 1996, p. 198-9)

We can conclude by acknowledging that the greatness of Moscovici's scientific production is rooted also in his extraordinary ability to reflect on his autobiographical experience elevated to meta-reflections on humanity, society and nature. Like all great intellectuals, he learned from the suffering that life has reserved for him and from the resilience experienced thanks to the deep friendships and the love with the Marie's "*visage*"

he encountered along his path, transforming feelings and emotions into culture and innovative theories as an indelible gift for humanity.

For this reason, this posthumous book *Mon après-guerre à Paris. Chronique des années retrouvées*, should be a "must in the doctoral training of new generation of researchers" no less important than the well-known multi-languages translated books and articles from his *Opera Omnia*, which will follow him together with those of the scholars who have been and will continue to be inspired by his thought ([http://www.europhd.net/sites/default/files/images/onda\\_1/01/cahiers/moscovici.html](http://www.europhd.net/sites/default/files/images/onda_1/01/cahiers/moscovici.html)).

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## DIGITAL TRANSFORMATION OF EDUCATION IN UKRAINE DURING THE COVID-19 PERIOD

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During the COVID-19 pandemic, quarantine measures announced in all countries of the world affected all spheres of human life, including education. In this regard, the universities of Ukraine urgently needed to transfer the educational process to a distance format. Despite the potential risks, there is a growing awareness that education is one of the areas that needs to be restored as soon as possible. At the same time, ensuring the safe and efficient operation of educational institutions requires significant financial and organizational costs. Insufficient progress in the implementation of Goal 4 Quality education in the field of sustainable development (Goal 4) means that in order to achieve it by 2030, it will be necessary to increase the amount of expenses for these goals<sup>1</sup>. Achieving comprehensive quality education for everybody confirms the opinion that education is one of the most powerful and proven means of sustainable development.

**The purpose** of the article is to reveal the essence of the initiatives of international organizations during the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic on educational institutions of Ukraine.

To achieve the goal of the study, a questionnaire was created in order to ensure the statistical reliability and relevance of the obtained data using the Google Forms service with limited access to the electronic questionnaire (only by link). In turn, the link was distributed exclusively to pedagogical and scientific-pedagogical employees who underwent remote training at the Central Institute of Postgraduate Education (CIPE) of the State Institution of

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<sup>1</sup> Goals of sustainable development in Ukraine. *United Nations. Ukraine. Глобальні веб-ресурси.* <http://sdg.org.ua/ua/pro-hlobalni-tsili/quality-education>



Higher Education “University of Education Management”. This made it possible to provide the required number of respondents and responses to ensure the results of the study.

A complex of methods was used for the conducted study: 1) analysis, synthesis, comparison, generalization for the study of scientific literature, legislative and regulatory documents; 2) historical and pedagogical analysis to determine the features of the development of open education.

In order to gain a deeper understanding of the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic on higher education and to explore the first measures taken by higher education institutions around the world in response to the crisis, the International Association of Universities (IAU) decided to launch the Global Review of the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic on the Global Higher Education System. Various organizations, such as the Institute of International Education (IMO) in the USA or the European Association for International Education (EAMO) and the Erasmus Student Network (ESN) in Europe, have joined in on this study and have conducted their research. The interest of these studies lies in the fact that they are focused on specific stakeholders in the field of higher education.

Recent express research in Australia suggests that “blended learning”, combining face-to-face and distance learning, can be as effective as classroom learning for many students (Finkel, 2020) <sup>2</sup>. More than a year after the start of the COVID-19 pandemic, we are witnessing a huge demand for digital skills development and quality networking. Restoring a safe, healthy and efficient work and social environment is a challenge that will require a collective global effort to meet new demands. One of the priority actions in an emergency situation is to protect and improve mental health and psychosocial well-being of people. A significant shortcoming remains the lack of a multisectoral, interagency framework that ensures effective coordination, identifies effective and potentially harmful practices, and explains how different approaches to mental health and psychosocial support (MHPSS) complement each other.

As the COVID-19 pandemic inevitably spreads to low- and middle-income countries, educating women to use digital technologies, including mobile technologies, is more important than ever. Bridging the digital gender gap and promoting digital literacy among women will require a multi-stakeholder partnership.

Thus, during the period of the consequences of the COVID-19 pandemic, open education demonstrated both the possibilities and shortcomings in the organization of the

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<sup>2</sup> Guidelines on Distance Education during COVID-19. *Commonwealth of Learning*, 2020. [http://oasis.col.org/bitstream/handle/11599/3576/2020\\_COL\\_Guidelines\\_Distance\\_Ed\\_COVID19.pdf?sequence=4&isAllowed=y](http://oasis.col.org/bitstream/handle/11599/3576/2020_COL_Guidelines_Distance_Ed_COVID19.pdf?sequence=4&isAllowed=y)

educational process, but also made it possible not to stop the educational process. The Ministry of Education and Science of Ukraine issued normative legal documents and letters for educational institutions, namely: order of the Ministry of Education and Science of Ukraine dated March 16, 2020 No. 406 “On organizational measures to prevent the spread of the SARS-CoV-2 coronavirus”, letter of the Ministry of Education and Science of Ukraine No. 1/9-173 dated March 23, 2020 “Regarding the organization of the educational process in secondary education institutions during quarantine”, letter of the Ministry of Education and Science of Ukraine No. 1/9-177 dated March 25, 2020 “Regarding the organization of the educational process in vocational (vocational and technical) education institutions during the quarantine period”. It can be seen from the content of the documents that education is usually offered online. So, under quarantine conditions, scientific and pedagogical employees are allowed to work with students who have stayed at home, using distance learning technologies, taking into account financial and technical capabilities of the educational institution. Any device or tool, including mobile phones and mobile apps, can be used to share learning materials. Materials may be sent by e-mail, posted on the websites of educational institutions, including video tutorials or hyperlinks to them.

During the quarantine period, educational institutions were offered online services and features of their use for teachers, in particular: Google Classroom, Microsoft Teams, Cisco WebEx, Zoom, Class Dojo, Classtime, Viber, as well as social networks such as: Google, Website, Facebook, Instagram, Telegram, Tik Tok, Padlet, Hangouts, Skype.

According to the analysis, the coronavirus crisis has accelerated the launch of digital solutions, tools and services, accelerating the global transition to a digital economy. However, it has also revealed a large gap between populations with and without access to the Internet, showing how far behind many are in adopting digital technology. “Inequalities in digital preparedness prevent a large part of the world from taking advantage of the technologies that are helping us cope with the coronavirus pandemic while staying at home,” said Dr Shamika N. Sirimanne, the Director of the Division on Technology and Logistics of United Nations Conference on Trade and Development UNCTAD<sup>3</sup>.

The goal of the digital transformation of education in Ukraine is to bring it into line with the needs of a digital society and to enter the European Higher Education Area (EHEA) and improve the digital skills of Ukrainian educators and students.

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<sup>3</sup> Otych, O.; Otamas, I.; Ostrianska, O.; Bryn, L. The Use of Digital Tools for Training and Retraining of Education Professionals in the Context of the COVID-19 Pandemic 17th International Conference on ICT in Education, Research and Industrial Applications. Integration, Harmonization and Knowledge Transfer. Volume I: Main Conference, PhD Symposium, and Posters, ICTERI 2021; 3013:226-238, 2021. URL: <http://surl.li/dabsc>.

In order to provide qualified pedagogical and methodical assistance in mastering digital tools for professional training and professional development by educators and consumers of educational services in educational institutions, it was necessary to conduct special pedagogical studies on the topic of identifying the attitude and experience of specialists in the field of education regarding the use of digital tools in educational and vocational training activities. In 2021-2022, research was conducted by scientific and pedagogical staff of the State Institution of Higher Education “University of Education Management”. Its purpose was to identify the attitude of teachers and students to digital transformation in education during the COVID-19 pandemic and military hostilities on the territory of Ukraine, as well as the availability of the Internet and the implementation of electronic document circulation in educational institutions. Accordingly, anonymous responses were collected from 259 respondents and 338 respondents<sup>4</sup>.

When asked about the availability of Internet access, the answers of the respondents are divided by the results obtained in 2021-2022. According to the indicators, Internet access increased in 2022, which is reflected in a Table 2 below.

Table 2.

**Results of a survey of respondents regarding the availability of access to the Internet in 2021 and 2022.**

2021 259 respondents from the regions of Ukraine	2022 338 respondents from the regions of Ukraine
Access to the Internet at home – 44%, Access to the Internet at work – 56%	Access to the Internet at home – 58,3%, Access to the Internet at work – 93,5%

The research of Otych, O.; Otamas, I.; Ostrianska, O.; Bryn, L. (2021) highlights that the current situation during the COVID-19 pandemic is challenging, but motivates education professionals to explore new innovative technologies and implement distance learning due to the growing demand for this form of learning.

Current situation induces universities to look for effective ways of transformation and create new competitive advantages in the form of innovations and technologies. The

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<sup>4</sup> IV Naukovo-praktychnyi seminar iz mizhnarodnoiu uchastiu «Orhanizatsiia elektronnoho dokumentoobihu v zakladakh osvity ta orhanakh derzhavnoi vlady». URL: [https://docs.google.com/forms/d/1hJh8hBgirO1OTNLQVIkVYFtzxQbLUgbY\\_qf8QfH9Fh4/edit](https://docs.google.com/forms/d/1hJh8hBgirO1OTNLQVIkVYFtzxQbLUgbY_qf8QfH9Fh4/edit)

COVID-19 pandemic has stimulated competition among institutions of higher education, which have begun to increase their use of digital tools.

### **Conclusion**

Cooperation between educators and distance learning systems is critical and necessary during the period of the Covid-19 pandemic, as the future is uncertain and there will be more technological intervention in the future. At present, an opinion is expressed in the educational expert community worldwide, that every educational institution needs an expert who can organize, systematize and implement a virtual world project and use LMS in a distance learning system. Digital education can become an important tool for cooperation between Ukraine and the EU at the international level through the exchange and dissemination of best practices and the creation of communities based on this experience.

Against the backdrop of globalization, an open and highly efficient digital education ecosystem both in Ukraine and in the EU enhance global competition for innovation and can contribute to sustainable development of the whole world.

# ROLE OF HISTORY IN SELF-CONSTITUTION OF AN ANTAGONISTIC LEADERSHIP: A FOUCAULDIAN PERSPECTIVE

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## Introduction

The analysis is focused on the phenomenon of self-constitution of an antagonistic type of leadership through the case study of constructing political narratives in the process of reinterpretation of history. This approach is hybridized with Michel Foucault's interpretation of the concepts of government of 'self' and 'others' and the relationship between discourse and truth, drawing from the series of lectures presented by French philosopher at the Collège de France in Paris (Foucault, 2010). Foucault looked back for more than two thousand years to examine practices of ancient Greco-Roman world – practices of courageous truth-telling, *parrhesia*, and provided us with helpful insights and concepts for investigation on how leadership can be evaluated and deconstructed on ethical grounds (Foucault, 1983). As Ladkin (2018) highlighted in her analysis of Barack Obama's leadership, "the requirements of remaining the leader can themselves work against the accomplishment of ethical outcomes".

## Objectives

Objective of this analysis is to describe how 'one of the most powerful men in the world', Russian President Vladimir Putin is using revisionist approach to history with the intention to present his public statements in the form associated with *parrhesia*. We will see how Putin is trying to influence and change 'culture of memories' in order to articulate and elaborate aims of his expansionist war affair. Analysis is aimed at mapping of key elements of creating public political discourse that was intended to justify choice of antagonistic means. We are exploring in detail how leader is (mis)using revisionist perceptions of history and presents his own reinterpretation as the act of truthful reading of history, which allows him to make excuses for hostile interventions in future historical trajectories by implementing extreme punitive means.

## Results

Three days before launching aggressive war euphemistically labeled as 'special military operation' against Ukraine, Russian President Vladimir Putin has delivered his

public speech in which he presented his own reinterpretation of history of Russia. This speech was delivered on the occasion of recognition of the independence of the so called the Donetsk and Lugansk People's Republics by the Russian Federation, on February 21, 2022.

By covering, in seven thousand words the past one hundred years of Russia's history, Putin speech presented simplified version of that history, where historical events with multiple causes and multiple meanings are reinterpreted by a single cause and simplified *post festum* reading. As Milanovic noted, Putin's speech is delivered in a form of "J'accuse" speech that tells, according to Putin, a story of a century of betrayals of Russia: first, by Bolsheviks, then by Russia's own elites, and last but not least, by Russia's presupposed partners in peace-building – i.e. Ukraine, US, NATO and its allies (Milanovic, 2022).

In shortly, Putin accused the Bolsheviks of having arbitrarily surrendered vast Russian territories to former Soviet Republics. According to Putin, Ukraine was created together first by Lenin, then by Stalin who transferred to Ukraine some lands that previously belonged to Poland, Romania and Hungary and finally by Khrushchev who "for some reason" took Crimea away from Russia and also gave it to Ukraine. Consequently, concludes Putin, the break-up of the USSR was brought by the historical and strategic mistakes of the leadership of the Communist Party of the USSR. That was the second betrayal of which Putin spoke. Nowadays Ukrainian authorities, according to Putin, were building their statehood on the negation of everything that united Ukrainian and Russian people, trying to "distort the mentality and historical memory of millions of people".

And thirdly, Putin was speaking on betrayal of the United States of America, despite Russia wanted to establish cordial relations of friendship with the US. It became evident, according to Putin, that the US treated Russia as an enemy, since the US and NATO have "started an impudent development of Ukrainian territory as a theatre of potential military operations", and thus threaten Russia, as an easy target for American weaponry, concluded Putin.

This speech is very important because, for the first time, Putin presented a very comprehensive insight into his picture of the world - his *Weltanschauung*, and revealed his self-constitution ethos and ethics of leadership. To what extent this speech was historical, became evident three days later, on February 24, 2022 when President of the Russian Federation announced, in a TV address, start of a 'special military operation' against Ukraine and proclaimed that the goal of this action is "to protect the people that are subjected to abuse, genocide from the Kiev regime" and to "demilitarize and denazify Ukraine" (*sic!*).

Drawing from Foucauldian perspective, we could interpret Putin's speech as his personal endeavor to self-constitute and present himself as an ethical leader who is openly

telling that he is in the possession of `the truth` and he is conveying it freely and courageously to his compatriots and to the whole world - `urbi et orbi`. Foucault explains that etymologically, *parrhesiazesthai* means to “say everything” - “... the *parrhesiastes* ... does not hide anything, but opens his heart and mind completely to other people through his discourse” (Foucault, 2001, 12).

But, Putin is using *parrhesia* merely as a rhetorical device, as a kind of verbal activity where he, as the speaker who has no interlocutor, has a specific relation to `the truth` through frankness, but not through self-criticism - his criticism is exclusively directed to other people. As a speaker, he is trying to present himself as a leader who feels moral duty and makes his own choice to speak up freely and openly by critically summarizing the painful truth about Russia and its internal and external enemies.

Putin is saying: “Of course, we cannot change past events, but we must at least admit them openly and honestly, without any reservations or politicking... I am not trying to put the blame on anyone... The only thing I would like to say today is that this is exactly how it was. It is a historical fact.” But, by reinterpreting the historical past, Putin is trying to influence historical trajectories with the use of hostile, offensive means, and he is intentionally choosing the policy of brinkmanship – policy of calculated risks, by pursuing a series of dangerous steps to the brink of war.

After all, in Foucault concept (1983), when he sums up the concept of *parrhesia* as such, he concludes: “So you see, the *parrhesiastes* is someone who takes a risk ... *Parrhesia*, then, is linked to courage in the face of danger: it demands the courage to speak the truth in spite of some danger. And in its extreme form, telling the truth takes place in the `game of life or death`.” Indeed, Putin is trying to present Russian ‘special operation’, i.e. military invasion in Ukraine, as self-evident, historically correct fact, truthful and inevitable maneuver, that should be accepted as an act of `truthful` *casus belli*.

## **Conclusions**

This analysis, implemented from a Foucauldian perspective enabled as to describe how Putin is (mis)using historical narratives and manipulate them in contemporary geopolitical context in order to achieve his expansionist incentives. We have seen that Putin misuses and misinterpret all elements of *parrhesia*, but he is not successful in convincing that his motives are ethically grounded - he is just one in a myriad of politicians who are endlessly trying to reinterpret and change history. That is why Putin cannot be recognized as *parrhesiastes*, although he is someone who is taking a risk, and his version of `truth-telling` is presented in extreme form of “parrhesiastic game”– in the form of fight for life or death.

Putin's initial public utterances indicate he was not including complex international power dynamics in his antagonistic oriented deliberations. That is why it is possible to assume that Putin's inability to operate leadership agency with high(er) degree of contextual reflexivity is a critical aspect of sustaining him as a leader.

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