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About the journal

Aims & scope

English Studies at NBU (ESNBU) is an entirely open access, double-blind peer reviewed academic journal published by the Department of Foreign Languages and Cultures, New Bulgarian University in two issues per year, June and December, in print and online.

ESNBU welcomes original research articles, book reviews, discussion contributions and other forms of analysis and comment encompassing all aspects of English Studies and English for professional communication and the creative professions. Manuscripts are accepted in English. Translations of published articles are generally not accepted.

Submission and fees

Submissions are accepted from all researchers; authors do not need to have a connection to New Bulgarian University to publish in ESNBU.

There are **no submission fees** or **publication charges** for authors.

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Abstracting and Indexing

[CEEOL](#) - Central and Eastern European Online Library

[ERIH PLUS](#) - European Reference Index for the Humanities and the Social Sciences

[MLA](#) - Directory of Periodicals and MLA International Bibliography

[ROAD](#) - Directory of Open Access Scholarly Resources

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[WoS Core Collection](#) (ESCI) - Web of Science Emerging Sources Citation Index

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Brill [Linguistic Bibliography](#)

[CEEAS](#) - Central & Eastern European Academic Source (EBSCOhost)

ICI Index Copernicus - [Journals Master list database](#)

[RSCI](#) Core - Russian Science Citation Index (РИИЦ)

[CNKI SCHOLAR](#) (CNKI) China Knowledge Resource Integrated Database

[ZDB](#) - Zeitschriften Datenbank

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-[Bulgarian National Library](#) "St. St. Cyril and Methodius" (both print and digital full text formats)

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-[The Library of Congress](#) (both print and digital from Vol4, Issue 2, 2018)

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EDITOR'S MESSAGE



Stan Bogdanov,

Managing Editor

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English Studies at NBU is now bringing out Volume 10!

In this issue:

Diana Yankova focuses on academic integrity policies in higher education institutions, comparing approaches in Bulgaria with those in Australia, New Zealand, and Canada. The research is part of a larger project examining perceptions of academic plagiarism in Bulgaria. She emphasizes the need for a balanced approach that respects cultural differences while promoting global standards of academic integrity.

Elena Blagoeva examines the issue of early school leaving (ESL) and young people not in education, employment or training (NEETs) in Europe, focusing on the "Second Chance Schools" (SCS) approach as a potential solution.

Hristo Chukurliev explores the concept of post-pedagogy and presents four innovative teaching methods as examples of this new approach to education. The study argues that traditional teaching methods are breaking down, and there's a need for a new type of pedagogy that aligns with changes in our environment, new generations, and digital technologies. The overall message is that education needs to evolve to meet the needs of modern learners while maintaining academic rigor and fostering critical thinking skills.

Albena Stefanova explores attitudes and perceptions regarding hybrid academic English for Specific Purposes (ESP) courses in higher education. The research highlights the complexities of developing hybrid ESP courses due to generational differences, individual preferences, and varying experiences.

Talip Güle reviews the spread of English Medium Instruction in higher education globally and examines its implications, challenges, and outcomes. The study suggests that while EMI continues to expand, its effectiveness is not universal and presents significant challenges. It calls for a critical re-evaluation of EMI policies, advocating for a shift towards a multilingual framework that better addresses the linguistic needs of all EMI students.

Olha Fert and Halyna Pyatakova's study focuses on strategies to improve writing skills in students with attention deficits, particularly those with ADHD and other neurodevelopmental or trauma-related disorders. Results of the in-depth study showed significant improvements across all indicators, including improvement in marks for written work, positive difference in performance of written tasks, improvement in sustaining attention, handwriting, and legibility.

Daria Pylypyshyna and Albina Palamarchuk investigated the impact of using authentic audiovisual materials on Ukrainian ESL university students' listening comprehension skills. The researchers conclude that while authentic materials didn't significantly improve listening skills in this study, they can be valuable for increasing student confidence and reducing anxiety when properly implemented.

Almudena Nevado Llopis, Ana Isabel Foulquié Rubio and Alina Pelea examined the phenomenon of language brokering (LB) by children and young adults in healthcare settings in Spain, particularly focusing on their experiences and perceptions. The study highlights the complex nature of child language brokering in healthcare settings, acknowledging both potential benefits and risks while advocating for more professional solutions and better support for child brokers when the practice cannot be avoided.

Boris Naimushin provides a detailed account of Henry Ware, an American who played significant roles as an interpreter and economist during and after World War II, with connections to both the United States and the Soviet Union. Boris also discusses Ware's family background, including his mother's connections to socialist causes, and provides context about US-Soviet relations and interpretation practices during World War II.

Kulamangalam Thiagarajan Tamilmani and Sankaranpillai Aruljothi Thillainayaki's essay analyses Anne Tyler's novel "Saint Maybe", focusing on the character development of the protagonist Ian Bedloe and themes of narcissism, sin, redemption, and the changing role of men in domestic life. The essay explores how Ian Bedloe transitions from a narcissistic teenager to a responsible caregiver and father figure. The essay presents "Saint Maybe" as a novel that redefines male roles in the domestic sphere and explores themes of redemption and personal transformation through everyday family life.

Issa Omotosho Garuba examines how Native American literature, particularly works by James Welch, functions as a counter-discourse to dominant Euro-American narratives about Native American history and identity. The essay argues that such counter-discursive writing is crucial for preserving and asserting Native American perspectives and identities in the face of ongoing cultural dominance and misrepresentation by the majority culture.

Finally, **Antony Hoyte-West offers a review of Paul Tenngart's "The Nobel Prize and the Formation of Contemporary World Literature"** - an insightful and valuable book for specialists in literary studies, history, translation studies, and social sciences.

I wish you all good reading.

That said, I would like to invite submissions for our next issue in December 2024.

Be well!

ACADEMIC INTEGRITY POLICIES IN HIGHER EDUCATION INSTITUTIONS ACROSS CULTURES

Diana Yankova

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Abstract

Academic integrity is a cornerstone of higher education, ensuring that students engage in honest and ethical practices in their pursuit of knowledge. The implementation of academic integrity policies varies across countries, reflecting the unique cultural, societal, and educational contexts of each nation. This article compares academic integrity policies in New Zealand, Australia, and Canada to those in Bulgaria, highlighting the similarities and differences that exist between these diverse educational landscapes. The study applies the well-known methodology by Bretag et al. (2011) whereby an exemplary academic integrity model is evaluated on the basis of five components, namely access, approach, responsibility, detail and support. This methodology is enriched by a modification suggested by Perkins and Roe (2023) in which a sixth component is added – technological explicitness, which involves the necessity to include and constantly update information and provide guidelines about new technologies.

Keywords: academic dishonesty, HEIs, cross-cultural models, university integrity policy

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Prof. Diana Yankova, D. Litt. is currently Chair of the Foreign Languages and Cultures Department, New Bulgarian University. Her research interests are in the field of discourse analysis, applied linguistics, ESP, sociolinguistics, culture studies and cultural awareness. Author of a number of monographs, among which *Canadian Kaleidoscope* (2006), *The Text and Context of European Directives. Translation Issues in Approximating Legislation* (2008), *Legal Englishes: The Discourse of Statutory Texts* (2013), and *Bulgarian immigrants to Canada: sociocultural and linguistic identity* (2024).

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Rationale of the study

The article focuses on the initial stage of the research project “The gravity of academic plagiarism in the perception of scholars, students, and academic policy makers in Bulgaria”¹, which started in 2022 with the overarching aim to monitor the overall perception of academic misconduct amongst all parties involved – students, academics, policy makers and the general public. This stage involves a detailed study of academic integrity policies at higher educational institutions in Bulgaria: what imprint they have on the education process, whether they are sufficiently transparent, who the stakeholders are and how the Bulgarian context compares to different academic cultures and practices.

Academic dishonesty has been a topic for discussion in academic circles (and not only) over recent years, leading to questioning current institutional policies and procedures in place in higher educational institutions. Undoubtedly, such efforts should be an indelible part of an overall institutional academic integrity strategy which is developed conjointly by students and staff based on mutual objectives and standards (Morris, 2018).

The focus in this paper is on the convergence and divergence of academic integrity policies in New Zealand, Australia and Canada on the one hand and Bulgaria on the other. The study explores the cultural, educational, and technological contexts of these countries and examines the development, application and effectiveness of academic integrity models, which are evaluated on the basis of how they address academic misconduct, promote ethical behavior, and adapt to the challenges of the digital age.

It is expected that in the course of the study cross-cultural discrepancies will arise, engendered by the different world view between the English traditions and approaches to plagiarism and other types of academic cheating, and the attitudes of Bulgarian students and faculty. The role of institutions and individuals will be highlighted along with the importance of local beliefs and values.

Academic integrity policy is an under-researched topic in Bulgaria but one which has recently been gathering momentum. The onslaught of novel digital technologies

¹ This study has been financed by the National Science Fund (NSF), Bulgaria under grant KII-06-H-70/9, 2022-2025

coupled with the requirements that academics publish research articles and that students hand in numerous papers has brought this issue to the fore. However, so far there have been no extensive and comprehensive studies of academic misconduct or academic integrity policy in the Bulgarian context, much less so comparative ones. The few publications that exist concern as a rule specific cases of misconduct, are mostly written in Bulgarian, and are thus not widely disseminated.

The ultimate aim of the study is to highlight whether there could be a uniform, standardized policy across different institutions, countries and cultures or if each separate higher education context needs a multifaceted, idiosyncratic solution to the challenges posed by current developments and increasing current global concern towards academic misconduct.

The research questions can be formulated as follows:

- What are the core elements of academic integrity policies in Bulgarian higher education institutions as per Bretag et al.'s (2011) model, in comparison with policies adopted in Australia, Canada and New Zealand?
- Can cross-cultural discrepancies so far as they exist be clearly pinpointed?
- Is a standardized policy across different institutions and cultures possible or does each separate higher education context need an idiosyncratic approach?

Answering these research questions will hopefully establish the gaps in university policies related to academic integrity in Bulgaria resulting in a list of recommendations to remedy the situation.

Methodology

Academic integrity is a fundamental aspect of higher education, encompassing honesty, responsibility, and ethical behavior among students and educators. Models designed to promote and maintain academic integrity are essential for creating an environment where learning and scholarship thrive. This paper will apply an exemplary academic integrity model based on Bretag et al.'s (2011) five components: access, approach, responsibility, detail, and support. Additionally, the analysis will incorporate a

sixth component, technological explicitness, proposed by Perkins and Roe (2023), which highlights the importance of addressing new technologies and their implications within the model.

Bretag et al. (2011) present a comprehensive academic integrity model that encapsulates the following five key components:

1. **Access:** This component focuses on the availability and ease of access to academic integrity information. It emphasizes the need for clear, easily navigable resources to educate students and educators about academic integrity.
2. **Approach:** The approach component underscores the strategies and methods used to foster a culture of academic integrity. It involves the proactive promotion of ethical behavior and the prevention of academic misconduct.
3. **Responsibility:** Responsibility encompasses the accountability of students, educators, and institutions. It highlights the importance of clear policies, expectations, and consequences for breaches of academic integrity.
4. **Detail:** Detail refers to the level of specificity and clarity in academic integrity guidelines. Clear definitions of academic misconduct and well-defined procedures for reporting and addressing violations are essential.
5. **Support:** This component highlights the provision of support mechanisms for students and educators. It involves the availability of assistance, counseling, and guidance to help individuals navigate the complexities of academic integrity.

These five interrelated and non-hierarchical core elements can be illustrated by the following diagram:



Figure 1.

Bretag et al.'s (2011) exemplary academic integrity model

A recent addition to this model was conceived and proposed by Perkins and Roe (2023), who enriched Bretag et al.'s conception by adding a sixth component, technological explicitness. In an era of rapidly evolving technology, this component recognizes the necessity of addressing the impact of new technologies on academic integrity “to ensure that the model remains responsive to the ongoing evolution of digital tools” (Perkins and Roe, 2023). It encompasses two key elements, the first being *Inclusion of Technological Information*. This aspect requires academic integrity models to incorporate information about new technologies and their potential implications for academic misconduct. As the landscape of academic misconduct evolves with technological advancements, students and educators must be aware of the latest trends and risks. The second element is *Continuous Updates and Guidelines*. Technological explicitness mandates the constant updating of academic integrity resources to keep pace with emerging technologies. Guidelines for using technology ethically, detecting technological misconduct, and reporting violations should be readily available and regularly revised.

Results and analysis

Australia, New Zealand, and Canada share a common thread of English-speaking, Western-style higher education systems. These nations have strived to develop rigorous academic integrity policies that, where existent, emphasize the importance of honesty, originality, and fairness in all academic pursuits.

Australia upholds stringent academic integrity standards. The Australian National University, for instance, maintains a Code of Academic Integrity that delineates expectations and the consequences of academic misconduct. The emphasis is on fostering a culture of trust, where students are expected to demonstrate respect for the learning process and their peers. With its diverse educational landscape, Australia has embraced academic integrity models to nurture ethical behavior among students and educators.

Similarly in New Zealand, some institutions like the University of Auckland have adopted comprehensive academic integrity guidelines. Plagiarism and cheating are strictly prohibited, and students are ideally provided with resources to understand and adhere to these policies. A strong sense of individualism underscores the significance of unique and original work, and students are encouraged to respect and acknowledge the contributions of others in their academic endeavors.

In Canada, some higher education institutions, e.g. the University of Toronto, have well-defined policies on academic integrity. These policies focus on the importance of maintaining trust within the academic community and place a strong emphasis on academic honesty, originality, and ethical behavior. Consequences for breaches of these policies in some universities range from academic penalties to expulsion.

But have these scholarly ideals and underlying philosophy been transposed into clear, transparent and definitive university policies, procedures and teaching practices in these countries or is there still an institutional and academic void to be filled?

A case study, carried out at a regional Australian university (Reedy et al., 2021) examined whether and how ambiguous academic integrity policy is transposed into tangible, lucid resources for students and faculty and transformed into comprehensible practical rules ensuring uniform and fair response to academic dishonesty. The authors

found variability of approaches and inconsistencies in the process of prevention and curtailment of academic misconduct even within the realm of one institution.

If the first component of Bretag et al.'s model is considered, that of *Access*, and applied to data from the three English-speaking countries, it can be seen that 6/39 (15%) Australian Universities, 7/8 (87.5%) New Zealand higher education institutions and 5/24 (20%) of Canadian universities demonstrated policies that were difficult to locate on their websites, with the average number of clicks to reach the main policy document in New Zealand being 4.6, while documents in Australian universities were accessible within 2-4 clicks². In other words, academic misconduct policies are not as easily accessible as they should be, provided that the effortless retrieval of such documents is the starting point on which to build the other components of an exemplary academic integrity policy. This is in keeping with similar studies which also emphasize accessibility issues with regard to relevant university policies (cf. Suryani & Sugeng, 2019, Miron et al., 2021, among others). It is clear that a direct route is needed, one that would ensure swift access and informativity for all stakeholders – students, faculty, prospective students and future employers.

Besides being visible and easily retrievable, an exemplary model of an academic integrity policy should be regarded as an educative process that provides a background. Therefore, the *Approach* component referring to how the policy communicates the significance of academic integrity and the educative measures (if any) in support of its values is an important aspect, which highlights the strategy of the institution – whether it is mostly punitive, slanting more towards educative or both. In Australia, in 28% of the studied documents both educative and punitive elements were present, in New Zealand the percentage is 61, in Canada – 37%. In general, in these countries, the tendency is a shift of focus from purely punitive to educative measures, although most documents contain extensive texts dedicated to penalties in cases of academic misconduct. The particular institutional approach has a definite bearing on how interested parties view academic integrity.

² All data in this part cited from Bretag et al. (2011) for Australia, Stoez & Eaton (2020) for Canada, Möller (2023) for New Zealand.

Responsibility is the next component that specifies the roles of each stakeholder and their accountability, what their conduct should be, what their function and prerogatives are. A clear definition of responsibility is an integral and indelible part of the academic integrity policy which identifies the boundaries: is responsibility confined to the university or does it stretch beyond school education and extend to public life? In 18% of the studied Canadian university documents the target audience was students, faculty in 30%, and all members of the community – 35%. Most universities in New Zealand demonstrated that responsibility lay with the institution itself – 63%, while in Australia 21% the responsibility was considered to be with students and only one university's policy stated that all stakeholders are responsible.

An extremely important aspect of academic misconduct is identifying what it entails, its precise definition, its severity, its various manifestations, or the *Detail* to which it is described in the university policy. This component also includes how breaches are detected. The abundance of terms such as academic misconduct, academic dishonesty, contract cheating, plagiarism, inappropriate collaboration, collusion, fraud, personation, among others, make a university's academic integrity policy confusing and imprecise, so rather than broad descriptions, accurate definitions are required for a policy to be clearer, more comprehensive, and better and enforceable. In the Canadian documents under study there was a marked variety in the terms used even within one document. Only 10 universities include precise definitions of contract cheating but categorized under different terminology. In most documents the language was hazy and indirect. The findings for New Zealand universities showed that academic misconduct is referred to by non-standard terminology, which leads to confusion about specific types of breach, while universities in Australia lacked a clearly articulated vision.

Concerning the component *Support*, university policies in New Zealand demonstrated a marked orientation to students, with little to no support provided to other participants in the academic integrity concept, such as faculty or general staff. Most Canadian universities under study offered support for the disciplinary process and very few documents (only 4) envisaged teaching and learning support as a deterrent to academic dishonesty. Some provided students with guidelines on how to get support from faculty, from educational resources, libraries, awareness campaigns. The research team examining the support provided in connection to academic integrity in Australia did not

consider the division of support to students and to staff, although they acknowledge that the different groups need different and purposeful assistance, specific to each. Rather their conclusion was that support should be an integral part of the policy, marked by a tight interconnectedness between drafted policy and actual practice.

Since the data so far comes from research based solely on Bretag et al.'s (2011) model which includes the mentioned five components, there was no data included about the sixth component, namely technological explicitness.

To sum up, academic integrity in New Zealand, as guided by Bretag et al.'s model enriched by Perkins and Roe's modification, is marked by an emphasis on access, approach, responsibility, detail, and support. Academic institutions there are proactive in promoting ethical behavior and fostering a culture of trust and responsibility. By providing students with accessible resources, guidelines, and continuous support, New Zealand ensures that academic integrity remains a core value in its higher education landscape. However, policies are not always of the exemplary standard, no ease of access is manifested, there is a marked lack of insufficient restorative practices, non-standard terminology is used in policy documents, and a deficiency of clear and specific support can be observed. This approach should also not only address current challenges but also prepare students and educators to navigate the ever-changing digital environment with integrity and ethical conduct.

Australia places an emphasis on academic integrity, and there is an aspiration for the principles outlined in Bretag et al.'s model to be followed. A large number of the Australian institutions under study demonstrate easier access to academic integrity policies, one third provide for both educative and punitive measures, and there is a wide variability of approaches to policy with different sanctions envisaged.

Canada, like New Zealand and Australia, emphasizes academic integrity and follows the principles of Bretag et al.'s model. Overall, academic integrity is a cornerstone of Canada's educational system, reflecting the country's commitment to excellence, fairness, and ethical conduct in learning and research. By upholding and promoting academic integrity, Canadian universities support the values of scholarship and ensure the integrity and credibility of their academic programs and degrees. However, the

studied institutions in Canada focus on policing, reporting, investigating, sanctioning student misconduct. The policies are based on morality, or more specifically, lack of morals; no clear or explicit definition of contract cheating is detected, relevant documents are not easy to access.

From the above results and discussion, it can be deduced that academic integrity is not well conceptualized in university policies even in countries such as Australia, New Zealand and Canada, in whose academic cultures the principles of academic integrity are deeply upheld and embedded in the way of thinking and *modus operandi*. But it is still a challenge for most higher education institutions there to translate into practice these higher morals and the relevant support for academic misconduct to be prevented or at least minimized.

Applying Bretag et al.'s (2011) model of academic integrity with the added technological explicitness component to Bulgarian universities reveals several challenges and problems within the academic integrity landscape³. Here are some issues identified based on each component of the model:

Bulgarian universities face challenges in providing equitable access to resources and to support services related to academic integrity. Smaller or less-resourced institutions struggle to offer comprehensive education and support programs, leaving students with limited guidance on ethical academic practices. Most policy documents if present are hard to find on the respective website and can usually be found by applying the search function.

There are inconsistencies in how academic integrity is approached across different faculties or departments within Bulgarian universities. While few departments prioritize education and prevention, others focus more on punitive measures. This lack of consistency can lead to confusion among students and faculty about expectations and consequences for academic misconduct.

Clear delineation of responsibilities among various stakeholders, including students, faculty, administrators, and academic support staff, are lacking in Bulgarian

³ Some of the data about Bulgarian HEIs is from Vassileva & Chankova (2023) who studied 52 institutions.

universities. Most Bulgarian university policies include students, faculty and staff, but some do not mention students at all. Without clear guidelines and communication channels, it can be challenging to hold individuals and institutions accountable for promoting and upholding academic integrity standards.

Academic integrity policies and procedures in Bulgarian universities commonly lack detail or specificity, leaving room for interpretation and inconsistency in enforcement. Clear and transparent guidelines are essential for ensuring fairness and accountability in addressing academic misconduct cases. Only six HEIs opted for a definition of academic integrity, most of the others do not specify clearly what constitutes academic dishonesty.

Generally, no specific support is provided in the academic policies that could guide students, staff or faculty in the process of combatting academic dishonesty, nor are any strategies laid down for upholding integrity. While some Bulgarian universities may offer support services for students, such as writing centers or academic counselling, these resources are not widely available or adequately promoted. Students who are struggling academically or facing challenges related to academic integrity may not receive the support they need to navigate these issues effectively.

With the increasing use of technology in education, Bulgarian universities face challenges in addressing academic dishonesty facilitated by digital tools and platforms. There is a lack of awareness or guidance on ethical practices in digital environments, such as online plagiarism or unauthorized collaboration.

As compared to the English-speaking countries above, Bulgaria has a unique cultural and educational background that influences its approach to academic integrity. Bulgarian institutions, such as Sofia University, have also established academic integrity policies, but they often reflect the broader societal and educational context of the country.

In Bulgaria, the historical and cultural significance of collective effort may influence a more lenient approach to collaboration among students. Group work and sharing of knowledge are often more acceptable than in Western countries. The focus is not solely on individual originality but also on mutual learning and support.

When comparing academic integrity policies in New Zealand, Australia, and Canada to Bulgaria, several key differences and similarities emerge:

1. Approach to Plagiarism and Cheating:

- In New Zealand, Australia, and Canada, there is a strong emphasis on the prohibition of plagiarism and cheating, with strict consequences. In contrast, Bulgaria is more tolerant of collaborative work.

2. Consequences and Enforcement:

- Consequences for academic misconduct in New Zealand, Australia, and Canada are more severe, including failing courses or even expulsion. In Bulgaria, penalties may be less severe and vary by institution.

3. Cultural Influences:

- The cultural context in Bulgaria allows for more acceptance of collaborative learning. In contrast, Western nations stress the importance of individualism and original work.

4. Global Alignment:

- Bulgaria's academic integrity policies are increasingly aligning with international standards as it integrates more deeply with Western educational systems.

By comparing the approaches of Bulgaria, New Zealand, Australia, and Canada, it becomes evident that cultural, educational, and technological contexts influence the application of academic integrity policies. Although it is not always easy to determine which discrepancies are specifically cross-cultural, we would like to differentiate between the shared issues and the inconsistencies that have arisen in this study. The common problematic aspects that can be detected in both contexts are vague definitions of academic integrity and its breaches; the focus more on sanctions rather than educative measures; the reality that not all stakeholders are included; and the lack of support.

However, there are some cross-cultural variations which are translated into the approach and formulation of the academic integrity policies in Bulgaria, such as society's greater tolerance to plagiarism; higher lack of transparency; insufficient recognition of

the importance of academic dishonesty. Therefore, the idiosyncratic cultural, social and educational backgrounds should be acknowledged when devising a university policy. Academic integrity policies across New Zealand, Australia, and Canada share commonalities grounded in the promotion of individualism, originality, and the prohibition of academic misconduct. In contrast, Bulgaria's policies reflect a cultural heritage that traditionally values collective efforts and mutual learning. However, as Bulgaria aligns more with Western educational systems, there is an increasing emphasis on academic integrity and individual work.

In order to conform to global educational standards, Bulgaria must navigate the complex interplay between its cultural heritage and the global norms of academic integrity. In doing so, it can draw inspiration from the strict academic integrity policies of New Zealand, Australia, and Canada while respecting the unique cultural and historical aspects that make Bulgaria's approach distinct. The ultimate goal is to foster a culture of trust, respect, and integrity in academia, regardless of the specific cultural context.

Conclusions

Academic integrity models play a pivotal role in shaping the ethical behavior of students and educators in higher education. Bretag et al.'s five-component framework provides a strong foundation for these models, emphasizing access, approach, responsibility, detail, and support. By enriching this model with the sixth component, technological explicitness, as suggested by Perkins and Roe (2023), academic institutions can better address the challenges posed by ever-evolving technology and uphold ethical conduct in the digital age. The addition of technological explicitness represents a forward-looking approach to adapt to the ever-evolving challenges of the digital age and promote a culture of academic honesty and trust within educational institutions. It recognizes the evolving nature of academic misconduct and the critical role of technology in both enabling and preventing such misconduct. By emphasizing the need for updated information and clear guidelines, it nurtures a proactive approach to addressing technological challenges. Incorporating technological explicitness ensures that academic integrity models remain current and pertinent. It empowers students and educators to navigate the complex technological landscape with a strong sense of ethical responsibility. Moreover, it highlights the imperative of considering technological

advances when crafting and enforcing academic integrity policies, ultimately promoting a culture of trust, honesty, and fairness within educational institutions. This holistic approach ensures that academic integrity models remain relevant and effective, nurturing a culture of academic honesty and trust within educational communities.

By addressing the challenges within the framework of Bretag et al.'s model, Bulgarian universities can strengthen their commitment to academic integrity and maintain the credibility of their educational programs.

Addressing these problems requires a concerted effort from Bulgarian universities, policymakers, and stakeholders within the academic community. Strategies for improving academic integrity may include:

- Developing comprehensive academic integrity policies and procedures that are clear, detailed, and consistently enforced.
- Investing in education and awareness campaigns to promote ethical academic practices among students and faculty.
- Enhancing support services for students, including academic advising, writing support, and counselling, to address underlying issues that may contribute to academic misconduct.
- Incorporating technological solutions, such as plagiarism detection software and digital literacy training, to mitigate the risks associated with online academic dishonesty.

To promote a culture of academic integrity that respects cultural diversity, HEIs in Bulgaria can consider the following approaches that although not solely restricted to the Bulgarian context are nevertheless particularly valid:

1. **Cultural Sensitivity Training:** Provide training to educators and students about the cultural nuances of academic integrity to nurture understanding and compliance.
2. **Clear Communication:** Clearly communicate academic integrity policies and expectations, especially to international and culturally diverse student populations.

3. **Alternative Assessment Methods:** Develop assessment methods that are less susceptible to cheating, such as open-book exams or project-based assignments.
4. **Support Services:** Offer support services to help students with the transition to new cultural and academic norms, particularly for international students.
5. **Inclusivity and Diversity:** Foster a diverse and inclusive academic environment where students from various cultural backgrounds feel valued and understood.
6. **Peer Review and Oversight:** Encourage students to be involved in the oversight and enforcement of academic integrity policies, fostering a sense of shared responsibility.

It is important for HEIs to balance the need for academic integrity with an understanding of cultural differences and work towards a fair and respectful approach to academic conduct.

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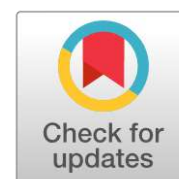
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INNOVATION APPROACHES TO INCLUSIVE EDUCATION IN EUROPE – THE IMPACT OF SECOND CHANCE SCHOOLS

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Abstract

This article presents research and findings related to the Second Chance Schools - an innovative approach which is gaining strength and popularity in recent years but is almost unknown in Bulgaria. The documentary research, the analysis of interviews of the various actors and the online surveys during the project revealed a set of characteristics of Second Chance Schools common to most countries in Europe. The study reveals that in the countries where the SCS approach has been applied, early school leavers' rates are going down.

Keywords: education management, inclusive education, Second Chance education, Second Chance Schools

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The first principle enshrined in the European Pillar of Social Rights (European Commission, 2017) is the right of all citizens to access quality and inclusive education, training and lifelong learning. This is because education nowadays increasingly depends not only on access to and competitiveness on the labour market, but also on the personal fulfilment and well-being of every citizen. The vision that the EU has, and the Member States share, for European societies and economies require a population actively engaged with society and prepared to adapt to the changing labour market. Each member of this society must possess knowledge and skills enabling them to find their creative and fulfilling place, regardless of (and thanks to) the challenges of the Fourth Industrial Revolution. The main factor for such preparation is quality education that is adequate to the changes. Increasingly, it is not about the "triangle of knowledge" but about the "square of knowledge" - education, research, innovation and benefits for society.

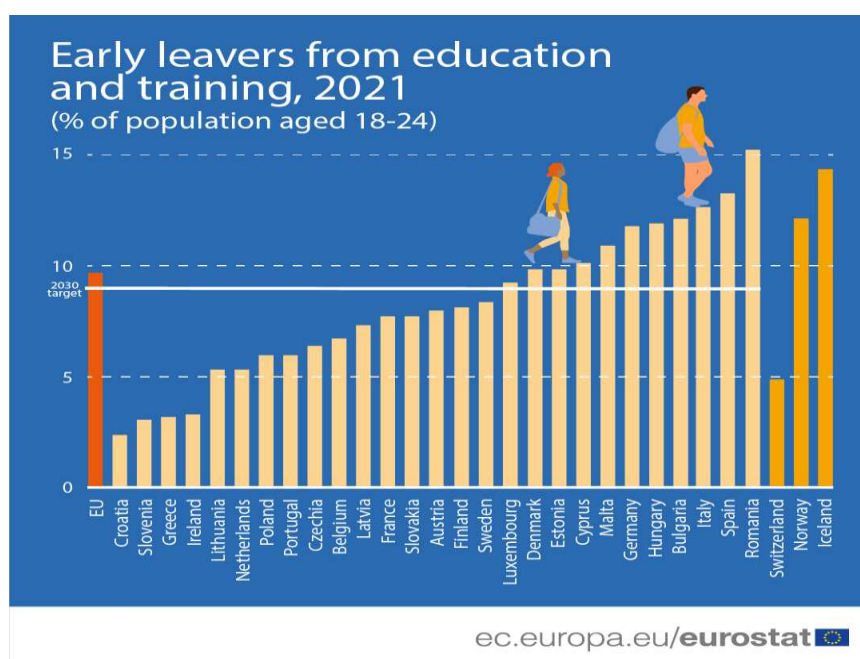
A good education is not an end in itself. Its benefits find expression in all other spheres of public life and related policies - in the social sphere, civil society, employment, economy, culture, security, etc. It requires carrying out educational reforms in a broad context - joint cross-sectoral discussions on the relationship of different policies with education policy, using good practices from other policies and their adaptation in education. Final decisions on the development of educational systems are within the competence of EU member states alone, as the principle of subsidiarity is observed. The European Commission sees the role of EU-level action as helping institutions and decision-makers from member states to make informed choices. Especially the smaller or larger gaps between the acquired education and the new requirements should be dealt with. In the future, talent will be a much more critical factor in production than capital. This will lead to an increasing division of the market into a "low-educated and therefore low-paid" share and a "highly educated, therefore high-paid" share (Schwab, 2015). Studies by the European Commission (European Commission, 2017a) show that by 2025 half of occupations will require a high level of qualification, 90% will require digital skills and 65% of children starting school today will be employed in occupations that do not exist yet.

But while the EU and countries are trying to provide increasingly high-quality and adequate education for young people, at the same time around one in ten young adults leave school or training early, without qualification or diploma. The EU-level target for

2030 in this regard is less than 9% (Council of the EU, 2021). In 2021, 9.7 % of 18–24-year-olds in the EU had completed at most a lower secondary education, considered to be early school leavers (ESL). Across EU Member States, the highest shares were found in Romania (15.3 %), followed by Spain and Italy with around 13 %. In Bulgaria, the statistical data shows 12% ESL (Figure 1). "Educational poverty" threatens them in their later life and can lead to lack of fulfilment and exclusion (Eurostat, 2022). The situation with people neither in employment nor in education and training (NEETs) is even worse (Figure 2 and Figure 3).

Figure 1.

Early school leavers aged 18-24 in 2021



Source: Eurostat, 23.05.2022

Special efforts are ongoing in many European countries to address these challenges and promote inclusive education from at least two decades. Inclusive education is a complex phenomenon. European countries have implemented various policies and initiatives to address ESL and NEETs challenges. However, the problem not only exists, but is growing in some countries. This article presents research and findings related to an innovative approach – Second Chance Schools - which is not widespread in Europe, but has gained strength and popularity in recent years. The study is conducted in the frame of Erasmus Plus project - S2CENE - STRENGTHENING SECOND CHANCE NETWORKS IN EUROPE – with the help of the participating institutions from Portugal, France, Croatia and Bulgaria.

Inclusive Education - The Current State

Different countries are facing different challenges, but still we can list some common issues associated with inclusive education in Europe:

1. *Diversity of Education Systems:* Europe comprises countries with diverse education systems, policies, and practices. This diversity can pose challenges for implementing a standardized approach to inclusive education across the continent.
2. *Resource Allocation:* Adequate funding and resource allocation are crucial for the successful implementation of inclusive education. Many European countries face financial constraints, which can affect the provision of necessary support services and accommodations for students with diverse needs.
3. *Teacher Training:* Teachers play a pivotal role in inclusive education, but there may be variations in the training and preparation they receive. Insufficient training in inclusive pedagogy and strategies can hinder the ability of educators to meet the diverse needs of students.
4. *Attitudes and Awareness:* Attitudes toward diversity and inclusion vary across European societies. Stereotypes and stigmas associated with disabilities or other differences may persist, impacting the acceptance and integration of students with diverse needs.
5. *Infrastructure and Accessibility:* Physical infrastructure and accessibility can be significant barriers. Some schools may lack the necessary facilities or may not be designed to accommodate students with physical disabilities, limiting their access to education.
6. *Policy Implementation:* While some European countries have inclusive education policies in place, effective implementation can be a challenge. This includes issues related to monitoring, evaluation, and adapting policies to the evolving needs of students.
7. *Language and Cultural Diversity:* Europe is characterized by linguistic and cultural diversity. Ensuring that educational materials are accessible and culturally relevant for all students, including those from minority or immigrant backgrounds, can be a complex task.

8. *Individualized Support*: Providing individualized support for students with diverse needs is a cornerstone of inclusive education. However, the capacity to offer personalized assistance may be limited due to large class sizes or a lack of specialized personnel.
9. *Transition Planning*: Preparing students with diverse needs for transitions, such as moving from primary to secondary education or entering the workforce, requires careful planning. Insufficient support during these critical periods can impact the overall success of inclusive education initiatives.

Across the EU Member States there are wide variations in 2022 when looking at the NEET rates for the age group that is targeted (Fig. 1 and Fig. 2). The lowest rates are already below the target of 9.0 % and could be found in the Netherlands, Sweden, Malta, Luxembourg, Denmark, Portugal, Slovenia, Germany and Ireland; this is also the case in Iceland and Norway. Fifteen countries still have high rates, with the most worrying situation in Italy, Greece, Romania, Cyprus, Bulgaria and Croatia.

Figure 2.

Share of the population aged 15 to 34 who are NEETs

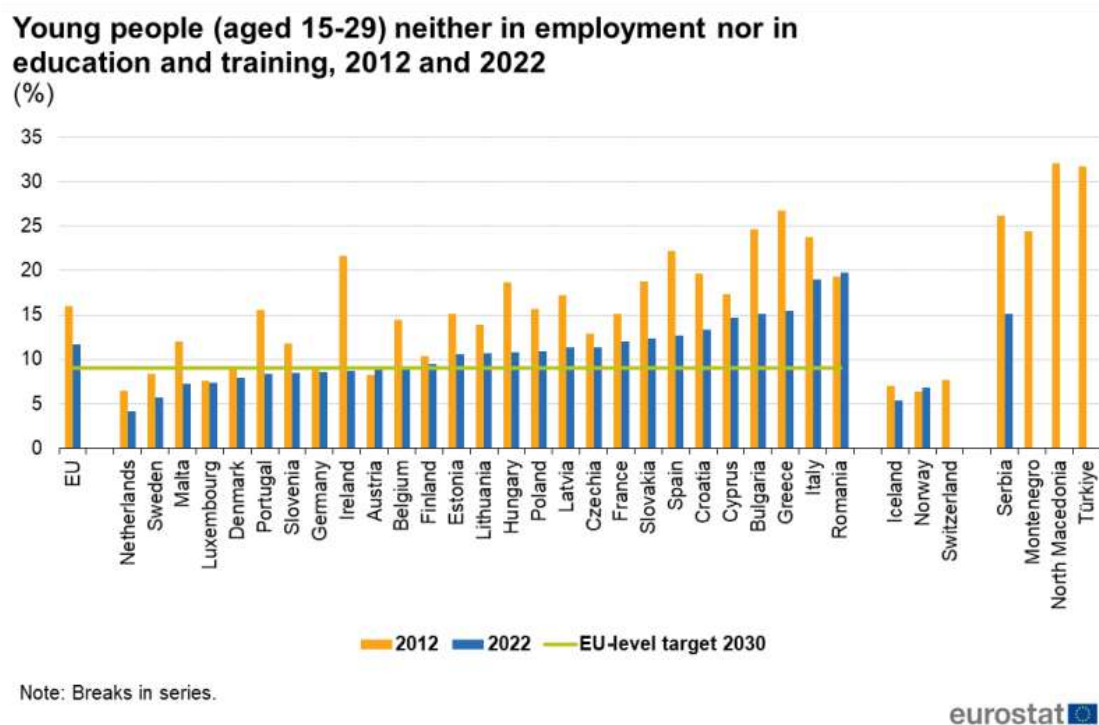
TIME	2020	2021	2022
GEO (Labels)			
European Union - 27 countries (from 2020)	15,2	14,3	12,8
Euro area – 20 countries (from 2023)	15,5	14,3	12,8
Belgium	13,4	11,5	10,6
Bulgaria	19,2	18,3	16,5
Czechia	14,3	14,1	14,0
Denmark	10,8	9,1	8,8
Germany	10,8	10,9	10,0
Estonia	13,9	12,2	10,5
Ireland	15,2	11,1	10,3
Greece	21,3	20,5	17,4
Spain	18,8	15,6	13,9
France	15,1	13,7	12,8
Croatia	16,1	16,2	14,4
Italy	25,1	24,4	20,8
Cyprus	15,1	15,1	14,4
Latvia	12,9	13,8	13,0
Lithuania	13,3	12,8	10,7

Luxembourg	8,2	8,9	7,3
Hungary	16,7	12,1	10,9
Malta	10,1	9,4	7,4
Netherlands	6,8	5,3	5,4
Austria	10,6	10,7	9,7
Poland	13,8	13,8	11,7
Portugal	11,6	10,2	8,9
Romania	17,8	21,4	20,3
Slovenia	9,5	8,4	8,7
Slovakia	17,7	15,0	13,6
Finland	11,0	9,9	10,3
Sweden	7,6	6,4	5,8
Iceland	8,3	7,9	6,3
Norway	7,8	8,4	7,7

Source: Eurostat 14.09.2023

Figure 3.

NEETs aged 15-29 – comparison.



Source: Eurostat 22.05.2023

All this data requires a continuous and fast adaptation and shift of societal and market paradigms. More than ever, the investment on the continuous capacity building and training of adults, is seen as strategic to assure social inclusion, equal opportunities and justice among European citizens at different levels. Considering this, Member-States

need to keep investing in establishing, maintaining and reinforcing networks specifically dedicated to adult education, essential for the structure of a systematic, relevant and consistent offer of services and supports for personal development and social, cultural and professional inclusion of adults. Early school leaving is a complex issue influenced by interconnected factors related to background, personal experiences, family problems, social and economic context, etc. Moreover, general education systems are often not able to deal with the complex situations affecting specific groups of young people. On the other side, the higher percentage of persons, who are in the category of NEETs suggests a worrying tendency that leaving formal education in most cases is not a temporary life situation, but can transform into a long-term pattern, which negatively affects the whole educational and employment pathway of the given individual. The Commission Staff Working Paper on early school leaving emphasizes on the direct link between early school leaving status and challenges to be employed (European Commission, 2011).

The “Second Chance Schools” Concept

The approach presented here is so called “Second Chance Schools (SCS)” / “Second Chance Education (SCE)”. Despite the different forms through which it manifests itself, it is an innovative approach that considers the specific characteristics of the target group and uses a holistic method to address the negative consequences. Second Chance Schools are a European compensatory policy measure, particularly aimed at accompanying young people who leave early the education and training system, created by the EC White Paper “Teaching and learning - towards a learning society” in 1995. The initiative was followed by a pilot project that gave rise to an E2C network, present in several European countries. SCS in Europe were defined, in the founding document, as a supporting and supplementary measure to “provide youngsters excluded from the education system, or about to be, with the best training and best support arrangements to give them self-confidence, developing skills and qualifications to enter further training or the job market” (European Commission, 1995).

Later on (supported by a number of documents at EU level), second chance schools became part of educational and training systems across Europe as a specialized social and educational policy measure, providing a wide spectre of learning and support intervention aiming to contribute for fighting, in particular, teenagers’ and young adults’

social exclusion; reconnecting drop-out learners with educational and training systems; promoting a positive attitude of teenagers and young adults towards learning; promoting the development of the “whole person” with impact on the acquisition of basic and key-competences, on strengthening the personality and on accessing the labour market. (CEDEFOP Report, 2016, 2016a)

As it is stated by the European Commission (2014), measures to prevent or compensate for ESL must tackle the loss of intrinsic motivation, stemming from feelings of inadequacy, failure and low self-esteem. Successful measures must be personally valued by the potential participants and give learners a sense of empowerment and control over their learning. The challenge lies in realizing these objectives within mainstream initial education, which is widely focused on the cognitive development of learners and on the acquisition of knowledge. The 21st century society and learners demand a broader approach that considers the individual. This means that it is important to define and provide learning approaches that consider the cognitive development, physical, emotional and psychological wellbeing of the learner. This will only be possible if the learning system assumes and integrates the concept of “whole community approach”. The motivations of young adults aged 18-29 can differ from those of school age learners. Their motivation to re-engage is influenced by the personal development that has taken place since leaving school, and the impact of having experienced the negative consequences of leaving early, for example through reduced employment prospects. The engagement of the whole community is also one of the most relevant features of the Second Chance Schools, characterized for being embedded in the local community, making possible to reach and engage young adults from the local area. Another characteristic is the prominent role for multi-professional working, which can't be found within most mainstream schools thus providing support to students beyond the regular school day. The SCS approach brings together expertise from different sectors such as health, employment, housing, legal aid and social support, with the school serving as a point for the delivery of this support to participants – many of whom have complex needs and experience problems outside of a school setting.

In 2019 the European Commission published a report presenting findings of an evaluation exercise covering 37 countries with the aim to map the development of policies and practice on reducing Early School Leaving, as a result of the Council

Recommendation on Policies to Reduce Early School Leaving (2011) and associated EU policy instruments to the development of policy, practice and research on ESL across Europe. Although the study shows largely positive overall picture, the analysis of the evidence further shows that much more needs to be done to continue tackling the multi-faceted and evolving range of challenges contributing to the early school leaving phenomenon (European Commission, 2019).

Our study of some national policies confirms these findings:

In Portugal, up to 2006, the rate of ESL (early school leaving) was considerable high, nearly 40%. The next 12 years different modes of adult education and training with specific aims and target groups have been undertaken without considerable results – up to 2018 25% of young people, up to the age of 29, do not complete secondary education, 23% of young people are unemployed. This situation resulted in a new law, Despacho 6954/2019, which institutionalized second chance education measure in the Portuguese education system (Diário da República, 2019). Nowadays, Second Chance Schools are now part of the public policy of education, integrating a wider framework of measures. There are около 20 chance schools in Portugal and several other initiatives with the same objective are being developed throughout the country. E2O Portugal, the National Network of Initiatives and Second Chance Schools, created in 2018 to support the launch of new projects and ensure their follow-up and monitoring, was formalized as an association last year. And the NEETs in Portugal in 2022 are under the EU average.

In Bulgaria the term “Second Chance Schools” is unknown, although the problem has been embedded in the broader topic of reducing early school leaving. The basic normative documents for adult education and training are Pre-School and School Education Act, Vocational Education and Training Act, Higher Education Act, Crafts Act, Community Culture Centres Act and many bylaws. The Bulgarian Strategy for reducing the share of early school leavers 2013-2020 recognized the need for comprehensive policies and measures to ensure the successful transition of students between different levels of education, provide flexible and effective opportunities for people who have left education to acquire key competences or participate in various forms of training, and enable the outcomes of formal education and informal learning to be recognized and validated (Ministry of Education and Science – Bulgaria, 2013). Unfortunately, the results are not satisfactory, and the dropout rate is almost constant.

The study reveals that in the countries where the SCS approach has been applied, the rates are going down – Spain, France, Portugal, Poland, Germany, Sweden, Denmark, Ireland, The Czech Republic, The Netherlands, etc.

Main characteristics of Second Chance Schools

The documentary research, the analysis of interviews of the various actors and the online surveys during the project revealed a set of characteristics of second chance schools common to most countries in Europe, in the different observed dimensions:

Mission and objectives of Second Chance Schools

The second chance schools have been shaping and adjusting their mission and objectives addressing the social and professional needs of young people, in three main directions:

- Fighting against social exclusion of general population, in particular teenagers and young adults.
- Reconnecting a wide range of target groups (young early leavers, low qualified young NEET, youngsters in different vulnerable situations) with education and training systems and forming a positive attitude of learners toward learning and social engagement.
- Promoting the development of the “whole person” with impact on strengthening the personality, acquisition of key-competences, developing professional skills, facilitating their transition to the labour market.

Methods and Approaches to Learning

The basic principle of second chance schools is to work on an experimental basis, testing new solutions and building with young people new ways of learning that are closer to their interests and needs as you cannot get different results by continuing to do the same thing as in general schools.

Early leaving is often a traumatic experience of progressive disengagement from school, perceived by young people as an unsafe space. Second chance schools research actively for innovative and creative methods and techniques able to enthuse young early leavers to reengage in education and training. Second chance schools are therefore socio-

educational projects of innovation in education, drawing inspiration from multiple references, models and experiences, around the world. Cooperation with similar initiatives and participation in training and mobility projects help them to find the most appropriate approaches and methodologies for working with their target groups.

These schools adopt a strategy of methodological diversity, searching for the proper tools and processes to mobilize and involve young people marked by heavy experiences of failure. The pedagogical dispositive used by second chance schools promote the participation of young people in their learning processes. Most of the activities in which young people participate do not have the traditional format of classes organized by teachers for a class but are a wide range of individual and group activities. The second chance schools use a set of pedagogical tools that are alternative to the traditional school model: interdisciplinary artistic projects, performances, writing of narratives and poems, intergenerational community projects, sharing circles, assemblies, practical training in work context, study visits programs, youth exchanges (namely initiatives promoted by other European SCSs), virtual learning environments, study itineraries, life stories, games, research and knowledge building processes, workshops, debates, tutorials, simulations and role-playing, group work, projects, and many others.

Second chance schools actively promote the autonomy of young people, organizing the appropriate conditions and providing the necessary resources. Teaching principles include self-activity, student participation in the formation of learning objectives, individualized learning, and critical reflection. Emphasis is placed on the application of project-based learning whereby students explore real-world problems and acquire knowledge and understanding through inter-disciplinary inquiry and study, and social interaction. Student assessment is descriptive. Student's educational progress is being judged against the student's own starting point. The student's progress is analysed on two dimensions: 1) educational achievement (degree of improvement), and 2) engagement (level of active participation).

The adopted methods are also tools for training of trainers, demanding study, reflection, continuous questioning and cooperative work, search for the most appropriate solutions and monitoring and reformulating the carried-out experiences and the strategies used.

The most commonly identified innovation and success factors in the experience of the SCSs

- Individual and personalized approach to education and training programs;
- Holistic approach, by valuing and developing different skills (vocational, scientific, artistic, social participation, personal and social competences)
- Experiential and interdisciplinary approach to learning;
- Learning by doing approach;
- Rich and interactive communication processes between young people and educators/staff, participating together in common activities.
- Tutoring and mentoring techniques;
- Flexibility of the learning models and adaptable educational content;
- Innovative methods (project-based learning, inclusive education, workshops, practical exercises, professional internships, sports, etc.).
- Schools are safe and affectionate spaces of close and horizontal relationships.
- Educational environments close to young people and their life contexts and experiences.

Role of Teachers and Educational Professionals

Second Chance Schools are learning organizations and communities of practice, where a shared learning culture between young people and professionals is collectively built. These schools have multidisciplinary teams of professionals, teachers, vocational trainers, artists, psychology and social education professionals, youth and community mediators, operational and administrative assistants, security, and maintenance. Only a multidisciplinary team makes it possible to find integrated answers to complex problems and provide a stimulating educational environment for young people.

Educators put students in the centre of the learning process, facilitating their role, listening more, talking less, learning to be at the service of young people's learning and development processes. Trainers support their individual training plans, guaranteeing, in any case, compliance with the training standards essential for their certification. They are in a position that is both discreet and very demanding, approaching young people in a creative and flexible way, changing plans whenever necessary and being available to participate in common activities. Second chance schools are also a “second” chance for

professionals, who relearn and reformulate their tasks and reinvent themselves as professionals.

The characteristics of the young people that attend this type of schools, demand from professionals a profile of great availability to establish relationships of trust and respect with the trainees, offering them references of stability and attention, which they do not find in their social and family environments of origin. Professionals also assume the role of tutors, concerned not only with the training of young people but also with their well-being, transforming the training space into a relationship space. Life does not stop at the school door, but it is the very subject of training. In this sense, Second Chance Schools demand multiple capacities and skills from professionals:

- Encouraging learner's self-activity;
- Promoting student participation in the definition of learning objectives and activities;
- Delivering individualized learning;
- Promoting critical reflection and thinking;
- Organizing inquiry-based learning;
- Engaging in social interactions, etc.

Second chance schools are very challenging educational environments, demanding a friendly, non-judgmental organizational culture that unconditionally accepts young people, offering a social space of belonging, a "second family", where young people find the time and opportunities they need to readjust, in a flexible environment with open doors. These schools are social spaces where young people feel respected and learn to respect, democratic organizations where young people's opinion counts and where they develop significant learning processes, accumulating positive experiences that build a new image of themselves and new possibilities for the future.

Attitudes Towards "Second Chance Schools" Concept in Bulgaria

In the framework of the project "S2CENE..." 12 meetings were held in Sofia, Sliven, Smolian, Varna, Targovishte and Radomir. The approach to organize the meetings regionally than centralised was more appropriate as the problems, challenges and

practice differ from region to region. The participants (teachers, school principals, NGOs, trade unions) were around 200 from these towns as well as from Montana, Vidin, Vratsa, Pomorie, Dupnitsa, etc. The main goals were to raise awareness about the specifics and the impact that SCSs as well as to discuss the possibilities to apply such approach or to include some of the methods in the existing institutions in Bulgaria.

The main topics were 1) The know-how of SCSs; 2) Difference of practice, requirements, methods and policy in Bulgaria compared to countries, which have implemented SCS concept; 3) Regulatory changes on government level necessary to implement SCSs approach on institutional level; 4) Capacity building for the SCS professionals compared to the professional characteristics of teachers and social workers that deal with ESL in Bulgaria.

It was useful for raising awareness as many facts were not known. The discussions were very active on the side of participants. They shared their opinion that any alternative methods are welcome, as the Bulgarian education system promotes ethno-cultural diversity, but this does not allow enough time to be devoted to independent work with children, who usually have difficulties in understanding the learning content or education is not a value in their culture/families. The participants also think that in the frame of the national system for teacher qualification, the training program for capacity building could be implemented. Pedagogical specialists indicate as the most important factors for dropping out the problematic behavior of children/students (63.5%), difficulties in working with parents (56.3%) and irregular attendance (51%). The next most important factor hindering the teams is the children's/students' insufficient knowledge of Bulgarian language (34.4%) and the parents' low educational and/or economic status (32.3%). The comparison reviled the situation in Bulgaria and some reasons for the lag in prevention of early school leaving.

A large part of ESL and NEETs in Bulgaria is of Roma origin. Although activities are carried out to support vulnerable children and families in the local communities, the main problem is the lack of command of the Bulgarian language. This requires, before starting to attract students to school or providing additional activities with students at risk of dropping out of school, to conduct additional training in the Bulgarian language. There is also a problem with a lack of enough Bulgarian language teachers and funding. Big

problem is also the attitude of parents from minority communities who are not motivated to cooperate with teachers. Working with the parents, additional extracurricular activities are offered to attract the children, but the results are not satisfactory. One of the leading reasons for pupils dropping out of the education system is the lack of commitment and support from the family. There is a need for additional approaches to change the attitude of Roma communities towards education and new forms of attracting and keeping children in school.

The participants were highly interested in the good practices, especially from Portugal SCSs. Any alternative methods are welcome, but there is no system that gives enough space for their implementation. They noted that this type of work requires a regulatory framework, which is lacking in Bulgaria. The policy is also different - the aspiration is drop-outs to return to regular schools. Some participants shared the view that once students dropped out of regular schools, for some of them it meant that those schools were not right for them. In this sense, directing efforts to bring them back to the same schools would not be effective. But this was not the majority opinion. Most of the participants stressed that creation of another type of school similar to SCS is a radical change and needs changes in legislation. All attendants were positive for establishing a Center where different good practices could be shared. Even if used sporadically and palliatively, different methods should be sought to change motivation and retention in the education system.

It is interesting to note that policymakers (especially from trade unions), who are working mainly on national level are sceptical to serious innovations that are offered to the system. The main argument behind this scepticism is the scarcity of resources and the fundamental challenges already in place, which require substantial funds. For example - the retention and training of teachers. They agree on the tremendous social impact of measures to bring young school leavers back to school. But they believe that the Bulgarian system for inclusive education works properly and to add a new concept or branding such as a Second Chance Schools approach might not be adequate to current realities.

Second Chance Education, while providing effective solution to systemic challenges, seems still not to be recognised as a viable solution for challenges faced in Bulgarian context. The issue of funding and availability of finances requires careful

selection of new measures to focus on and introduce in the Bulgarian system. Some of the participants shared a position that it is probably not feasible to think of creating new second chance education institutions but focus on further empowerment of existing public schools to enter in such a role. On the other hand, the participants consider decreasing the numbers of dropouts as priority task for Bulgarian schools as its social impact is important for the society and economy. So, all approaches and good practices from other European countries should be taken into consideration.

The final National Conference was organized together with the Centre of Creative Education and attracted 40 selected participants from all over Bulgaria – heads of schools, representatives of regional authorities of education, NGOs, and universities. The idea of the function of a Centre for Mobility, Training, and Research was presented. The creation of such a centre in Bulgaria would help to inform Bulgarian educational institutions about the best practices and achievements undertaken by the various countries, as well as would contribute to the exchange of information on joint project possibilities and other opportunities for cooperation related to the problem of early school leaving. The final decision was to launch the Center at 28 Secondary school “Aleko Konstantinov”. The participants from 28 Secondary school “Aleko Konstantinov” shared that they will try to establish a pilot project for several classes at their school, which study process to be organized under the SCS model.

Findings and Recommendations

Second Chance Schools approach shows one way in which disadvantaged young people without basic skills and qualifications can be helped and reintegrated into society. The methods used can be a source of inspiration, both in preventing school-failure in the first place, and in giving a second chance to those for whom initial prevention has not been possible.

Those who have dropped out from school still have very much to offer. In appropriate circumstances, education establishments can unlock a wealth of resources, which our societies might otherwise cast aside. At a time of ageing populations, tighter labour markets and the acceptance that our knowledge society calls for higher levels of qualification, this is a message we cannot afford to ignore. The European "second chance" policy initiated more than 20 years ago has been reaffirmed over the years by a set of

subsequent European steering documents and initiatives on the ground that have confirmed the opportunity and need for this measure.

In addition to actively participating in the work of socio-professional integration of young people, second chance schools also contribute to the pedagogical and organizational renovation of the education and training systems and the expansion of education to the public sphere, reinforcing the community dimension of education. Second Chance Schools have been affirming the possibility of organizing effective training responses for more vulnerable audiences who are resistant to traditional training processes. A Second Chance Education stands out today as an inclusive and holistic education proposal, which includes but is not limited to the vocational education dimension. It embodies the belief that it is always possible to start over and overcome experiences of failure, so often traumatic, and is developed not in terms of opposition but in dialogue and mutual learning with regular education and training provisions.

The findings and conclusions from current research allow for proposing two groups of policy recommendations for further development and promotion of second chance education in Europe (Mesquita et. al. 2022). The first group is focused on recommendations for political support at the national level. The second line of recommendations tries to provide roadmap of actions at EU level.

Political support at national level

The national level is essential to provide material, human and expert resources for the functioning of the SCSs. Depending on the level at which decisions are made for school funding, attention should also be paid to the regional/local level. There should be a national strategy to address early leaving, as European policy documents consistently recommend, but there should be also a local (or regional) approach as the needs of young people are not the same everywhere as well as the needs of the labour market. Concrete recommendations for this level can be summarized as follows:

- To increase the visibility of the social problem of low qualifications and social exclusion of young people and of the available policy measures addressing it, such as second chance education and schools.

- To increase the visibility of second chance education, improve communication with national, regional and local authorities and involve them in different events and policy debates.
- To set up and strengthen national policies to reduce ESL and NEETs, supported by comprehensive strategies that include an articulated framework of prevention, intervention and compensation measures.
- To create and strengthen national networks of practices and cooperation between different relevant actors, including second chance initiatives and schools' networks.
- To support evidence-based policies, promoting research about the situation of young people and the impact of second chance education measures, involving universities and researchers.
- To develop a systematic measurement system based on key quality performance indicators to monitor the quality of second chance educational services at national level.
- To reinforce the access and availability of distinctive and quality training opportunities in second chance education and schools' provisions for early leavers.

Political support on behalf of EU Institutions

The European dimension has emerged as an essential vehicle for launching the idea and encouraging Member States to “joint learning” among themselves. Evidence suggests that many cities and local initiatives rely on EU support not just for funding, but also because it allows them to muster the goodwill, support and publicity needed to successfully take their projects forward. For second chance schools to succeed, it was vital that they were perceived as different and 'better' than mainstream schools, and the European dimension certainly played an important role in conveying this image. Networking between individual schools and their organizations at European level is important for improving quality of service through exchange of know-how and expertise. Furthermore, consolidating the “voice” of different players in the field would contribute to increased visibility and improved understanding by European institutions of the need to ensure sustainable support for second chance education in Europe. Some recommendations at this level could be:

- To keep the key target of reducing early leaving from education and training in the European agenda of education.
- To develop a systematic measurement system based on key quality performance indicators to monitor the quality of second chance educational services at EU level.
- To promote European cooperation and networking between second chance schools and practices, creating European Centres for Mobility, Research and Training and strengthening the European Network of Second Chance Schools, E2C Europe.
- To offer capacity building opportunities for organizations and professionals active in second chance education field;
- To promote the transfer of innovation developed in second chance education and schools to mainstream schools that could benefit from new approaches, such as learner-centred pedagogies, participation in decision-making processes, and inclusive approaches towards assessment and learner support.

The European institutions must support it, but they certainly cannot assume full responsibility in this matter. The main responsibility lies with the education authorities of the Member States, cities, schools and national and European associations and networks, who are encouraged to continue to work towards the inclusion of those who most need care and support.

Conclusion

A good education is not an end in itself. Its benefits are related to many other spheres of public life - social sphere, civil society, employment, economy, culture, etc. EU and member states are trying to provide increasingly high-quality and adequate education for young people, but still around one in ten young adults leave school or training early, without qualification or diploma. For at least two decades all European countries have implemented various policies and initiatives to address dropout and NEETs challenges and promote inclusive education. However, the problem not only exists, but is growing in some countries.

The reasons for early leaving differ from one country or region to another, and it is impossible to establish a single 'profile' of early leavers or a comprehensive list of causes leading to the high percentage of ESL and NEETs. Still, there are some common

characteristics of early school leavers like coming from: poor, socially disadvantaged and or low education backgrounds; minorities (such as Roma or other minority ethnic groups) or migrant backgrounds; belonging to vulnerable groups, such as youth from a public care background, teenage mothers and persons with physical and mental disabilities or other special educational needs (SEN). There are different constitutional, social, cultural, historical, and educational circumstances, local or regional specifics within each Member State, which should be taken into consideration. Establishment of SCSs should be pluralistic in terms of its links to the formal education system, regulations, management, etc. according to the possibilities in each country - inter alia school capacity, teacher recruitment formalities, specific aspects of the curriculum and institutional links/partnerships.

Second chance schools need to provide a different learning environment which responds to the specific needs of their learners, such as smaller learning groups, more teachers per student, more personalized and innovative teaching, flexible and multiple pathways and more elements of vocational training. Second chance programs have to be relevant to their students, have to be able to provide sufficient incentives to maintain learning and need to be flexible to students' varied needs. And they need to pass the crucial test of providing successful students with accreditation which is recognized on the labour market and allows them to continue education and training within mainstream education and training system.

As stated in European and national documents, in the learning society in which we live, social stratifications are increasingly based on the demarcation lines between those “who have” and those “who don't have” skills and qualifications. Dropping out of school has more lasting consequences than in previous decades. It can mark an individual for life and radically narrow the scope of his life projects.

The main locus of action to address school failure and social exclusion is the local authorities, schools, communities, and cities. The national contribution is essential to ensure the financial sustainability of local initiatives, and to recognize the effort invested and the qualifications that students acquire in these schemes. At national level, the debate on the prevention of school leaving and the generalization of good practices in combating school leaving must be intense and continuous, promptly undertaking changes and

reforms when results are not satisfactory. The European level can be of great value in networking these initiatives. In doing so, it helps to mobilize teachers and students and allows for the comparison of results, the identification of good practices and consistent feedback in the policy process at European level. The three levels therefore have an important role to play in combating school dropout and social exclusion.

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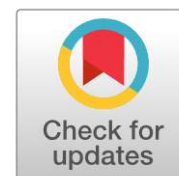
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FOUR INNOVATIVE TEACHING METHODS. IS THERE A PLACE FOR POST-PEDAGOGY?

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Abstract



The article examines the need for a new pedagogical framework in the context of contemporary higher education, influenced by digital innovations and generational change. It introduces four innovative pedagogical approaches – Description of an Object, Humanities Laboratory, Venus of Slatina, and Time Machine – which serve as a basis for discussing 'post-pedagogy'. The approaches are united by the goal of achieving priorities such as interdisciplinary training, critical thinking, and the encouragement of curiosity. By proposing the integration of these methods, the article aims to draw attention to the changed landscape of the educational field.

Keywords: post-pedagogy, innovative teaching approaches, learning styles

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The classical university teaching method: theory-exercise-practice is breaking down into a multitude of new methods that use tools not described in pedagogical science. The working hypothesis of the study is that there is a need for a new type of pedagogy that corresponds to the changes in our environment, the characteristics of the new generations, and all of this in the context of the development of digital technologies, including various applications of artificial intelligence. This post-pedagogy is centered neither on the image of the teacher nor on that of the student. It is turned simultaneously towards both. The subject of the study is four innovative teaching methods: Description of an Object, Humanities Laboratory, Venus of Slatina, and Time Machine. The report aims, by presenting these innovative teaching methods, to draw attention to them and at the same time to present the basis for the construction of a post-pedagogy, subject to new rules and relationships, using a variety of methods.

Intelligences and Learning Styles

Bruner suggests that after the 1960s, the competition or 'war,' as he calls it, between different learning theories has subsided: 'After the end of the 1960s, learning theories are understood as concepts for the exchange of information without striving for dominance of one type of learning over another based on its characteristics' (Bruner, 2004, p.19). However, the science of pedagogy does not find peace and continues to deal with the description of the various emerging models of training, for which the present is more favorable than ever. There are many texts that, like Bruner's, consider the theories of learning in a historical perspective (Kamenov, 2022), but also their development, enhancement, and the emergence of new ones like those for connectivism, which Peycheva-Forsyth describes in the broader paradigm of diverse models for e-learning (Peycheva-Forsyth, 2022). The successful application of modern and postmodern training methods, different from the classical ones, such as the game method, begin to acquire theoretical features and turn into almost traditional (Stoyanova, et al., 2018).

In 2021, Annie Paul published a book with the curious title 'The Extended Mind: The Power of Thinking Outside the Brain' (Paul, 2021), in which she presents the idea of three major sections of extended thinking, each in turn divided into three sub-sections: thinking through the body (senses, movement, and gestures); through the environment surrounding us (natural spaces, man-made spaces, and spaces of ideas); through our connections with others (experts, colleagues, and peers). Paul's theory does not appear

out of nowhere in science and is closely related to education, as it happens in the same place – in the brain. In 1983, Howard Gardner presents his revolutionary idea of multiple intelligences (Gardner, 1983, 2004, 2011), which also does not appear out of nothing. He publishes at least a dozen texts before that, in which he examines the phenomenon of human intelligence and brain functions (p. xii), but it is this book and theory that gains wide popularity. In the preface to the 2011 edition, Gardner expands the original seven intelligences (intrapersonal, interpersonal, spatial, musical, logical, kinesthetic, and linguistic), which he offers to the public with two new ones: existential and naturalistic intelligences. Gardner himself and his colleagues in the two major projects he works on and through which he reaches his conclusions (Project Zero and Project Spectrum) use the theories of big names in cognitive and pedagogical science such as Louis Thurstone (1887-1955), who in the 1930s denies monolithic intelligence and talks about talents and innate abilities; Jean Piaget (1896-1980), who also does not synthesize his discoveries into the proclamation of multiple intelligences, but connects the different stages of child development with the acquisition and development of different skills; a little more indirectly, but again in connection is Lev Vygotsky's (1896-1934) understanding of the sociocultural context, which conditions behavior and thus distinguishes one cultural environment from another and those educated in them; also Edward L. Thorndike (1874-1949), who in the 1920s proposes three types of intelligence: abstract, mechanical, and social. After Gardner's theory of multiple intelligences (MI) in 1983, several models were developed to explain individual differences in learning styles. David Kolb's experiential learning theory from 1984 suggests that learning is a process where knowledge is created through the transformation of experience. His theory is structured around four different learning styles, which according to him correspond to four stages of the learning cycle: concrete experience (CE), reflective observation (RO), abstract conceptualization (AO), and active experimentation (AE). Kolb's model categorizes learners into four types based on their preferred learning activities: diverging (CE/RO), assimilating (AC/RO), converging (AC/AE), and accommodating (CE/AE). Peter Honey and Alan Mumford's *Learning Styles* (1986) adapt Kolb's model to the needs of business and adult education as four learning styles and the different preferences of people on how to interact with information. These styles are equated to roles in the company: activist (learns best by doing), reflector (learns best by observing and reflecting), theorist (learns best through models and theories), and pragmatist (learns best through practical application and

experimentation). Richard M. Felder and Linda K. Silverman's (Felder-Silverman) Learning Style Model from 1988 suggests dividing learners into four dimensions: sensory-intuitive, visual-verbal, active-reflective, and sequential-global. The model suggests that people have different preferences regarding these dimensions, affecting how they receive and process information and finds application in the context of higher education and STEM fields. Everything said so far leads to Neil Fleming's VARK model (from Visual, Aural, Read/Write, Kinesthetic), published in 1987 and 1992, after which it becomes especially popular and applicable. Fleming divides learners into four categories and, as expected, claims that each prefers to work with information depending on its modality. One of the first fables that a child in Europe becomes acquainted with is Aesop's about the fox and the stork and if the obvious moral is that they will treat you as you do to others, it seems to me that another is very visible – everyone has a different modality and if you treat someone with means from another's, they will not cope.

Theories of Learning

The associationist theory of learning is one of the oldest theories about how people learn. It is based on the principle that ideas and experiences strengthen each other and can be connected to improve the learning process. This theory is closely related to behaviorism and is developed based on the work of earlier philosophers and psychologists such as Aristotle, John Locke, and later by modern psychologists like Ivan Pavlov, John B. Watson, and B.F. Skinner. Learning occurs through the association of two stimuli. Pavlov's experiments with dogs show how a neutral stimulus, when combined with an unconditioned stimulus, can lead to a conditioned response. Operant conditioning (Skinner) claims that behavior is shaped and maintained by its consequences. Rewards and punishments affect the likelihood of a behavior being repeated. The stimulus-response (S-R) connection is part of the concept that suggests learning should form connections between stimuli and responses. The stronger the connection, the more likely the response is to occur in the presence of the stimulus.

In contrast, the configurational theory emphasizes the holistic processing of stimuli rather than simple stimulus-response associations. It suggests that individuals perceive and interpret stimuli in a unified way, taking into account the configuration or the entire pattern, not just individual parts. This theory is associated with Gestalt psychology, which posits that "the whole is different from the sum of its parts." Learning,

according to this view, is influenced by the way people organize and interpret sensory information. This organization is guided by principles such as proximity, similarity, continuity, and closure. Part of this is Köhler's idea of relational and transpositional learning, according to which information processing can occur through sudden understanding or perception of the relationships between parts of a problem, which can lead to its solution. Köhler opposes the behaviorism of Wundt and the theory that learning must adhere to the trial-and-error method proposed by the associationist views. Lewin develops this theory by assuming that behavior in learning is determined by complex interactions between the individual and the environment, taking into account psychological, social, and physical factors in a dynamic field.

The cognitive learning theory that emerged in the 1950s, which we said Bruner defines as the final moment of the conflict between the previous two major theories, focuses on the internal processes that occur in the brain and how they affect learning and behavior. Learning involves the use of memory, motivation, thinking, and reflection, not just reactions to stimuli or the environment. Key figures in its emergence are Jean Piaget and Lev Vygotsky (see above). Bruner, along with Piaget, influences the constructivist theory of learning, which posits that learners construct their own understanding and knowledge of the world through experiencing things and reflecting on those experiences. Learning is an active, constructive process where learners build new ideas or concepts based on their current/past knowledge.

According to the social learning theory proposed by Albert Bandura, observation and modeling of the behavior, attitudes, and emotional reactions of others are essential components. Bandura introduces the concept of learning through the Bobo doll, where people can learn new behavior or information by observing and imitating others. David Kolb's theory of learning through experience (see above) focuses on the learning process as a cycle that includes experiencing, reflecting, thinking, and acting. He postulates that learning is a process where knowledge is created through the transformation of experience. Kolb emphasizes concrete experience, reflective observation, abstract conceptualization, and active experimentation in the learning process.

Transformative learning represents a change in someone's beliefs, attitudes, or worldview. Jack Mezirow is a key figure in this theory, suggesting that transformative learning occurs through critical reflection, which can lead to a profound change in

personal understanding and potentially in how a person lives their life. The theory is particularly suitable for adult learning, relying on dialogue and critical reflection.

A relatively new theory, connectivism (Peycheva-Forsyth, 2022), proposed by George Siemens and Stephen Downes, is designed to examine the ways in which digital technologies affect how people live, communicate, and learn. It suggests that knowledge exists outside the individual and that learning is a process of navigating, expanding, and pruning connections in a networked environment. Therefore, learning is not just a mental process, but also a process of connecting specialized sources of information.

Discussion

This extensive review of learning theories and styles, long for the scope of this report, aims to create an understanding of their importance for the contemporary education system. The increasing significance of the learner's individuality over the learning objective creates an environment in which many processes are possible in not so unequivocal directions. The democratization and internationalization of education, and particularly higher education, are aspects that cannot be uncritically accepted. Willingham and Riener do this in a very short article, but at the same time, it is strong enough as an intellectual impulse (Willingham & Riener, 2010). According to them, learning styles not only exist but have been given too much importance and enjoy attention that is undeserved. The two authors argue that when the learning is appropriate for the learners, they follow the established method without claiming their own learning style. From the opposite perspective, we can become acquainted with this thesis in Shulman's article on knowledge and teaching and the need to lay the foundation for a new reform in them (Shulman, 1987). There Shulman begins his exposition with the example of teaching in the upper grades of secondary education and Nancy, an English language and literature teacher. Depending on the task, the circumstances, and her own physical condition, Nancy is able to change the teaching model, use different tools, and motivate her audience of students to a very high degree. Shulman attributes this to two factors - Nancy's innate propensity to teach and her vast 25 years of experience. If learners have different learning styles, then the teacher should also have a preferred teaching style. You understand that if we take these two positions to the extreme, we will cripple the learning process. What then is the viewpoint of hypothetical post-pedagogy?

Four New Teaching Methods

The quartet of teaching methods we've introduced encapsulates the essence of post-pedagogy, embodying its principles to such an extent that, when these methods are implemented in tandem, they have the potential to define the very contours of post-pedagogy's profile. This innovative educational approach doesn't merely aim to tweak existing frameworks; it seeks a profound transformation of the dynamics within the learning environment. Post-pedagogy is a call to revitalize the educator's role from a mere purveyor of information to a facilitator of wisdom, and to recalibrate the student-teacher relationship into a collaborative partnership driven by mutual respect and a shared quest for knowledge. Post-pedagogy is rooted in the soil of interdisciplinarity, branching out into the diverse fields of human knowledge, intertwining them in a rich mosaic of learning. It fosters critical thinking, not as an academic exercise, but as a habitual mindset, and stokes the fires of curiosity and the zest for exploration. This educational philosophy acknowledges the irrefutable impact of digital technologies and the undeniable allure of audio-visual content that has dominated the past two decades. Yet, it argues for a balanced approach where such tools are used not to overshadow but to complement and enhance traditional academic rigor. Post-pedagogy holds that while the digital age has transformed the modality of learning, the importance of nuanced language skills remains paramount. The ability to articulate complex thoughts and to vividly describe the intricacies of the world around us is an invaluable skill in the arsenal of a well-educated individual. Post-pedagogy, therefore, does not see digital evolution as a detractor but as a catalyst that, when wisely integrated with the nurturing of linguistic prowess, can elevate the educational experience to new heights. It proposes a holistic model where the digital and the linguistic are not at odds but are in concert, each enriching the learning journey in their unique ways.

Description of an Object

In the contemporary educational landscape, the method dubbed 'Description of an Object' has emerged as a beacon of hope against the backdrop of a disquieting trend: the functional illiteracy among youth (OECD, 2023). Despite rigorous matriculation exams and extensive courses in Bulgarian language and literature, a disconcerting number of students from various disciplines, not solely within the humanities and social sciences, are graduating without the crucial ability to engage deeply with text or to articulate their thoughts coherently. This begs the question: Where does the responsibility lie? While it is

tempting to place the onus on the learners themselves, a reflective gaze would suggest that perhaps as educators, we have not entirely succeeded in illuminating the path to the true value of these linguistic skills, nor in delineating their practical applications in a language they are meant to command.

Just recently, a sixth-grade student shared with me what they are studying in literature classes: "Under the Yoke" and "You Are Beautiful, My Forest" – two emblematic works for Bulgarian cultural environment and identity, but what practical application do they have? How likely, possible, and motivated is it to make an 11-year-old child master the old Bulgarian language of Ivan Vazov and Lyuben Karavelov? The ability to write a poem about Vasil Levski is another astonishing thing expected of this child. Beyond questions related to building national identity, the issue of the functional use of the Bulgarian language is particularly troubling here. It is not strange, after the example presented, that students do not master the language they are taught because they do not see how and where they can apply it. Can you imagine a person who has learned Vazov's language from "Under the Yoke" going into a hotel and asking at the reception: "I would request the boon of a chamber with two pallets?." Instead of: "I would like a room with twin beds?".

The prevailing penchant for photography over descriptive writing—a shift underscored by the advent of digital technologies—further complicates this challenge. The instantaneous nature of capturing and sharing images has unwittingly diminished the emphasis on detailed linguistic expression.¹ It is an era where auditory and visual stimuli reign supreme, facilitated by digital innovations. Students are distracted not out of disinterest alone but perhaps due to a disconnection from the relevance of what they are learning to their everyday lives.

In this light, 'Description of an Object' serves as a pedagogical intervention at Leuphana University, a strategy presented with the intent of recapturing students'

¹ Behind the behavior of Japanese tourists, who are famously passionate about taking photos during their travels at all kinds of places and poses, lies a much more complex process, encoded in the Japanese journaling culture with a centuries-old tradition. A large part of the classic works of Japanese literature are in diary form, which sets the general tone for every person in Japan to strive to replicate these patterns by keeping their own diary. The development of the camera, the reduction of the cost of the device itself, consumables, and printing of photos occurs precisely in Japan, and therefore there it proves to be a very convenient substitute for language as a means of reproducing daily notes – instead of notes, photographs. The much shorter time required to produce and review a photo, to encode and decode the information in it, reduces the time for concentration and attention.

engagement through detailed description and collective inquiry. This method, characteristic of foundational education stages, challenges students to describe an object with the utmost precision and breadth. It fosters a rediscovery of focus and contemplation—skills eroded in the digital deluge. Each week, students collaborate, inspiring one another and broadening their descriptive skills, ultimately fostering a rich exchange of perspectives.

Why, then, does such a method resonate so effectively at higher levels of education? The answer points to the core attributes of language that have been undermined: the dwindling opportunities for concentration, the decline in valuing linguistic prowess, and the diminished sense of language's functional use. This method counters that decline by reviving the descriptive vigor necessary for in-depth academic inquiry and practical application.

The tale of the 11-year-old tasked with interpreting the historical language of Vazov and Karavelov, and the expectation to compose poetry about national heroes, encapsulates the challenge at hand. The 'Description of an Object' method not only reaffirms the value of linguistic dexterity but also re-establishes the connection between the historical gravitas of language and its indispensable role in modern education.

In essence, the method underscores the pressing need for an educational paradigm shift—a post-pedagogical framework that preserves and promotes core skills, ensuring they do not vanish into an educational Bermuda Triangle but instead remain integral to a meaningful, applicable learning journey for students at all stages.

The Humanities Lab

The Humanities Lab stands as an intellectual crucible where the fear of educational ennui is transformed into a crucible of innovation. This trepidation, rooted in the concern that educators might inadvertently disengage their audience, galvanizes the pedagogical journey toward a realm where the potential for boredom catalyzes a quest for invigorating academic discourse. The fear is multifaceted, encompassing not only the dread of dullness but the sobering realization that irrelevant or non-applicable knowledge might be imparted—leaving students equipped with tools they cannot wield in the real world. Such a prospect is antithetical to the true essence of education, which ought to empower and enlighten.

Born from this confluence of fear and the daring spirit of experimentation, the Humanities Lab, as crafted by its founders (Feldt & Petersen, 2021), embodies a bold departure from pedagogical convention. The laboratory is a bastion of Scandinavian pragmatism, embracing the experimental ethos that propels educational practice into new frontiers. Here, teachers and students join forces, not in a hierarchical manner, but as intellectual equals, collaborators on a pilgrimage toward a future where universities are incubators of both thought and action.

The essence of the Humanities Lab at Roskilde University is its multidisciplinary nature, with the latent potential to become a fully interdisciplinary endeavor. As an academic initiative, it is at once a seminar and a sanctuary for inquiry, designed to challenge masters in history, philosophy, Danish language, and literature to ponder profoundly existential questions—those that tug at the very fabric of human existence. 'What makes life worth living?' is not merely a topic of discussion but the central thesis around which the lab orbits. With its inauguration in the spring of 2023, it has swiftly become a cornerstone of the university's academic offerings, rewarding its successful participants with 10 ECTS, a testament to its scholastic significance.

Weekly, the lab convenes, transforming into a collective brainstorming session where the boundaries of traditional academia are tested. Participants are encouraged to bring forth a diversity of responses to the seminar's central inquiry, ranging from textual analyses to lyrical compositions, from visual representations to musical renditions, thus reflecting the multifaceted nature of human understanding. This exercise in critical thinking and creative expression upends the conventional seminar format, provoking both students and educators to reflect on the pivotal elements of university life: the balance between order and chaos, the interplay of authority and individuality, and the quest for veracity in an era riddled with ambiguity.

Furthermore, the structure of the seminar opens a discourse on the very architecture of university education, questioning the dichotomy between structured learning and intellectual freedom. The laboratory blurs the lines between the roles of student and teacher, allowing participants to self-determine their evaluative criteria, thus fostering a learning environment where assessment is not a top-down decree but a

collaborative agreement. The interplay between these roles reflects a broader meditation on the nature of power and knowledge within academic institutions.

By taking ownership of their educational journey in the Humanities Lab, students actively engage with philosophical debates on pluralism, equality, and the democratization of knowledge. They grapple with the notion of interpretative freedom, recognizing the responsibility that accompanies the right to articulate their thoughts and ideas through the mediums they choose, whether in written word, visual art, or other forms of media. It is a realm where identity is not just discovered but actively constructed through dialogue and the exchange of diverse viewpoints. As the laboratory unfolds week by week, it is evident that the students are not only learners but also contributors to the ever-evolving narrative of humanities education. This participatory approach is a significant departure from passive consumption of knowledge, positioning students as co-creators who are empowered to challenge and redefine the value and application of humanistic studies.

When the Humanities Lab was presented to an external audience of educators from a different university, it incited a rich conversation on its potential to disrupt the conventional educational fabric. The laboratory's radical approach poses provocative questions: Can academic rigor coexist with unfettered creativity? How can institutions nurture an educational ecosystem that balances intellectual rigor with the freedom to explore and innovate? In what ways might such an endeavor recalibrate the compass of humanities education to better navigate the complexities of the 21st century?

In conclusion, the Humanities Lab serves as an experimental microcosm, a blueprint for a new model of higher education that prioritizes engagement, relevance, and applicative knowledge. It champions an education that dares to reimagine itself continuously, aspiring to equip students with the intellectual dexterity required to flourish in an increasingly complex world. As such, it encapsulates the ethos of post-pedagogy, advocating for a dynamic, transformative, and deeply humanistic approach to learning.

The 'Venus of Slatina'

The 'Venus of Slatina' method, while whimsical in name, anchors itself in the profound depths of history and pedagogical innovation. This methodology, christened

after an enigmatic artifact unearthed at the Neolithic Settlement Slatina in 2013, pays homage to one of Europe's most ancient and significant archaeological discoveries. The Venus of Slatina, now a centerpiece at the Regional History Museum of Sofia within the storied walls of the Central Bath, serves as a silent testament to the rich history of human civilization. Embracing this heritage, I integrated the Venus of Slatina into a general education course on Civilizations and Religions—a course I've passionately conducted since 2019. Over the academic year of 2022/2023, I observed the method's potent impact on students' engagement with our collective past, an experience so enriching that I am compelled to revisit it in the forthcoming year. This approach, however, is borne of a somber realization. Museums, as repositories of history and art, have long fascinated me, for they are more than mere collections; they are the physical manifestations of collectors' and curators' visions, each piece a narrative, each display a story untold.

Recent years have witnessed a digital renaissance in the museum experience—augmented, virtual, and mixed realities enhancing and expanding our perception of the artifacts that narrate our story. Museums themselves are historical monuments, creating a layered educational experience—history within history. Prior to the spring semester of 2022/2023, I embarked on a novel and ambitious venture. I aspired to take my students beyond the classroom, to immerse them in the tactile reality of the Archaeological Museum and the Sofia Museum. This seed of an idea grew into a collaborative effort with colleagues from the departments of archaeology and anthropology. Together, we envisioned a combined field trip that would intertwine our pedagogies and student groups into a rich educational tapestry. The invitation extended to Chief Assist. Dr. Petranka Nedelcheva and Assoc. Prof. Dr. Irena Bokova to join this endeavor was met with tempered expectations; despite their expertise, student turnout was modest. The initial enthusiasm waned, mirroring the six attendees of a highly specialized course. The anticipation that a third of my fifty students would attend was met with the stark reality of only three showing up. Such a disheartening turnout prompted introspection and self-reflection. The allure of the Archaeological Museum's collection, so vivid and compelling to me, had somehow failed to translate into student enthusiasm. This was a pivotal moment of educational clarity; the realization dawned on me that passion for history's treasures is not innate—it must be ignited. In response to this, I reevaluated my teaching strategy, seeking to intertwine educational value with an element of gamification. The creation of an 'escape room' scenario within the museum transformed the visit from a

passive walk-through into an active learning challenge. By weaving the narrative of the Venus of Slatina into a complex riddle, students were not merely observers but participants in a historical detective story. They were tasked with decoding the past, using descriptions to identify artifacts and conversely, creating vivid descriptions for items known only through images. This innovative approach turned the museum into a crucible of critical thinking and problem-solving, with a time-bound mission that both captivated and educated. The 'Venus of Slatina' method evolved into an immersive, interactive experience, marrying the intrigue of an escape room with the rich educational content of the museum. The students, once passive recipients of knowledge, became active agents in their educational journey. They delved into the nuances of historical inquiry, engaged with the material culture of the past, and learned the importance of interpretation and description in the understanding of history. As an educator, the method redefined my perception of teaching. It underscored the need for creativity in conveying the importance of historical literacy and highlighted the effectiveness of experiential learning. With every solved riddle and every item identified, students didn't just learn about history—they experienced it. They left the museum not only with a sense of accomplishment but also with an enhanced appreciation for the discipline of history and the detective work it often entails.

The 'Venus of Slatina' teaching method, thus, serves as a pioneering example of how educators can adapt to the changing landscapes of student engagement, using innovation and interactivity to bring the static pages of history to vibrant life. It challenges us to re-envision our approach to education, to bridge the gap between historical artifacts and the modern student, and to ensure that the essence of our shared past is not only learned but also lived and cherished.

The "Time Machine"

The "Time Machine" method, a creative exercise embedded in the 'Digital Technologies in Business Management' master's course, serves as a unique educational tool, blending historical insight with forward-thinking relevance. This pedagogical approach propels students not only through the curriculum but into the realm of active learning and critical engagement. When I presented my class with this challenge, inspired by Lyudmil Georgiev's advocacy for case-based learning as a collaborative endeavor, I did

so with the intention of dismantling the traditional hierarchy between student and teacher. Each master's student became a researcher, a historian, and a futurist, all in one.

Embarking on this intellectual journey, the students were tasked with traversing the annals of history to identify a figure of significant influence. This exercise was not merely about recollecting historical facts; it required a deep dive into the psyche and circumstances of these figures, understanding their motivations, strategies, and the resources at their disposal. This retrospection was coupled with a speculative twist: choosing up to five modern inventions that, if introduced in the chosen figure's era, could have potentially altered the course of history.

The "Time Machine" method transforms the classroom into a collaborative space where each participant brings their perspective, their analytical skills, and their creative visions to the table. Students grapple with the paradox of introducing contemporary technologies to past epochs, challenging them to evaluate the interplay between innovation, societal impact, and historical context. This reflection not only enhances their understanding of technological advancements but also enriches their appreciation for the intricacies of historical development. Students are encouraged to embody the historical figure, to adopt their ambitions and constraints, thus fostering a sense of empathy and a more profound connection to the past. They are prompted to theorize how the introduction of current-day technologies might have shifted the trajectory of their figure's endeavors. Could a smartphone have revolutionized communication in ancient empires? Would renewable energy sources have altered the landscape of industrial revolutions? Moreover, this methodological approach prompts a critical analysis of the limitations inherent in technological progress. By constraining the students to select a mere five items, they are compelled to prioritize, to distill the essence of innovation into a handful of transformative elements. This process cultivates an understanding of the value and potential of technology within societal evolution.

The "Time Machine" method does more than educate; it inspires. It dares students to envision history not as a static timeline but as a tapestry woven from the threads of human ingenuity, ambition, and the continual quest for advancement. As they project and predict the implications of their choices, they engage in a form of educational role-play that blurs the lines between past and present, theory and application, imagination and concrete understanding. As we move forward, this method stands as a testament to the

power of education to inspire change-makers. It exemplifies a model where learning is an immersive, dynamic process that equips students with the vision to see beyond the horizon of their current reality, into the past, and back to the future with fresh eyes. Through this exercise, students not only learn history—they have the opportunity to reshape it in their minds, considering the boundless potential of their knowledge and the technologies that shape our world today.

Conclusion

As we step into an era marked by rapid technological advancement and societal shifts, the imperative to reinvigorate the gravitas of higher education becomes more pronounced. In our pursuit to steer clear of the extremes of scholasticism and hedonism, we must embrace the dynamism inherent in the educational process. The multiplicity of intelligences and learning styles underscores the rich diversity of the student body, necessitating a pedagogical approach that is as fluid and adaptable as the learners it aims to serve. Furthermore, the introduction of innovative methods within the educational sphere signals a move towards a more holistic, student-centered model of learning, one that transcends traditional boundaries and encourages a symbiosis of various disciplines. This revolution in pedagogical thinking challenges us to reimagine the essence of teaching and learning, to reconstruct it in a way that it aligns with the evolving needs of a globalized, interconnected world.

The concept of post-pedagogy, therefore, emerges as a beacon of transformative change, advocating for a fundamental rethinking of the objectives and strategies of education. It calls for a foundational reestablishment that not only appreciates the historical trajectory of pedagogical theory but also proactively adapts to the unforeseeable complexities of the future. In essence, post-pedagogy demands an educational renaissance: a harmonious blend of reverence for the accumulated wisdom of the past and the innovative spirit needed to forge new paths in learning. As educators and scholars, we stand at the threshold of this new horizon, poised to redefine the very nature of higher education and its role in shaping the citizens of tomorrow. It is a call to action for all stakeholders in the educational ecosystem to collaboratively sculpt an environment that fosters critical inquiry, nurtures creativity, and above all, enkindles a lifelong zeal for learning.

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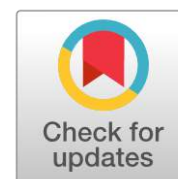
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ACADEMIC ESP COURSES IN A HYBRID MODE: ATTITUDES AND PERCEPTIONS

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Abstract

Developing academic ESP courses in a hybrid mode has come to the forefront of the educational agenda due to social and economic reasons: technological advance followed by the emergence of new communication, business and education technologies; new generations of learners who grow up in virtual reality rather than in real life; commercialisation of education; changes in workplaces and business organisations; a pandemic that resulted in increased use of the electronic and hybrid modes of interacting and working. In light of these circumstances, the research on the key actors in the educational process – learners and teachers – has gained importance and has become the reason to initiate a study of these actors' attitudes and perceptions with regard to the academic ESP courses in a hybrid mode. The article presents and discusses the results from a survey conducted within this study and related to the preparation of reference criteria for course design in terms of parameters. Data analysis has implications for the educational sector in terms of language and subject course development, as well as of the introduction of relevant policies in higher education.

Keywords: hybrid mode, academic ESP courses, ESP, ESP courses, hybrid ESP courses

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Research background

For a number of reasons, education has been rapidly changing over the last decades and has thus made teaching and learning much different compared to previous times: technological advance, developments in psychology and linguistics, societal and environmental changes. Modern technologies led to new ways of interaction and everyday communication. Recently, the COVID-19 pandemic made modern civilisation face a new reality and embrace new modes and methods of communication, work and study. E-learning, online learning or remote learning was introduced as a form ensuring the education in remote areas, but quickly turned into a popular form for consultation, tuition and business communication because of its convenience. Within some thirty years, mankind started using the Internet as a way to reach friends and relatives, build social and professional networks, do business. Video conferencing, meeting and negotiating became a more reasonable option compared to business trips and face-to-face contacts. The changes in the landscape of communication and interaction resulted in new professional and educational environments. Since some activities cannot be performed in a mediated way, the electronic mode was followed by the emergence of a hybrid one combining the traditional, face-to-face, mode and the electronic one. The pandemic accelerated these processes and made educational institutions reconsider their policies and use the two new modes widely. Against this backdrop, research was conducted to study the online and hybrid practices of higher education institutions, as well as to investigate the attitudes and perceptions of students and lecturers. This will facilitate the development of hybrid ESP courses at the author's university in line with its mission and policy for internationalisation, inclusion and high-quality education.

According to Grimes and Whitmyer (2009), e-education is a pedagogical methodology and is "the application of Internet technology to the delivery of learning experiences" (Grimes & Whitmyer, 2009, p. 1). Abed (2019) gives a more detailed definition:

[...]the provision of educational content (electronic) through the media based on the computer and its networks to the recipient in such a way that allows the possibility of active interaction with this content and features and with its peers only simultaneous or not synchronized and the possibility of completing this learning in time and place and at the speed that suits conditions and abilities, as

well as the possibility of managing this learning also through these media. (Abed, 2019, p. 1).

Kumar and Kush (2006) explain the rapid spread of the e-mode in teaching and learning with commercialisation in education. This view is supported by Lee and Duncan-Howell (2007) who note the cost-effectiveness of online courses. Among the advantages of e-education, Ishlaiwa (2006) mentions learners' easy access to the teacher, the transfer of knowledge and educational experience through forums and channels, the possibility to model education based on the intense use of various media.

Realising the strengths and weaknesses of the traditional and hybrid modes, educational experts came up with the idea of blending them so as to benefit from their advantages and minimise their disadvantages with the aim of ensuring access to and attracting more learners. In this respect, Stanley (2013) points that educational technologies add value to language teaching, save teachers time and efforts, allow learners to direct their learning, be more creative and go beyond the traditional learning process. Alberts et al. (2017) note the synergistic effect of blending the face-to-face and e-modes and thus having a wider range of teaching methodologies to implement in the course of instruction. Snart supports their view by defining the hybrid mode as "a fusion without loss" (Snart, 2010, p. 57) and considering the new mode a flexible alteration of the traditional one in terms of its pillars – fixed time, location and learning pace. This is the reason why Dziuban et al. see it as the "new normal" or "new traditional model" (Dziuban et al., 2018, p. 1). Singh et al. highlight the possibility for "improvement in students' time management skills, critical thinking skills and comprehension skills" (Singh et al., 2021, p. 144). In addition, Watson (2008) emphasises the learner-centred teaching and the wider range of options for integrated summative and formative assessment and interaction. Meskill et al. (2020) point to the following strengths of hybrid courses: enhanced authentic and multimodal opportunities, effective learner interaction that is not possible in traditional classes, optimised feedback and instruction.

Hybrid academic ESP courses

Bulgarian HEIs had to switch to the electronic mode of teaching during the pandemic, but at the end of this period, when the situation improved, a hybrid mode

combining face-to-face and online educational processes was introduced. This proved to be a successful decision because it provided the personal contact students and lecturers had been missing, as well as a more objective and fair way of assessment and feedback along with the opportunity to attend academic classes from places other than university premises and in some cases in remote places or health-care institutions. What is more, the hybrid mode could be introduced as a part of modern higher education that allows students who work and study or are of humble background to graduate and have better career prospects and accomplish their personal development. In addition, it could enable universities to expand cooperation, invite foreign guest lecturers for virtual exchanges or provide local faculty with the opportunity to teach and do research, participate in educational and scientific events or in mobility programmes.

The emergency use of e- and hybrid modes during the pandemic revealed the advantages and disadvantages of these modes compared to the traditional one and convinced educational experts in developing hybrid courses that contribute to university portfolios and add value to the overall quality of the education offered. During this period, lecturers had no time to develop syllabi, materials and activities tailored to the specifics of the electronic and hybrid modes, which was a drawback in terms of teaching and learning effectiveness. Therefore, by setting up banks of learning and assessment materials and developing syllabi designed for the hybrid mode, students and faculty could participate in the learning process with improved performance, a feeling of empowerment and self-direction, and greater engagement. Access to studying would be increased and course relevance with relation to real-life environment and situations in the workplace would be enhanced.

The researchers who have been investigating the specifics of the hybrid mode in education have attempted to outline the key features of hybrid instruction. Thus Alberts et al. (2010) suggested a set of methodological principles to follow when designing hybrid courses: learning should be based on expected outcomes in terms of course content and a range of cognitive skills; learning programmes should require student active involvement; students should be encouraged to communicate and collaborate with the teacher and peers; teaching should create a learner-centred environment; it should accommodate different learning styles; it should provide timely and constructive feedback on learning; it should support learners to become autonomous; and should

encourage and provide opportunities for student reflection on learning (Alberts et al., 2010, pp. 189-195).

Introducing hybrid ESP courses with interactive content, banks of materials that equip students with additional options to practise and improve their functional communicative competence could increase student interest in learning along with the control of the pace of learning and the type and difficulty of the materials they choose from. Involving students in a learning process that takes into account the specific features of the new generations that are accustomed to live more in the virtual reality rather than in real life with face-to-face communication would be more attractive and, therefore, more stimulating for them in terms of ESP acquisition. However, whether this assumption is right, could be established by surveying students' and lecturers' attitudes and perceptions.

Method

Research on students' and faculty's attitudes and perceptions

Taking into account societal and scientific developments discussed so far and their reflection on education, a team of four experts with extensive previous experience in ESP and in particular: the acquisition of specialised vocabulary - Gatev (2023), needs analysis – Stefanova (2021), e-portfolio-based assessment – Todorova-Ruskova (2023) set out to conduct research on this issue. Along with the observations about the pandemic period of education and its implications for the future of teaching and learning, academic competition and cooperation locally and globally is taken into consideration, as well as factors stimulating the implementation of new teaching methodologies and educational technologies.

Research tasks include a study of students' and lecturers' attitudes and perceptions with regard to the hybrid academic ESP courses in the field of economics and socio-political studies; the preparation of reference criteria for the development of a flexible hybrid educational model; the setting up of resource banks for hybrid learning comprising authentic learning and exam materials, including interactive ones, as well as of educational platforms, websites and software tools, interactive applications designed for foreign language learning in groups or individually. Hence the literature survey and the survey of students and lecturers will provide the basis for the development of the

reference criteria or guidelines to be used in the design of the hybrid academic ESP courses for students of economics, socio-political studies and law at University of National and World Economy (UNWE). The effectiveness of such courses and banks can, in turn, encourage the introduction of hybrid courses for all university subjects.

Tools

Students' and faculty's attitudes and perceptions are investigated by a structured online survey based on the method of the first respondent and was carried out at UNWE. The survey includes twenty-one questions, most of them multiple-choice ones or based on a five-point Likert scale. There is one open-ended question giving respondents the opportunity to leave a comment about hybrid ESP courses and there are two questions aimed at gathering personal information. For the students, the required information includes year of study and programme and for the faculty – years of experience and subject taught (English, subject or both).

Participants

Responses were collected from 34 lecturers and 240 students. Most of the lecturers are highly experienced: 29% with experience of over 25 years, 29% - 16-25 years, 39% - 6-15 years and only 3% - 1-5 years. As for their expertise, 68% teach subject, 21 % - English and 11% teach both subject and English. The student sample groups included respondents from seventeen specialties/programmes. They are mostly freshmen – 48% and sophomores – 40%. The third-year students account for 8% and the fourth-year ones – for 5%. from seventeen specialties/programmes.

Results

The results from the other survey questions are presented in Tables 1 and 2 (see Appendix) except for the open-ended one. Selected comments from students and faculty are given below the tables. The selection was made to highlight the variety of perceptions.

Both respondent groups share the same positive attitude to hybrid academic ESP courses in terms of modern education, flexibility and the opportunity to work and study (Q 1-3). As for learner motivation, it can be inferred that even though more than a half

of the sample see the hybrid mode as more motivating, the fraction of the respondents who are uncertain and have no opinion is big – a quarter of the students and a third of the lecturers. A similar reaction can be observed with regard to learner achievements – over 50% of the students are convinced in the beneficial role of hybrid courses, while only 41% of the faculty share this opinion. The number of hesitant respondents in both groups is 32% of the faculty and 28% of the students. Therefore, in order to ensure the optimised development of hybrid ESP courses, it should be established what the reasons are for this attitude and how it could be changed – course parameters, materials design, activities. Question 9 is aimed at finding information related to student willingness for active involvement in the course by participating in content creation. Most of the respondents (62-63%) agree or strongly agree that there is willingness for participation. However, the number of those who are uncertain is high again. Hence, it is worth investigating what this view is related to – a view that the learner should be an obedient participant in the learning process with no right to suggest and modify; a fear of making suggestions because of the assumption that the peers and teacher would not be enthusiastic and positive, or a perception that it is the teacher who is expected to be creative and responsible for course-related issues. Questions 13, 15, 16 and 17 are indicative of students and faculty's perception that the hybrid courses are more appropriate for the new generations of learners, as well as that the creation and exchange of materials banks tailored to the hybrid mode would contribute to the enhanced learner motivation and course effectiveness. Question 18 is based on the assumption that the academic workplace should resemble the future workplace of the student because this way the learning environment is the same as the occupational one, which underlines the relation between the material taught and its application in the future and, at the same time, ensures authenticity. Special attention is needed with regard to the number of hesitant respondents. Once again there is a 21% (students) - 26% (faculty) of the people surveyed who are not definite about the benefits of the environment. This could result in lower motivation and engagement for work, which is why a careful consideration is required before course development begins in order to ensure optimised course design and learning outcomes.

The data presented in Table 2 allows to compare the attitudes to the different modes and draw conclusions in terms of ratio, assessment, teacher-student contact,

feedback, student involvement, mode advantages and disadvantages. It becomes obvious that faculty find traditional face-to-face teaching more beneficial with regard to contact and involvement, while students see the hybrid and the traditional modes as equally beneficial. As far as assessment is concerned, some impressive 76% of faculty favour the traditional mode, whereas students find the hybrid mode a little more effective – 47% of this respondent group compared to 40% perceiving the traditional one as the best option. In terms of weaknesses, the three indicated ones are of the same significance to the respondent students, while the most important disadvantage for lecturers is objective assessment. When it comes to acquisition effectiveness, the respondent lecturers assign a little greater significance to the traditional mode (50%), with almost half of the students preferring the hybrid one (48%). On the other hand, both groups favour the hybrid mode regarding the applicability of the acquired functional communicative competence in their future careers, which is to be taken into account when defining the ratio and activities as a part of a hybrid ESP course syllabus.

As mentioned above, the only open-ended question in the survey was aimed at gathering respondents' comments so as to add to the rest of data by giving a more personal feedback and thus allowing to get deeper insights into the students' and lecturers' perceptions and attitudes. The selected comments highlight facets of the hybrid ESP courses and their place within programme curricula: the face-to-face – online ratio, the importance of technology and the new means of communication at work and at university, the teacher – students contact, assessment:

Faculty

"The future of education", "They must be introduced in HEIs in order to provide higher quality education and strengthen performance", "To be effective enough, the academic ESP courses must be combined with a digital system for tracking the achievements and results of the students", "To have hybrid courses, but within a hybrid course there is more traditional teaching, not online", "They could be used as a last resort", "The ratio between traditional and online classes is important".

"Traditional courses provide direct contact between teacher and student, allow the teacher to monitor students' body language and understanding, and adapt the learning material to their reactions. This is almost impossible in hybrid and online learning. I believe that the traditional form of academic courses gives the best results, but of course, if it is supplemented with multimedia, case studies,

discussions, business games, searching for information on the Internet during the classes, etc.”

“The hybrid academic courses are very suitable for students as most of them are working. Moreover, the hybrid environment is the "new normal" so the academia should not be excluded from this trend.”

“I believe hybrid language courses can be as effective and efficient as traditional (in-class) courses, if teachers use appropriate instructional design techniques, in particular appropriate learning activities and assessment methods.”

Students

“In my opinion the traditional ESP courses are more effective”, “I find ESP courses a little bit more convenient than only the traditional or online ones but they also have their cons”, “Hybrid education should be enforcement only in force major cases”, “For me personally it is very useful and meaningful, definitely not a waste of time”, “They could become attractive if they are strongly supported by additional resources”, “It's pointless. Traditional courses are the most effective”, “It's fine as long we have at least 50% in person classes”, “I think it's motivating and really nice for those who want to be prepared for future job with also hybrid tape of working process!”

“When it comes to assessment on personal knowledge, it is better face-to-face examination. In terms of new material teaching, it is up to the teacher to present the information not only in the traditional way, but also using interactive online learning materials (Google, games, research, etc.)”

“Gives students flexibility, because student years are not only for going to university. It is about finding yourself as a growing person and experiencing opportunities. The best time to try is whatever we want is now. And schedule flexibility would allow us the students to do so.”

“The effect of hybrid ESP courses won't be noticeable unless you have hybrid academic courses for all subjects.”

“Online and hybrid courses are definitely the future. Speaking from experience, during the covid lockdown years, when our university was 100% online, was the time I was most productive in my studies, projects and academic refinement.”

“Hybrid studying should be available for all lectures. We live in 2023 and people must decide if they want to attend the lecture in person or via technology.”

“It's very personal and different for every person. I think it's good to have this kind of education but make exceptions, if someone is more comfortable with the traditional way, most of his studies will be traditional and the same thing if someone is comfortable with the online version.”

“ESP courses are flexible and allow for more proper time management of the students. Video recording of lectures/sessions gives an opportunity to go back and review lecture material.”

“They are one of the most efficient ways for learning professional English and they provide us with the opportunity for gathering banks of multimedia and preparing for the lifepath we strive for.”

Discussion

The comments are presented in the form they were received in the survey. Based on all of them, it is possible to see that there are similarities in the views of students and faculty, though students are more willing to have hybrid courses. Along with the answers to the rest of the questions in the survey, the comments provide more personal information and facilitate the preparation of reference criteria and guidelines for the development of hybrid academic ESP courses catering for the needs of the learners on the one hand and motivating faculty to contribute to their introduction, on the other. For instance, it becomes evident that assessment materials can be part of digital banks with faculty and students contributing, using and exchanging, but assessment should be carried out in the traditional mode. Furthermore, because of the respondents' belief that the direct contact between lecturer and students is better than the mediated one that mobile devices provide, when considering the ratio component, language experts should give priority to the traditional mode in a proportion that facilitates acquisition in a flexible and engaging way.

Conclusion

The research on students' and faculty's attitudes and perceptions with regard to hybrid academic ESP courses is a daunting task for a number of reasons: generation gaps; individual differences in terms of background, experience, approach to teaching and learning, motivation, interest in applying novelties, personal beliefs. Although data analysis has not finished yet and reference criteria are still being considered, the main directions of the development of hybrid ESP courses have been outlined. Elaborating on them would contribute to the maximised effect of introducing innovative language courses and could provide the basis for the development of hybrid courses for all academic subjects as mentioned in a respondent's comment. Discussions with educational stakeholders could add value to the course development by considering

more details and views. For the Bulgarian academic landscape, surveys like the one presented in the article are scarce, which highlights the need to set up a tradition in this direction, thus allowing more voices to be heard. What is more, this is one more opportunity to reveal the potential and benefits of civil society and mutual efforts. In a knowledge-based economy, education is of crucial importance for sustainability and progress.

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Appendix

Table 1.

Likert scale questions

Questions	Students	Faculty
1.Hybrid academic ESP courses are part of modern education	31%- strongly agree; 53% - agree; 13 % - neither agree, nor disagree; 3% - disagree; 1%- strongly disagree	44% - strongly agree; 50% - agree; 6% - disagree
2.Hybrid academic ESP courses provide for greater flexibility	38%- strongly agree; 50% - agree; 8 % - neither agree, nor disagree; 3% - disagree; 2%- strongly disagree	56 % - strongly agree; 38% - agree; 6% - neither agree, nor disagree
3.Hybrid academic ESP courses enable students to work and study	37%- strongly agree; 42% - agree; 12 % - neither agree, nor disagree; 6% - disagree; 3%- strongly disagree	12%- strongly agree; 71% - agree; 12 % - neither agree, nor disagree; 3% - disagree; 3%- strongly disagree
4.Hybrid academic ESP courses increase learner motivation compared to traditional and online courses	21%- strongly agree; 40% - agree; 25 % - neither agree, nor disagree; 9% - disagree; 5%- strongly disagree	12% -- strongly agree; 41% - agree; 32% - neither agree, nor disagree; 9% - disagree; 6%- strongly disagree
5.Hybrid academic ESP courses enhance learner achievements compared to the traditional and online ones	8%- strongly agree; 46% - agree; 28% - neither agree, nor disagree; 8% - disagree; 10% - strongly disagree	9% - strongly agree; 32% - agree; 32%neither agree, nor disagree; 21% - disagree; 6%- strongly disagree
9.Students are interested in creating content for their ESP course (giving ideas, suggesting topics/activities, etc.)	14%- strongly agree; 49% - agree; 29 % - neither agree, nor disagree; 6% - disagree; 2%- strongly disagree	18% - strongly agree; 44% - agree; 23%- neither agree, nor disagree; 9% - disagree; 6%- strongly disagree
13. Hybrid academic ESP courses are more appropriate for modern learners' style of learning and communicating	27%- strongly agree; 50% - agree; 14% - neither agree, nor disagree; 6% - disagree; 3%- strongly disagree	24% - strongly agree; 44% - agree; 21%- neither agree, nor disagree; 6% - disagree; 6%- strongly disagree
15.ESP learning is more effective and modern if students have access to banks of multimedia resources and materials for hybrid training	35%- strongly agree; 46% - agree; 14 % - neither agree, nor disagree; 3% - disagree; 2%- strongly	32% - strongly agree; 53% - agree; 12%- neither agree, nor disagree; 3% - disagree

	disagree	
16.Do you think that the creation and exchange of banks of multimedia resources and materials for hybrid training lead to enhanced learner motivation?	25%- strongly agree; 49% - agree; 19 % - neither agree, nor disagree; 5% - disagree; 2%- strongly disagree	18% - strongly agree; 62% - agree; 14%- neither agree, nor disagree; 6% - disagree
17.Do you think that the creation and exchange of banks of multimedia resources and materials for hybrid training lead to enhanced course effectiveness	25% - strongly agree; 50% - agree; 19% - neither agree, nor disagree; 5% - disagree; 1% - strongly disagree	24% - strongly agree; 56% - agree; 14%- neither agree, nor disagree; 3% - disagree; 3% - strongly disagree
18.Hybrid ESP courses prepare students for their work in the future by creating an environment similar to their professional environment after their graduation	27% - strongly agree; 45% - agree; 21% - neither agree, nor disagree; 4% - disagree; 3% - strongly disagree	21% - strongly agree; 44% - agree; 26%- - neither agree, nor disagree; 6% - disagree; 3% - strongly disagree

Table 2.*Multiple choice questions*

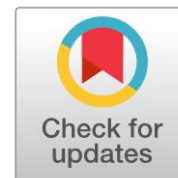
Questions	Students	Faculty
6.In your opinion, which are more beneficial and effective for students' future career	59%- hybrid; 25%- traditional; 16% - online	65%- hybrid; 32%- traditional; 3% - online
7.Hybrid academic ESP courses cannot ensure:	33% - objective assessment; 34%- detailed feedback about progress; 31% - discussions with the teacher about performance; other*	43% - objective assessment; 26%- detailed feedback about progress; 31% -discussions with the teacher about performance
8.Which mode provides for the contact with the teacher that you need	45%- hybrid; 45%- traditional; 10% - online	38%- hybrid; 59%- traditional; 3% - online
10.Students are more involved in the learning process if the course is:	43%- hybrid; 44%- traditional; 13% - online	44%- hybrid; 53%- traditional; 3% - online
11.Which mode of assessment is the most effective one:	47%- hybrid; 40%- traditional; 13% - online	21%- hybrid; 76%- traditional; 3% - online
12.Which mode is more effective in terms of student skills and knowledge of specialised English	48%- hybrid; 39%- traditional; 13% - online	47%- hybrid; 50%- traditional; 3% - online
14.The academic ESP courses that equip me with the specialised knowledge and skills I need for my future career are:	54%- hybrid; 32%- traditional; 14% - online	65%-hybrid; 32%- traditional; 3%- online

Note: * Other indicated more options as more than one answer is possible: a&c; a, b&c; b&c; a&b

ENGLISH MEDIUM INSTRUCTION IN HIGHER EDUCATION: GLOBAL TRENDS, CHALLENGES, AND THE CALL FOR MULTILINGUAL APPROACHES

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Abstract

This review article examines the widespread adoption of English Medium Instruction (EMI) in higher education, driven by globalization and the need to prepare students for the international job market. While EMI aims to enhance English proficiency and academic and employment prospects, it also presents challenges in terms of linguistic equity, pedagogical effectiveness, and the academic success of students. Through a synthesis of research, this review explores the implications and challenges of EMI and scrutinizes the assumption that EMI inherently improves English proficiency alongside content learning. The article also critiques the monolingual ideology of EMI policies and advocates for the recent call by researchers for a multilingual approach that includes translanguaging practices to better accommodate the linguistic diversity of student populations. In doing so, it highlights the need for a critical reassessment of EMI implementation based on the suggestion that by integrating students' wider linguistic resources, EMI can evolve from its monolingual origins to embrace a more effective and equitable multilingual framework.

Keywords: English medium instruction, language proficiency, English-only policy, multilingual education, translanguaging

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In recent decades, English Medium Instruction (EMI) has proliferated in higher education institutions across the globe. This shift towards English as the preferred medium of instruction reflects broader trends in globalization and the increasing mobility of students and academics. The rationale behind the adoption of EMI includes, but is not limited to, enhancing the international standing of educational institutions and improving the English proficiency of students, thereby better preparing them for an international job market. However, the adoption of EMI also presents considerable challenges and raises questions around its linguistic and academic dimensions. For example, linguistic equity, pedagogical effectiveness, and the academic success and language development of students within EMI programs are subjects of ongoing research.

By synthesizing research from diverse contexts, this review examines the spread of EMI in higher education, its implications, challenges, and the linguistic and academic outcomes associated with its implementation. It also explores the evolving perspectives on the role of language in EMI settings and the emerging advocacy for more inclusive and multilingual approaches. Through a synthesis of various studies and scholarly discussions, this review seeks to illustrate the complexities and multidimensional impacts of EMI, and propose a reconsideration of linguistic aspects of EMI implementation.

The Spread of English Medium Instruction

Coleman (2006) points out that ‘once a medium obtains a dominant market share, it becomes less and less practical to opt for another medium, and the dominance is thus enhanced’, a process named ‘the Microsoft effect’ (p. 4). This effect is visible in the spread of EMI as more and more educational institutions are offering courses or all programs in English, particularly in higher education (HE) (Dearden, 2015). Higher education institutions (HEIs) seek to extend their reach, both in terms of their international student body and faculty as well as their programs and research agendas (Hesford et al., 2009; Horner & Tetreault, 2017). As a result, EMI has become more common in HEIs in countries where English is an L2 (Rose & McKinley, 2018; Pun & Curle, 2021) - the setting with which EMI tends to be associated. The frequently cited definition of EMI by Dearden (2015) is a case in point:

The use of the English language to teach academic subjects in countries or jurisdictions *where the first language (L1) of the majority of the population is not English*. (p. 4, emphasis added)

A similar definition comes from Macaro et al. (2016), who define EMI as ‘the teaching of academic subjects through the medium of English in *non-Anglophone countries*.’ (p. 51, emphasis added). On the other hand, Jenkins (2020) questions the confinement of EMI to settings where English is not the L1, and argues that the presence of large numbers of international students in otherwise English-L1 settings makes them EMI settings as well.

The extent of academic research into EMI across the world indicates the prominence of EMI. The countries where the outcomes, challenges, and linguistic and pedagogical implications of EMI have been researched include Denmark (Jensen & Thøgersen, 2011), United Arab Emirates (Moore-Jones, 2015), Germany (Erling & Hilgendorf, 2006), Korea (Im & Kim, 2015; Joe & Lee, 2013), Taiwan (Huang & Singh, 2014), Italy (Costa & Coleman, 2013), the Netherlands (Wilkinson, 2013), China (Hu & Lei, 2014), and Türkiye (British Council & TEPAV, 2015; Yüksel et al., 2022), to name a few. This supports Brumfit’s (2004) argument that ‘for the first time in recorded history all the known world has a shared second language of advanced education’ (p. 166).

Among the several perceived benefits that provide grounds for the decision by an increasing number of HEIs to offer EMI programs, a common one is increasing L2-English proficiency among students - and this is so, although developing L2 skills is not referred to as an objective in definitions of EMI (Galloway et al., 2020). Both learners and practitioners have the ‘expectation that English language proficiency will develop in tandem with subject discipline knowledge’ (Rose & Galloway, 2019, p. 195). However, limited English proficiency has been identified as a challenge with implications for the successful attainment and expression of content/disciplinary knowledge in EMI programs (Galloway et al., 2017; Galloway & Rose, 2021; Wang et al., 2018). How students perform in EMI is, therefore, an important question, and the next section provides a review of studies comparing academic outcomes in EMI and non-EMI programs.

Academic outcomes in EMI and non-EMI programs

One group of studies suggests that studying through an L2 does not necessarily compromise academic outcomes. Dafouz et al. (2014) found that Spanish students' academic performance (operationalized as course grades) in various EMI and non-EMI programs, including History, Accounting, and Finance, showed no significant difference. This was supported by a subsequent study by Dafouz and Camacho (2016) in Financial Accounting, where similar academic outcomes were observed between EMI and non-EMI students, who were argued to be comparable as both classes were taught by the same instructor and used the same syllabus and assessment formats. Likewise, Costa and Mariotti (2017) reported no significant difference in exam scores between EMI and Italian medium instruction students in Economics. Airey (2015) nuances the discussion by pointing out that while students in EMI physics courses were less fluent in English disciplinary language, the description of disciplinary concepts by students in EMI vs L1 medium courses were rated similarly, which implies that students' understanding is not compromised in EMI.

However, it is important to consider potential confounding factors due to the differing student populations in EMI versus non-EMI programs. For example, Zaif et al. (2017) found no significant difference in academic outcomes between EMI and Turkish-medium accounting students but noted that EMI students had obtained higher university entrance exam scores. Hernandez-Nanclares and Jimenez-Munoz (2017) observed comparable performance between EMI and Spanish medium students, but a comparison between the higher performance groups showed that Spanish medium instruction students outperformed EMI students, which means that comparison of average exam scores may be concealing differences between sub-groups of students.

Several other studies, on the other hand, show that EMI may put students at a disadvantage in terms of content learning. Evans and Morrison (2011) found that EMI students in China initially struggled with lecture comprehension and participation due to unfamiliar technical vocabulary, and preferred Cantonese for better engagement and understanding. Hellekjær (2010) also observed comprehension difficulties among Norwegian and German students in English, due to factors like pronunciation,

vocabulary, and notetaking challenges. In Turkey, Sert (2008) assessed three instructional approaches - EMI, English-aided instruction, and Turkish medium instruction - across economics and administrative sciences faculties, finding none fully effective in achieving both language and content learning goals. EMI, in particular, was criticized for content understanding issues, though it improved English skills more than the other approaches. Neville-Barton and Barton (2005) noted a performance gap of 12 to 15% in favor of L1-Mandarin over L2-English in mathematics tests among students in China, indicating a clear advantage for L1 as the test delivery language.

Macaro et al. (2018), reviewing 83 studies, concluded that ‘any cost-benefit evaluation of EMI is inconclusive at best and impossible at worst.’ (p. 64). Irrespective of its relative efficiency in comparison to teaching and learning through L1, EMI has been shown to present various challenges, and the next section is devoted to a review of those challenges.

Challenges in EMI

‘[A] widely purported benefit of EMI is that it kills two birds with one stone; in other words, students simultaneously acquire both English and content knowledge’ (Rose et al., 2020, p. 2150). In that regard, Byun et al. (2011) points to overall satisfaction with EMI and improvement in students’ language proficiency as positive outcomes. Similarly, Pecorari and Malmström (2018) suggest that while the main purpose of EMI is not to teach English as an L2, students in EMI settings are provided with language support in the form of additional courses, which in turn helps students develop their L2-English. However, they also state that the idea that EMI will improve language skills for students due to exposure has not yet been backed up by sufficient research.

Tertiary education is considerably more demanding in comparison to earlier levels of education in terms of both cognitive and linguistic requirements (Chin & Li, 2021). Although L2-English students are usually required to have a certain level of English proficiency before they can begin their EMI HE programs, this does not necessarily mean that they are not confronted with language-related challenges in their academic studies. In HE, insufficient command of English may emerge as ‘a major stumbling block’ (Pulcini & Campagna, 2015, p. 72) that hinders the successful

implementation of EMI. Therefore, instructors and students' inadequate L2 proficiency is an important consideration (e.g., Costa & Coleman, 2013; Kerestecioğlu & Bayyurt, 2018; Moore-Jones, 2015).

Several studies used surveys to examine the perspectives of EMI students and instructors regarding challenges. In Italy, Costa and Coleman (2013) found that although EMI was generally rated positively, limited English proficiency was viewed a major hurdle. Tatzl (2011) noted that in Austria, lecturers faced difficulties due to the varied English proficiency levels among students, who reported struggling with vocabulary and technical terms. In Germany, instructors identified students' insufficient English skills, increased workload, and bias in assessments as primary EMI challenges (Gürtler & Kronewald, 2015). Kamaşak et al. (2021) showed in their questionnaire study involving around 500 EMI students in Türkiye that students generally did not report significant language challenges, though they found productive skills particularly difficult. This finding was echoed by Yüksel et al. (2021), who noted that both speaking and writing in English were perceived to present substantial challenges. While challenges are attributed to poor English skills among both students and lecturers (Ekoç, 2020), even high-proficiency students may perceive EMI to be challenging (Kamaşak et al., 2021).

Both comprehension and production seem to be at stake in EMI. Aizawa and Rose (2019) discovered that students at all proficiency levels struggled, with more proficient students facing difficulties in academic literacy such as essay writing, and less proficient students having trouble understanding instructors and grammatical structures, among others. Chang (2010) found that a significant portion of Taiwanese EMI students had low comprehension levels, which negatively affected their learning. Yıldız et al. (2017) also highlighted problems with unfamiliar terminology. The effects of poor English proficiency extend to academic performance, as noted by Söderlundh (2012) in Sweden, Arkin and Osam (2015) in Türkiye, and Alhassan et al. (2021) in Sudan, with students struggling to convey ideas effectively and performing poorly on tests.

Kirkpatrick (2014) argued that language policies requiring the use of English only at universities might disadvantage lower-proficiency students if ongoing support is

lacking. In the absence of support, various consequences may arise, which are summarized by Galloway et al. (2017) as follows:

- detrimental effects on subject learning and understanding lessons and lectures
- longer time to complete the course
- chance of dropping out
- problems communicating disciplinary content
- asking/answering fewer questions
- code-switching
- resistance to EMI. (p. 6)

In an effort to mitigate such challenges, universities usually require their students to meet language proficiency requirements through international or in-house tests of English. An important question in that regard is to what extent proficiency tests can predict academic performance in EMI.

The relationship between proficiency at entry into EMI and academic success

Several studies found English proficiency to be a predictor of academic performance as measured by exam or course grades. Li (2017, 2018) and Martirosyan, Hwang, and Wanjohi (2015) found correlations between English proficiency and academic success, suggesting that while other factors also affect academic performance, language proficiency plays a crucial role. In this regard, one important question for EMI programs is how different tests may help ensure that students arrive at EMI programs with sufficient English proficiency.

Investigations into the predictive power of international English proficiency tests like TOEFL and IELTS have yielded mixed results. Cho and Bridgeman (2012) found that TOEFL scores only modestly predicted GPA, suggesting that while high proficiency may benefit academic performance, the relationship is not strongly predictive. Yen and Kuzma (2009) and Schoepp (2018) found significant relationships between IELTS scores and GPA, indicating that language proficiency, as measured by these tests, has a predictive value for academic success in EMI programs, though the strength of this relationship may diminish over time as students adapt and improve their language skills (Yen & Kuzma,

2009). Therefore, Schoepp (2018) suggests that for lower proficiency learners, a bilingual method rather than EMI may be a more viable teaching option.

The predictive power of in-house language tests and subject-specific English proficiency tests (ESP) has also been explored. Bo et al. (2022) demonstrated a significant correlation between in-house language test scores and GPA in a Singaporean university, with proficiency impacting academic performance differently across disciplines. Xie and Curle (2022) found a significant relationship between Business English proficiency and academic success in business management studies, suggesting that subject-specific English tests may offer valuable insights for EMI programs.

However, the challenge of comparing different proficiency tests and ensuring score equivalence remains. Students admitted through different tests may have differing success rates in EMI programs (Kamaşak et al., 2021; Tweedie & Chu, 2019), which points to the complexity of establishing a standard for English proficiency. Also, as Deygers et al. (2018) argue, the alignment of two different language tests to the same CEFR level does not necessarily mean that the tests are comparable in terms of content or construct. It should also be noted that GPA may not always provide an accurate representation of learning and academic achievement (Ekoç, 2020).

English proficiency at entry into EMI programs seems to predict academic outcomes, but the variance explained does not seem to be substantial. Also, the effectiveness of different proficiency tests as measures of readiness for these programs varies, and there are obviously other factors that affect academic success. Still, it is important to understand what minimum language requirement would ensure that failure in EMI is not attributable to insufficient proficiency - if such a level can be delineated.

The question of whether a specific English proficiency threshold ensures success in EMI programs has seen varied responses from research. Studies across 104 universities in 52 countries by Sahan et al. (2021) revealed diverse English proficiency requirements, with IELTS scores ranging from 4.5 to 7.0 and TOEFL iBT scores from 56 to 100, translating to CEFR levels between B1 and B2 as the most common prerequisites.

This indicates a lack of consensus on the minimum proficiency needed for EMI programs, and the determination of a proficiency threshold for EMI success remains debated.

Harsch (2018) argued against the possibility of defining a clear proficiency threshold for EMI success due to the complexity of language proficiency and the difficulty in obtaining comparable test results. However, Trenkic and Warmington (2019) suggested that a threshold level might exist, based on their findings that language skills significantly impacted academic outcomes for L2-English students but not for native English students in UK higher education, implying a proficiency level beyond which language no longer hinders academic performance. Deygers et al. (2018) examined language requirements across European universities, noting that while CEFR B2 was a common minimum, there was scepticism about its adequacy for EMI success. Carlsen (2018) proposed B2 as a suitable minimum for academic success, indicating that students at or above this level could manage their studies without facing significant language-related challenges. However, studies in contexts such as Türkiye and Japan (Yüksel et al., 2021; Aizawa et al., 2020) revealed that students at or above B2 level still faced linguistic challenges in EMI, with improvements noted at higher proficiency levels and Yüksel et al. (2021) identified C1 as a threshold for engineering students. These findings imply that while B2 may serve as a general guideline, challenges in EMI can persist above this level, suggesting the need for lecturers to accommodate the linguistic needs of EMI students.

Assessment in EMI

While considerable research has focused on the learning and teaching aspects of EMI programs, the area of assessment within these programs requires further exploration. Xiao and Cheung (2021) emphasize the significance of assessment practices on students' learning processes and outcomes, indicating a need for more focused research in this domain.

Studies have explored the impact of the language of instruction on the complexity of questions and student responses. For example, Hu and Li (2017) found that irrespective of the language of instruction, teachers often used lower-order questions, but student responses in Chinese showcased higher cognitive complexity compared to those in English, where students were more inclined to remain silent. Hu and Duan

(2019) also noted that both questions and responses in EMI settings tended to lack in cognitive and linguistic complexity. Similarly, Pun and Macaro (2019) observed that increased use of L2 in classrooms correlated with more lower-order questions being posed.

Fairness in assessment is another concern. Ball and Lindsay (2013) revealed lecturers' worries about the fairness of exams, especially when assessments demanded lengthy written responses in English. In Macaro et al. (2016), instructors reported that students struggled with understanding exam questions due to limited vocabulary, leading to failures despite instructors' efforts to simplify questions and translate key terms into students' L1.

The potential for incorporating multilingual and translingual practices into assessment has been suggested as a way to address these challenges. Cots (2013), for example, criticizes the common policy requirement for using a single language in teaching and assessment as unrealistic, suggesting that multilingual practices could be more natural and effective. Lasagabaster (2022), on the other hand, highlights the lack of research on assessment practices in EMI settings, pointing out unanswered questions about the use of translanguaging, the feasibility of multilingual practices among students from diverse linguistic backgrounds, lecturer attitudes towards alternative assessment methods, and how international students perceive the use of native languages by local students in exams.

Time for the multilingual turn in EMI?

Research on EMI shows several educational benefits of multilingual and translingual practices. Code-switching has been found to serve various educational functions, such as supporting comprehension, creating a comfortable setting, and maintaining discipline (Lasagabaster, 2013); explaining unknown lexical items and building rapport with students (Tien & Li, 2013); explaining grammar or vocabulary (Tian & Kunschak, 2014; Macaro et al., 2020); explaining cognitively demanding content (Kim et al., 2017); and providing feedback to student responses in the L1 (Macaro et al., 2020).

The translanguaging approach, which challenges the conceptualization of monolingual practices as the norm, is becoming increasingly recognized for its benefits in EMI settings. Despite English-only policies, translanguaging has been noted across diverse contexts, including Denmark (Dimova, 2020), Sweden (Söderlundh, 2012), Spain (Doiz et al., 2019), Japan (Aizawa & Rose, 2019), China (Galloway et al., 2017), Hong Kong (Pun & Macaro, 2019), Ukraine (Tarnopolsky & Goodman, 2014), and Türkiye (Ekoç, 2020). Research from contexts as diverse as Malawi (Reilly, 2021), Cambodia (Boun & Wright, 2021), Italy (Dalziel & Guarda, 2021), and Sweden (Toth & Paulsrud, 2017) supports the strategic use of translanguaging to facilitate interaction and learning in EMI programs, as translanguaging enhances teaching and learning and improves comprehension and student engagement by allowing the use of their full linguistic repertoire. Lin and He (2017) demonstrate that using multiple languages, such as a student employing Urdu to explain a term, enriches interactions and helps construct shared meaning, challenging restrictive monolingual ideologies. In Türkiye, Sahan et al. (2021) identified a bilingual teaching model at seven EMI universities in Türkiye, noting enhanced participation and engagement through the use of L1 when students shared the same L1. Furthermore, a Mechanical Engineering case study by Sahan and Rose (2021) found that both students and instructors engaged in translanguaging to better process and understand new material, thus deepening their engagement with academic discourse in both English and Turkish. Sahan and Rose, therefore, caution that an English-only policy could ‘erode students’ learning potential’ (p. 33). Siegel (2022) found in surveys across Indonesia, Spain, and the United States that although many students prefer notetaking in English during English lectures, a significant number also practice translanguaging, blending English with their L1. Siegel recommends allowing students to use their L1 at lower proficiency levels, both languages at intermediate levels, and transition solely to English at advanced levels.

The need to transition from a monolingual mindset to a multilingual approach in education, that encourages the inclusion of students’ wider linguistic repertoires, including translanguaging, was raised by Doiz et al. (2012). This is particularly important as the increasingly diverse student populations at EMI universities create an inherently multilingual academic environment where language proficiency affects academic success

(Van der Walt & Kidd, 2013). Therefore, EMI institutions need to adopt policies that reflect the multilingual reality of these programs and encourage research into translanguaging within EMI classrooms (Galloway et al., 2020). In that regard, Sahan and Rose (2021) criticize the English-only focus in EMI, advocating for a pedagogical shift that recognizes the multilingual nature of classrooms and promotes translanguaging. They add that '[g]iven that the primary concern of EMI education is content learning, an insistence on English-only instruction appears ideologically (mis)guided rather than pedagogically sound.' (2021, p. 26). Similarly, Veitch (2021, p. 9) supports a holistic approach in which 'multilingual practices, such as translanguaging, are natural, legitimised and acceptable.' Jenkins (2020, p. 66) even proposes renaming EMI to 'Translanguaging as Medium of Instruction' to normalize the use of languages other than English in educational settings.

Macaro (2020) suggests that in an English-medium instruction (EMI) setting, if the primary goal is to enhance students' communication skills in English, substantial input and interaction in English are essential. Conversely, if the objective is to deepen academic understanding, incorporating students' first language (L1) might be necessary. However, in classrooms with many international students, the appropriateness of using the majority's L1 is questionable if these students lack proficiency in that language (Macaro, 2020)

Conclusion

The spread of EMI is partly driven by internationalization, with aims to extend institutional reach and enhance international competitiveness. As EMI continues to expand globally, its implications stretch beyond mere language and content learning, to include equity in education and linguistic inclusivity.

The current review reveals a complex picture where the benefits of EMI are not universally realized, with significant pedagogical and linguistic challenges. The assumption that EMI inherently improves English proficiency alongside content acquisition is critically challenged by (1) research suggesting that EMI may compromise content understanding and academic performance due to linguistic barriers and (2) the limited, and inconclusive, research on linguistic gains in EMI. The findings from various

EMI settings indicate that the effectiveness of EMI is contingent upon students' English proficiency, which if inadequate, can compromise the depth of learning and academic outcomes.

The review also shows that the focus on English as the sole medium of instruction risks oversimplifying the linguistic reality of EMI programs. First, this approach may disadvantage students who are less proficient in English. The English-only policy also seems to influence the complexity of examination questions and student responses, and raises concerns about fairness and equity in EMI content assessment. Moreover, while some studies suggest that English proficiency at entry correlates with academic performance, the relationship is not straightforward or uniformly predictive. This brings into question the reliance on English proficiency tests as sole indicators of a student's readiness for EMI programs and points to the need for ongoing provision of language support once students are in EMI programs.

The evidence regarding the current state of EMI provision points towards the necessity for an approach that integrates multilingual practices. By challenging the monolingual ideologies that have traditionally underpinned EMI policies, the recent discourse around translinguaging and multilingualism in EMI offers a promising way forward that acknowledges and calls for leveraging the wider language resources of EMI students in learning, teaching, and assessment. Therefore, while EMI continues to be an attractive model for HE, it is in need of a critical re-evaluation in terms of language policies. As such, for the future of EMI, the quantitative increase needs to be accompanied with an evolution in policy from a monolingual to a multilingual framework that responds to the linguistic needs of all EMI students.

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STRATEGIES FOR TEACHING WRITTEN LANGUAGE TO STUDENTS WITH ATTENTION DEFICITS

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Abstract

The issue of including students with attention deficits in the educational process is a highly relevant pedagogical challenge due to the high prevalence of these disorders. Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD) is the most common condition, but attention deficits can also arise from social causes, such as experiencing psychologically traumatic situations like war. This article presents key strategies for improving written language skills in students with attention deficits of various etiologies and comorbid disorders to facilitate their inclusion in the educational process. Additionally, presented are the results of a two-stage study confirming the practical effectiveness of these strategies.

Keywords: attention deficits, neurodevelopmental disorders, dysgraphia, written language teaching strategies, inclusion

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Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD) is one of the most prevalent disorders among children and adolescents worldwide. This lifelong neurodevelopmental disorder is often associated with a normal or high level of intelligence (Faraone et al., 2015). In general, intelligence level is not a distinguishing feature of the disorder.

According to the American Psychiatric Association (APA), up to 11% of children and adolescents have ADHD, and around 65% of individuals with ADHD have comorbid learning skill impairments such as dyslexia, dysgraphia, and dyspraxia (impairment of fine motor skills) (APA, 2022). This underscores the importance of appropriate teaching and inclusion strategies for students with ADHD within the educational environment.

Attention problems are also prevalent among other groups of students, including those with neurodevelopmental disabilities and those traumatized by military conflict, such as in Ukraine. This group includes individuals forced to emigrate and internally displaced persons. Ensuring the inclusion of these individuals in both the educational system and society is a critical task faced by a broad range of professionals, including teachers.

Ukraine currently has the highest number of internally displaced people in recent decades of modern European history. These students need to be fully integrated into the educational process, which extends beyond mere academic achievements (Lavrysh et al., 2022).

Teaching native and especially foreign languages to students with ADHD and other attention deficits presents a significant challenge. The neurodevelopmental impairments associated with ADHD are genetically linked to the frontal area of the cerebral cortex, which regulates external behaviours (Martin et al., 2014). This affects the brain's executive functions, such as the ability to make predictions, analyse situations, draw appropriate conclusions, self-organize, sustain attention, and control impulses, as well as motor and verbal activity. Consequently, the primary symptoms of ADHD are hyperactivity, impulsivity, and inattention. The primary cause of ADHD is a genetic dysregulation of two neurotransmitters - dopamine and norepinephrine - in the frontal part of the cerebral cortex (Nigg et al., 2010). In fewer cases, ADHD may result from organic brain damage during the prenatal or early postnatal period (Vorstman & Ophoff, 2013).

The main interventions for managing ADHD and other attention deficits include psychoeducation—educating professionals, students, and parents about the disorder and coping strategies—behavioural therapy, which involves various diagnostic and behavioural correction techniques, and medication in the most severe cases (Chen et al., 2017).

Before initiating the diagnosis and correction of writing skills, we consistently assess students' behavioural issues and develop strategies to correct inappropriate behaviours. This comprehensive approach has proven to be more effective than focusing solely on the correction of specific learning skills, such as writing. Our years of experience support this methodology (Fert, 2019).

The aim of this article is to present the main strategies for improving written language skills in students with attention deficits and comorbid disorders, with the goal of facilitating their inclusion in the educational process.

Classroom Management for Students with Attention Deficit.

Pre-Writing (Planning) Strategies

Impulsive and hyperactive behaviour in students with attention deficits presents a significant challenge for teachers, as such behaviour can distract other students and disrupt the classroom environment. To address this, we consistently utilize the functional-behavioural assessment method and implement positive behavioural interventions to improve student behaviour before beginning to correct specific learning skills such as writing (Fert, 2019).

However, the primary academic difficulties for students with ADHD and other attention disorders stem from inattention. When focusing on writing skills, common issues include difficulties with planning and organizing written work, inconsistency in completing written exercises, numerous mechanical mistakes due to attention deficits, a significantly slower pace in completing tasks, untidy handwriting, and poor overall results in written tasks (Rief, 2005).

Creating an appropriate classroom environment is also crucial for success in improving learning skills. Research and our experience confirm that arranging desks in

classic rows, with the student with attention and behavioural problems seated at the front, is most effective. The classroom should be free of many distracting triggers, with neutral-coloured walls and minimal visual distractions, while providing ample visual support for presenting the current lesson topic (Rief, 2005).

Once behaviour is under control and the classroom space is properly organized, we can focus on improving specific learning skills such as writing. We employ several pre-writing techniques that have proven highly effective (ERIC/OSEP, 2002).

Pre-Writing Techniques

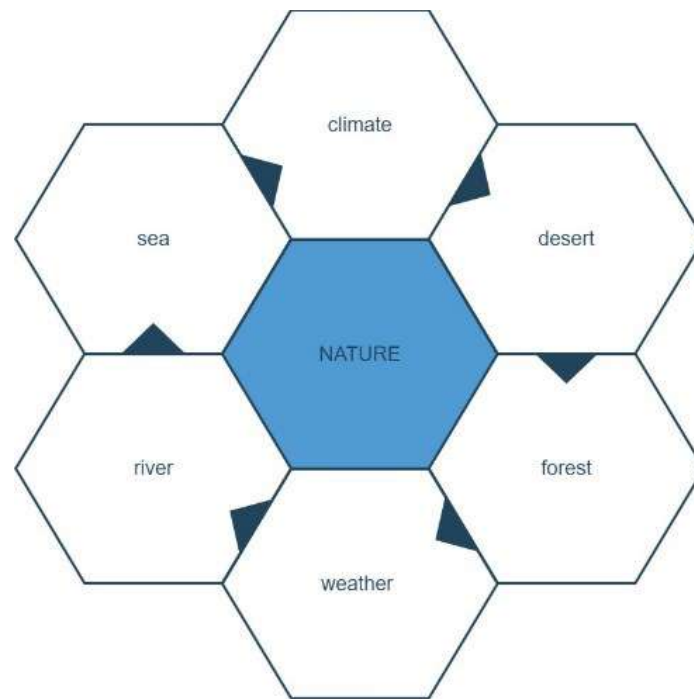
The following strategies are designed to improve students' writing skills by addressing their specific needs, thereby facilitating their inclusion in the educational process.

1. **Brainstorming:** This brief activity, lasting only three to five minutes, involves presenting a theme or topic, with students voicing whatever comes to mind related to the topic. Responses are recorded by the teacher or a designated student (Jensen, 2014). This activity helps sustain attention and concentrate on the topic.
2. **Quick Writes:** Students are given a few minutes to write down everything they can think of related to a given topic.
3. **Questioning:** To increase concentration and organize their writing, students are taught to ask themselves questions during the planning stage, such as "What am I writing about?", "Who am I writing for?", "Why am I writing this?", and "What do I know?".
4. **Verbalization:** For students with an auditory perception preference, using recorders to verbalize their thoughts before transcribing them onto paper can be particularly helpful.
5. **Visual Aids:** Visual aids enhance information retention, especially for students with a visual perception preference (Oxford, 2008). Various visual organizers are used to support pre-writing, including:
 - **Concept Maps:** The main idea or topic is written in the center and surrounded by bubbles containing subtopics or supporting ideas.

- **Writing Frames:** These are templates with blanks to be filled in, helping to structure the writing.
- **Diagrams:** Graphics or circles that compare and contrast different items, such as books, topics, or characters.

Figure 1.

Concept Map



Building Fine Motor Skills, Bypassing Writing Difficulties

Students with attention deficits often struggle with fine motor skills necessary for writing, leading to messy and illegible handwriting. This difficulty arises due to challenges in controlling movements and speed, spatial relations, force control, and clumsiness. Signs of dysgraphia, a condition impacting writing ability, include unfinished words or letters, inconsistent positioning on the page, and unusual grip or body positions while writing (Synopsis, 2017; Cleveland Clinic, 2022). Teachers who observe these signs should consult with specialists for supportive services.

To address fine motor skill deficits, various activities can be employed:

- Finger warm-up exercises, such as touching each finger to the thumb quickly.
- Strengthening muscles by squeezing a ball.
- Developing fine movements with puzzles or stringing beads.
- Practicing buttoning and tying.

- Engaging in sorting and picking up small objects like shells or buttons.

One reason children struggle with writing is their difficulty in recalling motor planning skills and muscle movements involved in forming strokes in letters. They may also lack a clear mental picture of each letter's appearance, requiring constant visual modeling (Rief, 2005).

Effective strategies for teaching handwriting and improving legibility include:

- Teaching appropriate pencil grip early on.
- Providing sufficient time to avoid time pressure.
- Using paper with vertical lines to assist in spacing letters and words.
- Ensuring a supply of pens and pencils on the desk.
- Grouping letters by formation and introducing frequently used ones first.
- Discussing differences in letters and encouraging independent practice, circling the best ones.

Implementing these strategies can help students with attention deficits improve their fine motor skills and written expression.

Strategies for Building Written Expression

Written expression poses significant challenges for students with ADHD and other neurodevelopmental and behavioural disorders, such as Autism Spectrum Disorder (ASD), Social Anxiety Disorder, and Separation Anxiety Disorder. Learners with ASD often experience difficulties in language and communication, which may lead them to appear disengaged from social interactions (Brahim, 2022).

These difficulties in writing arise due to the involvement of multiple brain processes simultaneously, including memory, attention, organization, sequencing, and planning. Therefore, students with attention issues require special support and differentiated instructions during the educational process. Teachers can employ various strategies to facilitate the development of written expression in these students.

One effective strategy is to create vocabulary lists of words related to a topic and teach students sentence structure. Additionally, teaching students to write more interesting and expanded sentences can be beneficial. This can involve starting with a

basic sentence and encouraging students to enhance it by adding descriptive adjectives, verbs, and prepositional phrases (Rief, 2005).

Teachers can also generate class and individual lists of descriptive language found in literature and poetry and ask students to create scenes and describe them in vivid detail before writing paragraphs about them (McIntyre & Gregresen, 2012). It's important to teach students words that signal sequences, transitional words and phrases, phrases that indicate the author's point of view, and encourage the use of alternatives to overused words. Providing students with reference materials for these words can be helpful (Fetzer, 2003).

Furthermore, self-monitoring is a crucial strategy for building written expression. Students should continuously ask themselves questions from the perspective of potential readers to ensure clarity, logical flow of ideas, and appropriate word choice. Strategies like the POW strategy (Plan, Organize, Write) by Harris et al. (2007) can be employed for this purpose.

Finally, teachers can ask students to answer the 5W questions (who, what, when, where, why, and how) while writing to ensure that they provide sufficient information for their readers.

Method

To prove the efficacy of these strategies, a two-stage research study was conducted among language teachers.

Stage One - Preliminary Study

To demonstrate the effectiveness of the written language strategies, we conducted a preliminary study involving seventy-five (75) Ukrainian teachers of native and foreign languages. These teachers implemented the strategies in their work with 120 students, aged 6-10, who had various kinds of attention deficits. These deficits were caused by ADHD, other neurodevelopmental disorders, and war-related trauma among displaced children.

Over a four-month period (January-March 2023), the teachers observed notable improvements:

- **Attention sustainability:** 95% of respondents reported improvement.
- **Handwriting:** 86% of respondents reported improvement.
- **Written expression:** 82% of respondents reported improvement.
- **Academic achievement in English and Ukrainian languages:** 92% of respondents reported progress.

While this was a preliminary study, the results suggest that the strategies can be effectively applied to improve the writing skills of students with attention deficits of various etiologies.

Stage Two

To achieve more in-depth results, we employed a qualitative research method between April 2023 and March 2024. Qualitative research is a type of research that explores and provides deeper insights into real-world problems. Unlike quantitative research, which collects numerical data points or involves interventions or treatments, qualitative research generates hypotheses to further investigate and understand quantitative data (Moser & Korstjens, 2017).

Sampling

The study sample consisted of fifteen (15) foreign language teachers who taught seventeen (17) students aged 6-10 years in general education schools in Lviv, Ukraine. All students were officially diagnosed with ADHD. Over the course of one year (April 2023 - March 2024), all teachers implemented the specified written language strategies in their classrooms.

Data Collection Tool

To achieve the aims of the study, a structured questionnaire was administered to fifteen (15) foreign language teachers who taught seventeen (17) students aged 6-10 years in general education schools in Lviv, Ukraine. The data collection instrument consisted of two (2) sections, each containing four (4) elements accompanied by multiple-choice answer options.

- **Section One:** This section focused on the sustainability of students' attention and their academic achievement.
- **Section Two:** This section was dedicated to the quality of the students' written tasks.

Data Analysis and Interpretation

Table.1

The results of teachers' questionnaire.

Statements	Agree %	Disagree %	Neutral %
Axis 1: Attention sustainably and academic achievement			
1. More attention during written tasks.	90.33	9.67	0
2. Children demonstrate positive differences in performance of written tasks.	94.67	5.33	0
3. Children do more written work during the lesson.	80	3.34	16.66
4. Marks for the written work got better	100	0	0
Axis 2: Quality of written tasks.			
5. Improvement of preparation to written tasks.	77	14.67	8.33
6. Improvement of written expression	67.67	16.00	16.33
7. improvement of legibility	91.66	0	8.34
8. Improvement of handwriting.	93.33	0.34	6.33

The results of the study demonstrated significant improvements in both sections and all indicators according to the responses of the participants. Particularly in Section One, there was a notable increase in marks for written works (100%), a demonstration of positive differences in performance of written tasks (94.67%), and improvement in sustaining attention in general (90.33%). In Section Two, the best results were achieved in the process of improving handwriting (93.33%) and legibility (91.66%).

This two-phase study confirms the effectiveness of the proposed methods for improving writing skills, and it suggests that these tools can be recommended to a wide range of educators. Additionally, it highlights the importance of continuing this research topic in quantitative studies with a larger sample of respondents, as well as involving parents of children with attention deficits.

Conclusions

The issue of effectively including children with various neurodevelopmental disorders remains a significant challenge. Common diagnoses such as Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD), Autism Spectrum Disorders (ASD), and other behavioural impairments, including those associated with wartime trauma, are increasingly prevalent. These disorders often manifest with attention deficits, leading to academic difficulties across various areas, including writing. Dysgraphia, a comorbid disorder, is frequently observed in students diagnosed with ADHD, exacerbating their writing challenges.

Drawing from our teaching experience and existing literature, we have formulated key strategies for improving writing skills. These strategies encompass classroom management tailored to students with attention deficits, pre-writing techniques such as planning, methods for improving handwriting, and approaches for fostering written expression.

The effectiveness of these strategies is contingent upon adequately assessing student behaviour and organizing the learning environment accordingly. We conducted a comprehensive two-stage research study involving 75 teachers initially, who worked with children exhibiting various forms of attention deficits. In the second stage, we specifically focused on 15 teachers who were instructing children diagnosed with ADHD. Through qualitative research methods, we aimed to evaluate the effectiveness of our methodological tools in addressing the needs of these students.

The findings from both stages of the study were unanimous: the methodological tools implemented were highly effective in enhancing attention sustainability, improving handwriting, written expression, and overall academic achievement in the students. This affirmation from teachers underscores the practical viability and impact of our strategies in real classroom settings.

These results provide valuable insights into the tangible benefits of tailored approaches for students with attention deficits, reaffirming the importance of targeted interventions in facilitating their educational progress and inclusivity within mainstream classrooms.

While this article addresses the critical aspect of improving writing skills for students with attention deficits, it acknowledges that it does not comprehensively cover the broader issue of fully integrating such students into the educational process. Nonetheless, enhancing writing proficiency stands as a crucial aspect of the broader goal of inclusive education for students with special needs.

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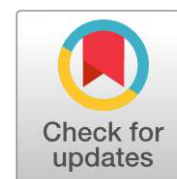
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THE IMPACT OF AUTHENTIC LISTENING-VIEWING MATERIALS ON ESL UNIVERSITY STUDENTS' LISTENING COMPREHENSION SKILLS

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Abstract

The study investigates the effects of authentic listening-viewing and textbook listening material on ESL university students' listening comprehension skills. The experimental and control groups, that consist of second-year university students, completed pre- and post-tests. The pre-test showed approximately the same level of listening comprehension skills in the experimental and control groups. The result of the post-test does not show a significant impact of authentic listening-viewing material on listening comprehension of the experimental group. Employing the post-questionnaire, that the experimental group filled out, we determined the challenges, such as speakers' tempo and accents. However, students have a positive attitude to such authentic aids. These findings confirm the constant difficulties caused by implementing listening-viewing material and indicate students' positive perception of authentic aids. The study also proves that the regular employment of authentic listening-viewing materials decreases anxiety of the experimental group and improves confidence when working on authentic videos.

Keywords: authentic materials; listening comprehension; authentic listening-viewing materials; adapted materials; anxiety.

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The choice of teaching materials contributes to successful learning and teaching. The most widespread teaching material is the textbook, which closely aligns with the curriculum and facilitates teachers' preparation (Safitri, 2017, p. 23). However, Richards (2001) and Safitri (2017) argue that the textbook context is authentic and presents the natural language. As a result, using authentic materials in English teaching has been discussed since the 1970s (Huda, 2017). Some research has been conducted to study the impact of authentic material on English learning (Hwang, 2005; Safitri, 2017) as well as teachers' attitudes and main concerns related to the use of authentic materials in the classroom (Akbari & Razavi, 2016; Huda, 2017). In addition, scholars explore other aspects, such as the implementation of authentic materials for writing skill development (Chamba et al., 2019; Setyowati, 2019), teaching reading (Sari et al., 2020), vocabulary enhancement (Karami, 2019), teaching speaking (Abbad, 2012; Alfa, 2020) and improving listening skills (Mandasari, 2016; Tuanany, 2019). Tuanany (2019) utilizes authentic audio and video aids to study their influence on listening comprehension and the impact of adding text to a video in English. In sum, scholars investigate teachers' beliefs, strengths, weaknesses, and outcomes when applying authentic materials for listening comprehension and attempt to provide some recommendations concerning selecting, preparing, and applying such aids in the classroom.

If authentic materials are carefully selected, they can motivate students to learn and work autonomously (Mandasari, 2016), improve vocabulary and listening ability (Tuanany, 2019; Namaziandost et al., 2019), students' spoken (Abbad, 2012; Alfa, 2020) and written competences (Setyowati, 2019). However, the impact of authentic and adapted authentic materials on listening comprehension has yet to be investigated since adapted materials have some features of authentic materials. Therefore, this study aims to explore the impact of authentic listening-viewing material on ESL students' listening comprehension skills, and analyze the main challenges students face and their perception of authentic listening-viewing materials. This study might have implications for English college and university teachers by providing insights into the influence of adapted and authentic visual and audio aids on listening ability and students' attitude to authentic listening-viewing material.

Literature review

The notion of authentic materials and their division

Authentic materials have been defined differently due to their use in various studies. One of the definitions implies that ‘authentic materials are designed to achieve social goals in the community in which people create them’ (Little et al., 1988, as cited in Guariento & Morley, 2001, p. 347). Moreover, Adam et al. (2010) points out that ‘authentic material is spoken or written language produced without teaching objectives by an actual native speaker for real interlocutors in a real situation’ (p. 432). As a result, ‘materials are composed of the actual language that is not processed and prepared for classroom use’ (Adam et al., 2010, p. 432). Suppose a teacher exposes students to authentic information. In that case, ‘they can observe cultural components such as collocations, idioms, and colloquialisms and notice the everyday use of the language by native English speakers in their community’ (Qamariah, 2016).

Gebhard (1996) divided authentic materials into three groups: authentic listening-viewing, authentic visual, and authentic text materials. An important classification for our study is the division of authentic materials into authentic and adapted or fabricated materials. The sources of authentic materials are foreign TV, media, and YouTube, while adapted materials can be found in foreign English textbooks. Also, authentic materials are created for real-life situations, but fabricated materials are designed for teaching. In addition, authentic materials focus on improving communicative commentaries, while adapted materials aim at revising grammar structures and vocabulary items. Last, language in authentic materials is full of ellipses, abbreviations, and clichés. However, fabricated materials include standardized simple speech and set the example of language use (Zhambylkyzy & Molotovskaya, 2021, p. 142). Besides, Zhambylkyzy and Molotovskaya (2021) consider ‘adapting authentic materials the least productive way of their implementation, and it does not allow students to absorb the English language’ (p. 142). Judging by that, texts, audio, and videos in foreign language textbooks cannot be viewed as authentic materials since they are produced for teaching purposes; they demonstrate standardized language use and concentrate on language revision.

Development of receptive skills (listening) using authentic materials

Many scholars have studied the idea of implementing authentic materials for teaching listening. According to Nunan and Miller (1995), students must know what to listen for. Having a clear purpose helps to perceive and comprehend materials better. Moreover, students can relate their experience to the context of the authentic aid that generates interest, and the language used in such materials is much appreciated (Wong et al., 1995).

Peacock (1997) notes that ‘the proper use of authentic materials boosts levels of on-task behavior, focus, and engagement in the target activity more than a textbook’ (p. 24). ‘Authentic material in listening activities may provoke different student reactions, such as enjoyment, delight, or boredom’. Therefore, ‘using real-life materials is as significant as students’ responses. Experiencing various emotions is the essence of communication’ (Tuanany, 2019, p. 109). That is why ‘authentic materials are more motivating than textbook activities – they are more stimulating and arouse curiosity’ (Peacock, 1997).

The proper selection of authentic materials is essential as well. It consists of ‘the language level, learners’ needs, lesson objectives, interests and age, moral and social values, learning environment, classroom conditions, simplicity to implement aids, and accessibility’ (Mandasari, 2016, p. 22). The following points can extend these criteria: ‘fulfilling communicative goals, being easy to understand for learners, and being suitable for a teacher’ (Laamri, 2009, p. 16). ‘Using authentic videos, audio tapes, TV, and radio broadcasts leads to the transferability to listening outside the ESL classroom – to home, work, or community’ (Duzer, 2000). Moreover, Tuanany (2019) points out that ‘authentic materials create an enjoyable and relaxed learning atmosphere if they meet learners’ needs and language levels’ (p. 110).

The impact of visual materials on developing listening skills

Some studies have been conducted in order to analyze the impact of authentic audio-visual aids on students’ listening skills. Kretsai (2014) has researched to study the effects of utilizing videos for developing listening skills. The main goals of the research were to promote students’ listening skills and analyze students’ attitudes toward using video materials in EFL classrooms. The participants were first-year university students.

Participants took pre-and post-tests. Comparing the results of the tests, the scholar concluded that students found learning with videos motivating and enjoyable; their listening comprehension ability also improved.

Fachmi (2014) investigates the use of descriptive videos and whether descriptive videos are effective enough to foster listening comprehension. This research exploits such a method as a quasi-experiment including pre-test and post-test. According to the research findings, descriptive videos positively impact students' listening ability and foster listening comprehension.

In addition, Namaziandost et al. (2019) also analyze the effects of exploiting authentic videos in the EFL classroom on teaching listening. Based on the findings, they conclude that all subskills, such as listening for gist, specific information, and the main idea, have been developed. However, listening for specific information was even better promoted than other subskills. What is more, the scholars conclude that more than the content of textbooks is needed to foster listening skills, so it is essential to align textbooks with other sources like audio-visual materials. Furthermore, students are motivated to participate in class actively and are engaged and interested.

Method

Purpose and research questions

The present study aims to investigate the influence of authentic and adapted listening materials on Ukrainian ESL university students' listening comprehension skills. Furthermore, the study determines ESL university students' feedback on the application of authentic materials and which difficulties they dealt with when listening to authentic listening-viewing materials. More specifically, we will investigate the following research questions:

1. Do authentic listening-viewing materials affect Ukrainian ESL university students' listening ability?
2. What prevents students from complete comprehension of authentic listening-viewing materials?
3. Does the regular usage of authentic listening-viewing materials reduce Ukrainian ESL university students' level of anxiety that authentic material provokes?

The study adopted quasi-experimental research. The dependent variables in the study were Ukrainian ESL students' listening skills, and the independent variable was the type of listening material: authentic for the experimental group of ESL university students and adapted materials for the control group of ESL university students.

Participants

The participants of the study were second-year university students in Ukraine. All the students were doing their bachelor's degree in teaching English as a second language in secondary schools. The current research focused on the listening/speaking course taught with the textbook *Outcomes Intermediate* (Dellar & Walkley, 2016). The listening component of the course consisted of textbook listening activities.

Two subgroups took part in the study, where the general number of participants was 18. The control group consisted of 9 students and was taught by a separate teacher (the author of this article). The group followed the assigned textbook and its listening activities covering such topics as "Education" and "Injuries and Illnesses". The control group also administered the pre-and-post-tests. The teacher of this group did not involve students in listening to authentic listening-viewing materials. Textbook listening materials comprised listening for gist and specific information activities: matching exercises, sequencing, gap-filling, true-or-false, and answering questions. The textbook listening activities involved standard speech whose purpose was to revise or introduce new vocabulary or grammar structures. The experimental group was taught by another teacher (also the author of this article). The experimental group consisted of 9 students. The students also followed the same textbook. However, the teacher also implemented authentic listening-viewing materials into the curriculum topics: Education and Injuries and Illnesses. Students of the control group met four times a week for 80 minutes during the semester, and students of the experimental group met twice a week for 80 minutes too. In sum, students had 24 seminars.

Procedure and tools

A survey and testing were used for data gathering. Survey research is 'a specific type of field study that involves collecting data from a sample of elements drawn from a well-defined population through a questionnaire' (Visser et al., 2000, p. 223). Therefore,

a questionnaire was the primary tool to study and determine ESL students' experience working with authentic listening materials at university.

Employing a survey, we investigated what teaching aids tutors used to develop listening skills in the classroom and whether they were authentic or adapted. Therefore, we placed the following questions in the questionnaire: 1. How often does a university teacher use listening materials during the lesson? 2. Are these listening materials authentic or adapted? 3. Does a university teacher use video listening materials during the lesson as one kind of teaching aid? 4. Are such videos authentic or adapted? 5. Can you comprehend authentic audio/video materials without obstacles? The survey was carried out in September 2023 before seminars started. It was conducted anonymously employing Google Forms (online), as there was an online form of education in Ukraine then.

After both subgroups filled out a questionnaire, we carried out a pre-test to determine students' comprehension skills to understand the authentic listening-viewing material. The pre-test had a video about Mark McCrindle, a social researcher and principal of the research-based advisory firm McCrindle Research, and his interview was about private and public education. The video was taken from YouTube and extracted from an Australian breakfast show, *The Today Show*. Hence, the video is an authentic teaching aid, as it was created by native speakers, for native speakers, and not for teaching. We divided the video into two parts and developed two assignments (see Appendix): pre-test and post-test accordingly. Both assignments comprised twelve questions: six multiple-choice questions with three possible answers and six true-false statements.

The next step meant teaching CG with adapted audio-listening materials, which accompanied the textbook approved by the Curriculum – *Outcomes Intermediate* (Dellar & Walkley, 2016). In the meantime, EG was taught with the same textbook listening activities supplemented with authentic listening-viewing materials, which aligned with the curriculum topics. (see Appendix)

The topic of Injuries and Illnesses was extended by such videos: *How Clean Eating Can Lead to Orthorexia*, which is about the advantages and disadvantages of a clean eating diet and its impact on health; and *the principles of Living Longer*, which is about the rules that help to maintain a healthy lifestyle. The topic of Education comprised such videos:

What is the Purpose of College? – the monologue of Nancy Hill, a Charles Bigelow professor of education, who shared the observations about her students' purpose of getting higher education; and *should we abolish private schools?* which is about the advantages and disadvantages of private educational institutions and their short history of development. YouTube was the source of all the listening-viewing materials.

Since, authentic materials are complex for students to work with, students listened to them following such stages: pre-listening – familiarizing with the key vocabulary or grammar structures of the authentic video to facilitate video comprehension; while-listening activities aimed to develop students' receptive listening skills; post-listening activities were designed to summarize the information learned in the previous two stages and apply that knowledge further for productive skills development. (see Appendix)

Then, we conducted a post-test after the instructional period and compared the results of pre- and post-tests of both groups. The final step involved the questionnaire for the EC to determine the factors that interfered with students' comprehension of authentic listening-viewing materials and their anxiety level through the regular use of authentic materials. (see Appendix)

The experimental group had to provide their opinion on seven statements about the obstacles to a better understanding of authentic listening-viewing materials and students' confidence before and after applying such materials. The survey contained Likert scale options (strongly agree, agree, disagree, and strongly disagree) to express participants' opinions and share their experiences about dealing with authentic listening-viewing materials. Students filled in their answers in Google Forms. (see Appendix)

The overall alpha level was set at .05. After the EG (9 students) and CG (9 students) completed the pre-test, we conducted *t* test, based on the score of the pre-test, so that we could identify whether the listening abilities to comprehend authentic listening-viewing materials of EG and CG students differed.

The result did not show a significant difference between the groups on the pre-test ($t(16) = 1.8627, p = .506$). It means that before the experiment, the listening abilities of the two groups were at a similar level. The following section will present the descriptive statistics and the post-test results.

Results

The survey prior to the treatment

Employing the questionnaire before the experiment, we studied the frequency of utilizing authentic teaching aids and implementing audio/video listening materials in ESL classrooms. Table 1 depicts the answers to the survey. According to it, 36% (26) of participants said that a university teacher used audio listening materials only twice per week, 27% (20) said three times, 19% (14) of students – said four or more, 18% (13) answered that only once.

Answering the second question, students provided the following information: 86% (63) of participants said that a university teacher used adapted listening materials in the classroom, whereas 14% (10) of students answered that these materials were authentic.

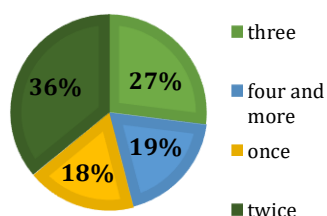
Providing answers to the third question, 74% (54) of participants said that a university teacher used listening-viewing materials in the classroom. In terms of frequency, they chose once or twice per week. 88% (64) of participants said those listening-viewing materials were adapted.

87% (59) of participants said they could comprehend authentic listening-viewing materials without obstacles.

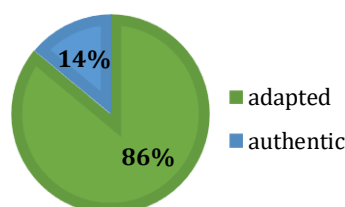
Table 1.

Survey results

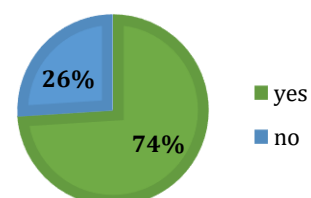
How often does a university teacher use listening materials during the lesson?

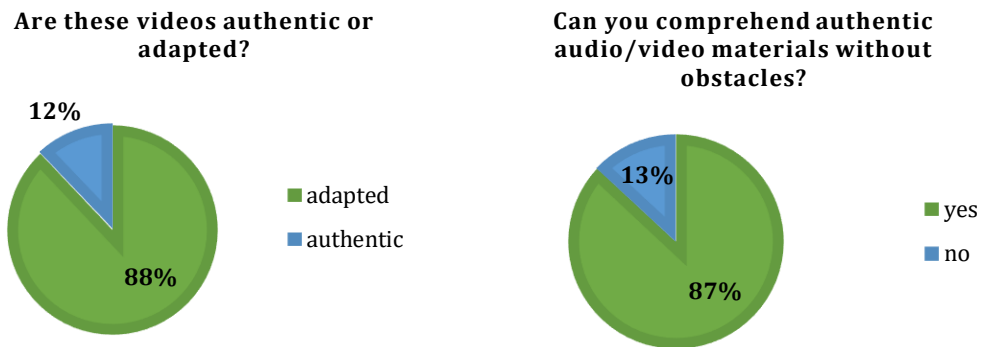


Are these listening materials authentic or adapted?



Does a university teacher use video listening materials during the lesson?





The results of the pre-test

Before the experimental period, we conducted a pre-test to assess participants' level of listening skill development. An unpaired *t*-test was performed to compare both groups' levels of listening skills before experimenting. First, we used Levene's test to test the homogeneity of variance. The *f*-ratio value is 0.00717. The *p*-value is .933592. The result is not significant at $p < .05$. The requirement of homogeneity has been met.

The results of the unpaired *t*-test (Table 2) showed that there was not a significant difference between the participants' listening skills development of the experimental group ($M = 7.44$, $SD = 1.13$) and control group ($M = 5.71$, $SD = 1.59$); $t(16) = 1.8627$, $p = .506$. By conventional criteria, this difference is considered not to be statistically significant.

Table 2

Descriptive statistics for the pre-test

Statistic	Experimental (<i>n</i> = 9)	Control (<i>n</i> = 9)
Mean	7.44	6.56
SD	1.13	1.01
Skewedness	0.38	0.34

The results of the post-test

After the experimental period, we conducted the post-test to prove or reject the hypothesis that implementing authentic listening-viewing materials in the ESL classroom can boost students' listening skills. According to the instruction, students could earn 12 points by completing both assignments after listening to the authentic listening-viewing material. Table 3 represents the result of the post-test. A slight increase in the *M* is noticeable, and there is a little difference in the *SD* between the two groups. Comparing

the growth of the M, Table 3 displays a slight rise for the EG (0.22), which is lower than for the CG (0.77). It means that the employment of authentic listening-viewing material had little effect on the EG listening comprehension skills. Moreover, adapted authentic materials from the textbook *Outcomes Intermediate* (Dellar & Walkley, 2016) had the same impact on CG's listening comprehension skills.

Table 3

Descriptive statistics for the post-test

Statistic	Pre-test		Post-test	
	Experimental (<i>n</i> = 9)	Control (<i>n</i> = 9)	Experimental (<i>n</i> = 9)	Control (<i>n</i> = 9)
M	7.44	6.56	7.66	7.33
SD	1.13	1.01	2.00	1.87
Skewedness	0.38	0.34	0.67	0.62

A paired-sample *t*-test for the EG displayed little increase in the mean score ($t(8) = 0.307$, $p = .766$), as well as in the mean score for the CG ($t(8) = 1.1749$, $p = .662$). As for the changes in SD values, the EG did not significantly increase its post-test score, which means that the employment of authentic listening-viewing materials did not highly affect the EG listening comprehension skills. By conventional criteria, the EG difference is considered not to be statistically significant.

Post-experimental questionnaire

By conducting the post-experimental survey, we aimed to investigate which obstacles prevented students from better understanding the authentic listening-viewing materials and the students' confidence before and after applying the authentic materials. The results are the following: 70% (6) of students did not agree that vocabulary or grammar structures prevented them from a better understanding. 56% (5) of participants said that the accents and dialects used in the videos were obstacles to understanding authentic listening-viewing materials. 67% (6) of students could not comprehend the speakers because of their tempo. 33% (3) of participants had a high level of anxiety before conducting classes with the frequent authentic listening-viewing materials implementation. 78% (7) of students said using authentic listening-viewing materials increased their confidence. 88% (8) of participants would like to continue implementing authentic listening-viewing materials in the classroom.

The survey showed that grammar and vocabulary structures, which the speakers used in their speech, did not prevent students from comprehending the videos. However, the tempo and the variety of accents and dialects of speakers in the videos were obstacles to students' better understanding. According to the survey, the frequent implementation of authentic listening-viewing materials increased students' confidence. In addition, almost all the students would like to continue learning through authentic listening materials during the lessons.

Discussion

The difference in listening ability between the experimental and control groups before the experiment was not statistically significant, as the calculated value is smaller than the critical value of $1.8627 < 2.12$. Hence, we can assume that their level of listening skills development before the experiment was approximately the same. The experiment results showed that implementing authentic listening-viewing materials did not highly affect students' listening comprehension skills. However, the results of the post-experimental questionnaire suggested that the regular usage of authentic listening-viewing material reduces Ukrainian ESL university students' level of anxiety that authentic video provokes. Nonetheless, due to the small number of participants, it is necessary to be careful in drawing strict conclusions.

Research question 1: The effect of authentic listening-viewing materials

Research question 1 investigated the influence of authentic listening-viewing materials on Ukrainian ESL university students' listening ability. The analysis of post-test results showed that the regular usage of authentic listening-viewing materials did not affect students' listening skills development. This assumption is evidenced by little gains made by the EG (0.22) compared to CG (0.77). The last one had a higher M, even though authentic listening-viewing materials were not implemented in class. In addition, the SD and SK of both EG and CG were approximately the same. Based on these results, we can conclude that employing authentic listening-viewing materials has the same impact on students' listening ability as adapted listening materials provided by the course books.

Despite such results, we are still on the side of using authentic materials. As Febrina (2017) points out, non-authentic materials such as textbooks are designed by the teacher based on the learners' capability and language level. Thus, it is easier for the

learner to master the lesson. However, as non-authentic materials are designed and simplified by teachers, it makes non-authentic materials seem unnatural. Textbooks and simplified learning materials cause a lack of exposure to the real English language use in daily life (p. 733).

While conducting lessons with the implementation of authentic listening materials, we did not take into consideration that students had little experience in dealing with authentic materials. As Akbari and Razavi (2016) point out, authentic materials must be chosen based on the suitability of content, exploitability, and readability. The content is suitable if it interests the students and is appropriate to their needs and abilities (p. 109). We should have made a more proper selection of authentic materials and a smooth transition from adapted to authentic listening materials.

Research question 2: Obstacles towards complete comprehension of authentic listening materials

We conducted a questionnaire to receive students' feedback on implementing authentic materials in the lesson. It is said that 'unedited authentic materials are too difficult to understand by learners as they have complex language structures. In addition, authentic materials might be culturally biased. ESL learners have different cultural backgrounds, which leads to misunderstanding' (Febrina, 2017, p.736). Nonetheless, according to the survey results, it was not complex grammar and vocabulary structures that prevented students from comprehending the videos but the tempo and the variety of accents and dialects. Therefore, at the beginning of the video implementation process, there must be speakers with the Received Pronunciation (RP) that is the most familiar to learners. Moreover, different cultural background leads not to confusion but to further discussion and research.

Research question 3: The impact of authentic listening-viewing materials on students' anxiety

Melanlioğlu (2013) states that 'listening anxiety may happen when students face a difficult or new listening situation. It increases when the listener cannot hear words and misunderstands what they hear' (p.1178).

When the student improves their listening skills, anxiety fades away, and positive experiences grow. Therefore, it is necessary to present examples from daily life to

students during listening skill education to increase their positive experiences. It is assumed that 'the frequent use of authentic listening materials in the lessons might reduce students' anxiety' (Melanlioğlu, 2013, p.1178).

The post-experimental survey showed that the regular implementation of authentic listening-viewing materials increased students' confidence. The fact that almost all the students would like to continue learning through authentic listening materials is evidence of this.

Pedagogic implications

The findings are essential because they suggest that authentic listening-viewing material does not necessarily improve ESL university students' listening comprehension skills. The post-questionnaire result proves that selecting authentic materials more carefully is required. These findings may be helpful for teachers who plan on implementing authentic listening-viewing materials in the ESL classroom. The experiment proved that readability should be considered in terms of grammar, structure, vocabulary, and also speech tempo and accent since those two peculiarities were quite challenging for students. Moreover, the L2 teaching and learning community should consider the conclusion that the use of authentic listening-viewing materials is stressful on the part of the students, especially if they have little experience dealing with authentic aids. However, it is possible to reduce students' anxiety caused by authenticity through their regular use. Therefore, if students have much experience with authentic aids, they will feel less anxious and confused when encountering native speakers, authentic print, and auditory materials. In addition, it appears students shared a negative experience concerning authentic listening-viewing materials because of the analyzed challenges. On the contrary, students admitted they wanted to continue learning through authentic listening aids.

Based on this classroom-based research, we recommend starting or resuming the implementation of authentic listening-viewing material in ESL classrooms with some regular frequency. Authentic listening-viewing materials proved helpful in boosting students' confidence, and, with proper selection, can even improve listening comprehension skills.

Conclusion

The study aimed to explore the effects of implementing authentic listening-viewing materials on ESL university students during speaking/listening English course. In this research, data collection tools were pre-test, post-test, and questionnaires to determine students' perception of authentic listening-viewing materials before and after the experiment and investigate difficulties in listening comprehension.

The findings indicate that employing authentic listening-viewing materials did not significantly influence ESL university students' listening skills. Furthermore, adapted listening material is quite helpful for developing listening skills, as the study demonstrates. However, the findings were valuable for investigating challenges and students' confidence levels. Through post-questionnaire, students shared that they faced such challenges as accents of speakers and speech tempo, which made it difficult to catch up with the speech. As a result, the content was confusing. Therefore, teachers need to pay attention to these factors and other features of readability, the suitability of content, and exploitability. ESL students also admitted that regularly employing authentic listening-viewing materials increases their confidence when authenticity is involved. Since students had little experience learning through authentic materials, some experienced anxiety initially. After the experiment ended, it appeared that the regular use of authentic materials decreased their anxiety and confusion. Thus, making them more confident learners.

Despite these findings, we need to acknowledge several weaknesses of the research. First, a more careful approach to selecting listening-viewing materials is required. If speakers in the video had more Received Pronunciation (RP), it would be easier to cope with the speech tempo and decrease the confusion, especially when ESL university students had poor experience with authentic listening-viewing materials. Further research may focus on a more thorough selection of listening-viewing materials considering the factors we overlooked and analyze the impact of such aids on ESL university students' listening ability. Second, the content of the pre-and-post-test was designed by the teachers who conducted the experiment and tried to make both tests as equal as possible in terms of consistency, validity, and objectivity. However, both tests were based on the same authentic video; the first part was the foundation for the pre-test, and the second part was included in the post-test. It may be possible that the

beginning of the video was less confusing and challenging than the ending, which could also affect the score of EG and CC. Therefore, it is valuable to conduct a similar experiment employing a different tool to measure students' listening abilities before and after the experiment, as some standardized English language proficiency listening tests. Third, the experimental period can be extended in future research in this field, as 24 classes may not be enough to analyze the real impact of listening-viewing materials on ESL students' listening comprehension skills. Considering the lenient research design and the limited size of the participant groups in this classroom-based research, the impact of the study should be viewed as suggestive rather than definitive.

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Appendix

Lesson activities

Video “Should we abolish private schools?”

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pN36jVSp1x0&t=90s>

STAGE 1: Pre-watching

Activity 1. Discussion

Instruction: Work in groups of 3. Discuss the questions and appoint one student to report back to class

- Do you agree that private schools provide better quality of education than state schools? Why?
- Do you agree that private schools provide better perspectives than state schools? Why?

Activity 2. Filling in the gaps

Instruction: Read the definitions of the words. Then, complete the gaps below with the words from the list.

- drastic /'dræstɪk/ - violent, severe and having a wide effect
- alumni /ə'luːmnaɪ/ - the former students of a school or college
- bequest /bɪ'kwest/ - the money or property belonging to someone that they say that, after their death, they wish to be given to other people
- bursary /'bɜːsəri/ - an amount of money given to a person by an organization, such as a university, to pay for them to study
- whack /wæk/ - to hit someone or something noisily
- divisiveness /dɪ'vaɪsɪv.nəs/ - great, and sometimes unfriendly, division between different groups of people

- 1) The debate over illegal immigration has caused much ... in the country.
- 2) He ... his newspaper on the back of the chair as he talked.
- 3) You may be eligible to receive a
- 4) Her will included small ... to her family, while most of her fortune went to charity.
- 5) A reunion of Yale ... of the class of 1990.
- 6) Many employees have had to take ... cuts in pay.

STAGE 2. While-watching

Activity 3. Multiple-choice activity

Instruction: Watch a video (till 2:45) and choose one option in each statement.

1. Most of prime ministers went to ...
a) private school b) state school
2. The origins of private school date back to ...
a) the Middle Ages b) The Victorian era
3. First private schools were created to educate ...
a) rich children b) poor children

4. Private schools are relabeled as an independent schools ...
a) in 1960s b) in Victorian period
5. 1% of private school pupils are ...
a) wealthy b) not wealthy

Activity 4. Question discussion

Instruction: Watch a video till the end and take notes of the answers to questions.

- 1) What are three ways of dealing with private schools in Britain?
- 2) What does a woman mean by abolishing private schools?
- 3) Why is Finland a good example of education system?
- 4) What is parentocracy?

A follow-up activity: Work in pairs. Discuss the questions in pairs. Report back to class

STAGE 3. After-watching**Activity 5. Preparing a project**

Instruction: Work in pairs. Compare private and state schools. What are their advantages and disadvantages? Follow the link to present your ideas.

<https://jamboard.google.com/d/1qyr1rz5Dc50303penbBYB2griRoalCt6H84Wv3X3eqo/edi t?usp=sharing>

Video “How clean eating can lead to orthorexia”
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DnCAOUvJu3o>

STAGE 1. Pre-watching

Activity 1. Question Discussion

Instruction: Follow the link below. Work in pairs and study a healthy eating plate. Have you ever heard of such a plate? Do you follow its advice? Would you like?

<https://www.hsph.harvard.edu/nutritionsource/healthy-eating-plate/>

Activity 2. Scanning

Instruction: Read a short article about “clean eating” and answer the questions in pairs. Report back to class.

CLEAN EATING

Once just a buzzword, “clean eating” is now a popular eating style. What it means will depend on who you ask. The terms clean eating and clean diets are not federally regulated in the U.S., so interpretation by consumers and the marketing of “clean” products by the food industry can vary widely. Generally, clean eating is assumed to refer to foods that are as close to their natural state as possible, maybe organic, and most likely with minimal use of any chemical additives and preservatives. A clean diet may include whole fruits, vegetables, lean proteins, whole grains, and healthy fats while limiting highly processed snacks and other packaged foods with added sugar and salt. It may also be associated with terms like plant-based, grass-fed, sugar-free, or gluten-free. In summary, clean eating seemingly promotes health and wellness.

The concept is popular among younger consumers active with social media, which is the prime platform for celebrities, bloggers, and other high-profile personalities who chronicle their clean eating meals and recipes. A survey of more than 1,200 participants ages 14-24 years found that 55% were familiar with the term clean eating from social media, other online sources, or their peers.

A survey by the International Food Information Council (IFIC) helps to further define consumer beliefs about clean eating. It found that “clean eaters” eat foods that are not highly processed, such as fresh or organic fruits and vegetables, and food products with a short, simple ingredients list. Additional findings:

Almost half of those surveyed considered themselves to be clean eaters, with “eating foods that aren’t highly processed,” “eating fresh produce,” “eating organic foods,” and “eating foods with a simple ingredients list” as the most cited definitions.

64% surveyed said they try to choose foods made with clean ingredients, defined as “not artificial or synthetic,” “organic,” “fresh,” or “natural.”

(retrieved from Harvard Health Publications)

1. What does “clean eating” mean?
2. What does “a clean diet” include?
3. Who is this term popular with?
4. What are the results of the survey?

Activity 3. Discussion

Instruction: Work in groups of 4. Think about advantages and disadvantages of clean eating. Report back to class

STAGE 2. While-watching**Activity 4. Note-taking**

Instruction: Have you ever heard of orthorexia nervosa? Watch the video What orthorexia nervosa is and explain this term. Why is this term controversial? Is it an official diagnosis? Do you believe that it is a real problem?

Activity 5. Question discussion

Instruction: Watch the video *How clean eating can lead to orthorexia* and answer the questions.

1. Who is Shoo?
2. What kind of problem does she have? What caused this problem?
3. Why did Shoo feel that she needed help?
4. What were the expert's thoughts about Shoo's story?

STAGE 3. After-watching**Activity 6. Question discussion**

Instruction: Discuss the following questions in pairs. Report back to class

1. Why do you think clean eating may lead to such an eating disorder?
2. The expert says that this term was coined in 1990. Why is it a relatively new term?
3. What age group is the most affected by this eating disorder? Why?
4. Is there a link between social media and eating disorders? Why? Give examples.

Activity 7. Mingling

Instruction: Move around and find out how social media has influenced your groupmates' eating habits. Take notes and report back to class.

Video "What is the purpose of college?"

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=a5DSiaGf3X4&t=2s>

STAGE 1. Pre-watching

Activity 1. Sentence completion

Instruction: Work individually. Finish the sentence. *The reason I entered the university was ...* Write your answer on the online board.

<https://jamboard.google.com/d/1lEBgpIdiIRE7LTjx1yHvynuUyRoXcbKATJSITTOznbc/edit?usp=sharing>

STAGE 2. While-watching

Activity 2. Note-taking

Instruction: Watch a video *What's the Purpose of College? | Nancy Hill (Harvard)* and answer the questions below.

- 1) What first reason for entering college comes to one's mind?
- 2) Why do people want to go back to college?
- 3) What opportunity does a college give?

Activity 3. Matching

Instruction: Watch a video *What's the Purpose of College? | Nancy Hill (Harvard)* and match students' names to their ideas.

- | | |
|-----------|--|
| 1) Dilan | a) had no energy after studying. |
| 2) Mike | b) enjoyed extra curriculum activities. |
| 3) Judith | c) has no goal and takes courses that he/she is interested in. |
| 4) Debra | d) thinks that is time to grow and broad yourself. |
| 5) Max | e) wants to experience everything herself. |

STAGE 3. After-watching

Activity 4. Discussion

Instruction: Work in pairs. Read students opinions. Do you agree to them? Report back to class.

- 1) Higher education gives opportunity to build a career and make good income.
- 2) Higher education is time to find oneself.
- 3) The purpose of higher education is to develop critical thinking skills.

Activity 5. Note-taking

Instruction: Listen to the US former president speech about the importance of education. Write three reasons that were mentioned in the video. Do you agree to them?

***instant gratification** - to get immediate benefit

sustained effort - to work long and hard to achieve something

The follow-up activity: Do you agree to the president's golden rule: *Treat others as you would like to be treated?*

Activity 6. Preparing a project

Instruction: Work in groups of 3. Answer the questions below. Present a poster with the main challenges and solutions. Report back to class.

- a) What challenges might students face at university? What is the possible solution to each challenge?
- b) Why should I get higher education?

Pre-test and post-test assignments

Pre-test

Part 1. Watch the video for the first time and choose the correct option.

1. What topic are the TV presenter and the guests going to discuss?
 - a) Current trends in education
 - b) Advantages and disadvantages of public and private schools
 - c) The choice between a public or private school enrollment
2. What trend has been observed in the last five years?
 - a) A growth in sending kids to private schools
 - b) A rise in sending children to public schools
 - c) A fall in public school attendance
3. What statement is true about Jodie's kids?
 - a) They are used to studying at public school
 - b) They used to study at private school
 - c) They had an unpleasant experience at private school
4. What is one of the differences between public and private schools?
 - a) Class sizes
 - b) Teacher number
 - c) Discipline choice
5. Why do public schools have a better curriculum according to Jodie?
 - a) Because of the class sizes
 - b) Because of a larger number of fields
 - c) Because of the subject selection
6. What factors influence the choice between private and public schools?
 - a) Prestige
 - b) The location
 - c) The cost of living

Part 2. Watch the video for the second time and decide which sentences are true and false.

1. Jodie's children attended extracurricular activities at private school.
2. The main reason for Jodie's transferring her children to another school was the fee.
3. Jodie admits a positive impact of private school on her kids.
4. Public school teachers are more responsible for Jodie.
5. Jodie mentions that private school teachers have knowledge of teaching children with special needs.
6. Parents are not interested in the alternative of low fee private schools.

Post-test

Part 1. Watch the video for the first time and choose the correct option.

1. What does a viewer Robbie complain about?
 - a) poor academic performance
 - b) lack of individual approach
 - c) poor teachers' training
2. What idea does a viewer Ariane express?
 - a) The location of the school matters to her.
 - b) She finds a school division undesirable.
 - c) She doesn't want to make a choice.
3. What is the greatest advantage of public schools over private?
 - a) Tuition
 - b) Special care
 - c) Diversity
4. What field are public schools top-performing ones?
 - a) music resources
 - b) academics
 - c) extra-curricular activities
5. How many public schools compile the top ten ranking of high performing?
 - a) five
 - b) eight
 - c) nine
6. Why do some parents choose private school?
 - a) sheltered experience
 - b) facilities
 - c) subject selection

Part 2. Watch the video for the second time and decide which sentences are true and false.

1. Jodie believes children will struggle at work if they are being educated in public schools.
2. Jodie's previous private school was cheap enough.
3. If parents focus on the children's performance, then they choose private schools.
4. The TV presenter says plenty of families are able to afford private schools.
5. Jodie suggests visiting a school before selecting it for a child.
6. The man (guest) states that the choice of a school depends on the family priorities.

Final questionnaire

Provide your feedback on the implementation of authentic materials during the lessons by reading the statements and choosing one option.

1) The speakers' usage of vocabulary structures prevented me from a better understanding of the videos.

strongly agree agree disagree strongly disagree

2) The speakers' usage of grammar structures prevented me from a better understanding of the videos.

strongly agree agree disagree strongly disagree

3) Speakers' usage of diverse accents and dialects prevented me from a better understanding of the videos.

strongly agree agree disagree strongly disagree

4) The speakers' tempo prevented me from a better understanding of the videos.

strongly agree agree disagree strongly disagree

5) Before the frequent use of authentic listening materials, I felt nervous and could not comprehend the natives' speech.

strongly agree agree disagree strongly disagree

6) My confidence in listening has increased after the frequent use of authentic listening materials.

strongly agree agree disagree strongly disagree

7) I would like to listen to authentic, not adapted audio further.

strongly agree agree disagree strongly disagree

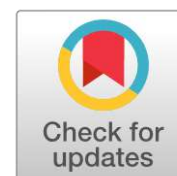
LANGUAGE BROKERING IN HEALTHCARE SETTINGS IN SPAIN: AN INSIGHT BASED ON TESTIMONIES

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Abstract

There were 6,491,502 foreign residents living in Spain in January 2024, a number that indicates a significant increase since the beginning of the 21st century. Among this foreign population, the largest communities are Moroccans, Romanians and British, whose mother tongue is not Spanish. According to the results from several studies conducted over the last decades, when these allophone residents use the Spanish healthcare services, they frequently ask their children to help them communicate with healthcare providers through linguistic and cultural mediation, even when professional interpreting or mediation services are available. How did these children feel while mediating for their parents in this context? Did they have any negative experiences? We intend to provide answers to these questions through semi-structured individual interviews with adults who had mediated for their parents in healthcare settings in Spain when they were children or young adults. These answers contribute to a clear understanding of the consequences of language brokering, thus promoting the use of professional interpreting and mediation services in these settings.

Keywords: linguistic and cultural mediation, healthcare services, children, young adults

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According to the International Organization of Migration (IOM), the number of international migrants has increased in most United Nations regions, but this increase is especially significant in Europe and Asia, which hosted around 87 and 86 million international migrants in 2020. Until the 1990s, Spain was a “net producer” of emigrants, but after that decade, has become a country receiving immigrants. This has led to a major increase in the number of foreign residents. In 2022, according to the data from the Spanish Statistical Office (INE for its acronym in Spanish), there were more than 5,500,000 foreign residents in Spain. Out of these foreign residents, more than 2 million (nearly 40%) come from Europe; more than 1.5 million (more or less 30%) from the Americas; approximately 1.2 million (20%) from Africa; and the remaining 10% from Asia. It should be noted that these residents have the right to access most services in very similar circumstances as Spanish citizens. Given the numbers, we can see that the vast majority of foreign residents in Spain may need the assistance of interpreters to communicate with the providers when accessing public services, as they are not native speakers of Spanish. However, the reality is that, especially in settings such as healthcare institutions, interpreters are not always provided by the institution, and these allophone individuals must resort to their own means to be able to communicate. Very often, the easiest way for them is to “use” their children as interpreters.

Interpreting by children or language brokering is something that has always occurred in many countries (Cline et al., 2010; Degener, 2010; Morales & Hanson, 2005) and will undoubtedly continue to occur in different settings (Antonini, 2015a; Foulquié Rubio, 2015; Orozco-Jutorán, 2022), as it is “a spontaneous phenomenon present in every society” (Muñoz Martín, 2011, p. 47), regardless of the culture of the native and the host country. And this is a recurrent phenomenon in migration processes (Bestué et al., 2023) where parents do not speak the official language, but their children usually learn it faster because they attend school in the official language of the country (Antonini, 2015a).

Preliminaries

This phenomenon was firstly investigated by Harris in 1973 when he defended the idea of bilinguals being able not only to speak two languages but also to translate from one to another. In 1976, he defined “natural translation” or “natural interpretation” as a type of non-professional translation or interpretation performed by a bilingual person

without any training, and which usually occurs in everyday situations (1976). In many of his works, Harris (1976, 1980; Harris & Sherwood 1978) investigates whether any bilingual person would be able to translate and interpret as it is an innate skill that a person acquires from the moment he/she starts learning two languages. Harris (1973) even defends the idea that this is not an additional effort or burden for the natural interpreter and that it is something that bilinguals do to help their families and communities.

Nevertheless, although interpreting is a skill that appears innately in bilinguals, one cannot speak of a simple mechanical decoding between two linguistic codes. Different studies (Malakoff & Hakuta, 1991; Shannon, 1990) show that children develop and apply much more sophisticated skills of a different kind. These skills are cognitive skills and interpretative strategies. Moreover, in addition to these strategies and skills, there are also the socio-communicative or pragmatic skills that lead Shannon (1990) to use the term language brokering (LB hereinafter), instead of interpretation, to define the linguistic and social skills of the children who acted as brokers for the Mexican families living in Northern California. Shannon (1990) considers that the tasks carried out by these natural brokers, including in the case of children, go beyond mere linguistic and cultural interpretation, since in many cases, they become managers of communication and make decisions that are not purely linguistic. In conclusion, LB goes beyond interpreting: It is not a neutral activity and language brokers may alter the messages, normally to benefit the family member.

LB, understood here in a broader sense to also include young adults mediating for their parents, is performed in many contexts, and it can involve activities in different situations, from daily activities such as helping parents to translate letters or any other information at home (Bauer, 2010; Jones & Tricket, 2005; Weisskirch, 2006) to more specialised activities such as going to the doctor (Antonini, 2015a).

These situations differ from formal translation and interpreting in the way that language brokers usually influence the messages they convey and “may act as a decision maker for one or both parties” (Tse, 1995, p. 180). In immigrant families, LB is usually carried out by children because they develop linguistic and cultural capacities faster than their parents, usually because they are more in contact with the culture and language of

the country where they live (Katz, 2014). Antonini (2015b, p. 48) defines child language brokering as “interpreting and translation activities [are] carried out by bilingual children who mediate linguistically and culturally in formal and informal contexts and domains for their family and friends as well as members of the linguistic community to which they belong.” This is also the reason why research has focused on the child as the main actor of this activity, but other researchers (Katz, 2014; Villanueva & Buriel, 2010) consider that this is not a decision of the child, but a kind of teamwork agreed by parents and language brokers. De Abreu et al. (2003, p. 89) show an example where parents see using their children as language brokers as a way of freeing themselves from any other external mediator, usually a relative or neighbour, and a means of preserving the family’s privacy. For this reason, it is often the parents themselves who discard the idea of asking anyone else for help, since they consider that their son or daughter can fulfil this function:

But when I have a doctor appointment or when I have to do something ... a paper that is needed ... Paperwork in English I do not manage. One needs a person ... translating so that I can answer. But she is already coming. She comes and helps me. When I need money, she goes in (bank branch) and we tell her: “I want to use the automatic machine!”. She knows how to do it. She goes to the doctor with people. (...) She goes because she is managing. And it is this that I actually also like because I also ... People can’t always come with us when we need them to. If we have someone ... And I have a son, who when is free and we need his help, he will come.

But how do these language brokers feel when they have to carry out these tasks? In this sense, the LB research has not yielded concluding evidence of the feelings of such children. The studies are inconclusive as researchers are not able to offer an answer on how these children feel when performing LB, as these feelings might be because they depend on different factors and this can lead to different positive or negative outcomes, mostly depending on the context (Kam, 2014). Studies show that this activity may affect the child’s self-esteem (Hue & Costigan, 2012; Weisskirch, 2007) and have negative consequences for their mental health (Rainey et al., 2014). These negative consequences are derived from the fact that children take on too much responsibility and have to put up with a lot of stress as they have to face situations for which they are not prepared (DeMent & Buriel, 1999; Jones & Trickett, 2005; McQuillan & Tse, 1995; Weisskirch & Alatorre Alva, 2002). But this activity is also seen by the minors as a means to help their families and

make them feel useful (Dorner et al., 2008; Orellana & Phoenix, 2017). In the same vein, a study carried out by Free et al. (2003) argued that children mediating in this context were pleased with having the opportunity to show their bilingual skills and being able to assist their families.

The possible negative effects might be even more delicate when LB is carried out in healthcare settings, something that is a common practice in many countries (USA, UK, Germany, Spain, among others). Some healthcare providers consider that children can be used as informal interpreters “as a short-term measure for emergency GP consultations” (Shackman, 1984, p. 13 as cited in Cohen et al., 1999, p. 165), when there is a lack of alternative or when “straightforward consultations involved illnesses or conditions which related to non-taboo parts of the body or bodily functions” (Cohen et al., 1999, p. 172-173). Antonini (2015a) also found that GPs considered LB as an enjoyable activity for the children, but this description differs quite a lot from the children’s narratives. The previously mentioned study by Free et al. (2003) also describes some disadvantages of using children as language brokers and they are mostly related with children missing their normal activities as children and the difficulties in dealing with sensitive topics. However, it is a highly delicate subject “when youngsters are used as interpreters in the medical industry or during doctor-patient interactions” (Wal & Aksheh, 2023, p. 1755) since these contexts are not appropriate for their scope of knowledge and experience.

In the case of Spain, the use of children as language brokers in healthcare settings is still an understudied topic, but many studies on the situation of public service interpreting reveal that it is a commonly used resource when communicating with allophone users (Abril Martí & Martin, 2011; Arumí-Rivas & Vargas-Urpi, 2021; Foulquié-Rubio, 2018; García Sánchez, 2010; Nevado Llopis, 2015; Rubio-Rico et al., 2014).

Methodology

Our research study was conducted using qualitative methods with a phenomenological approach, since the aim was to reach an in-depth understanding and description of the essence of a phenomenon, LB in healthcare settings, from the perspective of those directly involved (adults who interpreted in those settings when they were children or young adults).

For the data collection, semi-structured individual interviews were used in order to gather the respondents' experiences, beliefs and opinions in relation to the topic under study. A preliminary script for the interview based on the LB literature (Antonini, 2010, 2015a; Cline et al., 2011; Cohen et al., 1999; Giordano, 2007; Green et al., 2005; Kam & Lazarevic, 2013; Rainey et al., 2014) was designed and submitted to a researcher, clinical psychologist and psychotherapist specialized in children and teenagers, who reviewed it and suggested some modifications aimed at increasing the clearness of the questions posed and reducing the potential impact on the interviewees when recalling possibly disturbing past experiences. After this review, the final interview script was discussed among the three researchers and it was eventually composed of an initial section regarding sociodemographic data and 26 questions, mostly open questions, but also closed or multiple choice, used when the interviewees appeared to have difficulties finding an answer or when obtaining detailed information was considered more important (see Appendix).

For recruiting participants, purposeful sampling was initially used to identify and select individuals that were well informed or experienced with LB. There were specific criteria each interviewee had to meet to be considered for the research study, namely: a) belonging to immigrant groups and communities living in Spain; b) having reached the legal age (18 years old in Spain) at the moment of doing the interview; and c) having been asked to mediate linguistically and culturally between their families, friends or members of their community and the healthcare providers when they were children or young adults. Convenience sampling was also employed, initially approaching those participants who were easily accessible to the researchers due to previous contact. Finally, snowball sampling was applied, relying on those initial interviewees to help identify additional participants for the study. All the participants read and signed a statement of informed consent before being interviewed.

As can be seen from the table below (ordered by the age at which the participants started mediating), in total we interviewed 11 people (9 female and 2 male) aged between 22 and 42 (at the time of the interviews). Their nationalities matched with those of the largest non-Spanish speaking foreign resident cohorts (Romanian, Moroccan, British and Italian) with the exception of one Armenian, who had come with his family to Spain as a refugee 26 years previously. They currently live in 6 different Spanish provinces. Two of

them were born in Spain, while the rest arrived at ages between 1 and 17. Most of them started interpreting one or two years after their arrival.

Table 1. Participants' Sociodemographic Data

NATIONALITY	CURRENT AGE	SEX	COUNTRY OF BIRTH	PROVINCE OF RESIDENCE	AGE WHEN ARRIVED IN SPAIN	AGE WHEN STARTED MEDIATING
Moroccan	23	Female	Morocco	Murcia	1	7
Italian	25	Female	Spain	Alicante	Born in Spain	8-9
Romanian	22	Female	Romania	Madrid	7	9-10
British	28	Female	Spain	Almería	Born in Spain	10
British	28	Male	United Kingdom	Almería	8	10
Romanian	28	Female	Romania	Zaragoza	10	11
Armenian	38	Male	Armenia	Valencia	12	12-13
Romanian	26	Female	Romania	Zaragoza	9	12-13
Moroccan	28	Female	Morocco	Valencia	15	16
Romanian	42	Female	Romania	Valencia	16	17
British	42	Female	United Kingdom	Alicante	17	19

The interviews were audio recorded and then transcribed verbatim. The analysis was conducted with a thematic method, which allowed the researchers to closely examine the data obtained to identify common themes, ideas and patterns of meaning that emerged repeatedly. The three main areas of interest were the following:

- How did these children and young adults feel while mediating in healthcare settings?
- Did they have any negative experiences?
- How did this task affect them in their childhood and later in life?

In this paper, due to space limits, the analysis is restricted to the contextualization of the LB events (1-8 questions) and the two first main areas previously presented (9-12 and 22-23 questions, respectively). From these general areas, specific themes and their relations were determined through manual deductive coding, starting with a predefined set of codes, based on previous research concerning LB in healthcare provision (Antonini, 2015a; Antonini & Torresi, 2021; Cohen et al., 1999; Giordano, 2007; Green et al., 2005; Katz, 2014), assigning those codes to the gathered data and creating new codes when unexpected information emerged. A hierarchical coding frame was created, agreed and

used by the researchers to analyse and interpret the qualitative data. By way of example, the general coding tree and the coding tree regarding contextualization are shown below.

Figure 1. General Coding Tree for Thematic Analysis

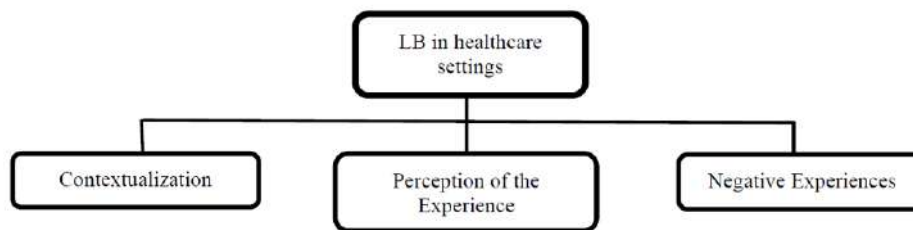
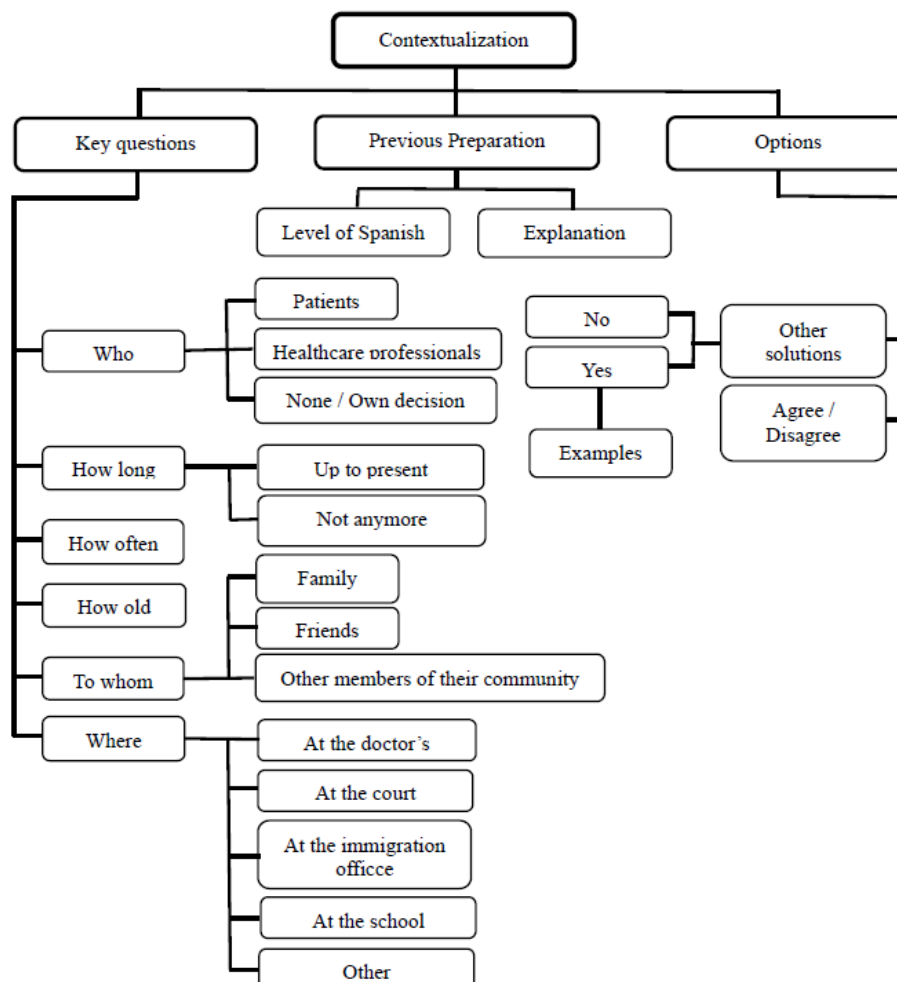


Figure 2: Contextualization Coding Tree



In the following section, the main results are presented. Verbatim quotes are included to give voice to the participants, but key codes are used to identify them instead of their names for confidentiality reasons.

Results Analysis

Contextualization

The language brokers interviewed mainly mediated for their parents but also for other family members and friends, even for some acquaintances met at different settings, such as the refugees' shelter, the church or a park. In short, they mediated for anyone in their community who might need help for communicating with the providers not only at the healthcare services but also in other public services and institutions. In particular, they performed the broker role at the doctor's, at the bank, at the police station, at the immigration office, at the school, etc. Some of them started mediating at a very young age (7-11 years old), while others were already teenagers or even young adults (12-19 years old). Depending on the needs of the allophone people belonging to their communities, they had to mediate more or less regularly. Those who used to do it more often sometimes missed school due to multiple requests. While the majority of the interviewees had stopped mediating, some of them were still actively mediating at the time of the interview. As for their preparation to perform this role, most of them (apart from those born in Spain, who were native-like speakers) consider that they had an intermediate level of Spanish when they started mediating. However, they felt that sometimes they did not know the necessary vocabulary to convey all the information or did not understand properly what was being said, normally due to the specific situation (which sometimes required the use of specialised terms) and their age.

In some specific situations and given my age, there were probably many things they were talking about that were Greek to me!¹ (R28)

I think that my level of Spanish was not adequate to translate, I mean, maybe I was translating things that I did not understand. I tried to give some sense to the message, to deduce the meaning by the context, and tried to make my parents understand, but I think there were many things I did not really understand. (M23)

None was given any kind of guidelines on how to mediate before doing it, since, possibly patients and healthcare providers understood that, as the brokers were

¹ The interviews were conducted in Spanish. For brevity's sake, we present here only the English translation of the quotations from the responses. All translations are our own.

“bilingual”, this task was carried out on a natural way. Most of the interviewees are now aware of the lack of preparation they had, as one of them explains:

Nobody explained anything to me and, as I was a child, I was not qualified, I did not know how to do a perfect translation or how I had to speak exactly. And obviously I translated my way what I was understanding, and I transmitted that to my parents or to whoever was there. (A38)

They were usually not asked if they wanted to mediate for their parents, their extended family or their friends. However, most of the interviewees consider that there was not any need to ask, since it was like a responsibility for them to help the members of their communities.

It was more a kind of obligation. They simply said “You are going to interpret, you are going to accompany this person, okay?” (R22)

It was not a request, but a mere need. Because my parents, especially my mother, who was the one who spent more time with us, did not speak Spanish or her knowledge of Spanish was very limited. Therefore, it was assumed that I had to do it. (R28)

Additionally, usually there was no other solution offered to help these allophone people and the providers communicate. According to the interviewees, the reason might be either because apparently there were no other options or because it was considered by everyone that having these children or young adults as mediators was good enough. The only two exceptions found regarding the suggestion of other solutions were those related to the British brokers, who admitted that sometimes the healthcare professionals tried to communicate in English, without much apparent success.

What happened very often, and still happens nowadays, was that typical situation in which a doctor started talking in poor English and I felt bad and avoided saying “Look, maybe it is better that you speak in Spanish, because you are making mistakes, and you can misunderstand something”. That is the only solution I have received, but they have never suggested to ask for a translator or ask somebody else to translate. (B28m)

Perception of the experience

Concerning the information that the interviewees were asked to interpret, some of them considered it to be delicate or personal, especially at the gynaecologist or when the patients for whom they had to mediate had experienced an intimate problem, as in the following cases:

One time I had to translate for a woman who had problems with her husband and, therefore, she took her things and left home, because she was not okay. She was looking for a place to stay and the association took her firstly to the hospital to be examined before she was assigned to a women's shelter. She was asked very personal questions and at a certain moment the woman started to cry and I had to translate and... it was really difficult. (M28)

When I was 16 or 17 years old, a friend of my mother, who was a nurse, asked me to go to the hospital where she worked because a Romanian girl, who had suffered a miscarriage due to malnutrition, had been left alone at the emergency room entrance. She did not know what was happening to her and she had to speak about some issues that... In my opinion, that was very delicate, in fact, it made me feel very uncomfortable, since I did not know how to manage the situation. I was telling her what was going on and she had a small tear going down her cheek. The situation was really embarrassing, also for me, because there were three or four people with her in the room and, in general, the atmosphere was very unpleasant. (R26)

According to the interviewees, the healthcare professionals, in general, treated them in a very natural way, as if they were not children or young adults, or as if they were professional interpreters. Consequently, they used the vocabulary they would have used with any adult patient, without avoiding the use of tecnicisms or without hiding unpleasant information which could be inadequate for their level of maturity and inappropriate given their age.

They were not conscious about who I was, I mean, about my role as a daughter, not only as an interpreter. Because I was not a professional interpreter, and they did not take into consideration my age. Maybe because they see me as a very mature girl. And therefore, they thought "Well, I am going to tell this, even if it could be all of a sudden, but as if she seems to understand...". And I pretended to understand

and not to be affected, but obviously afterwards I arrived home, and I was affected. But I did not want them to notice it, because my mother had taught me to hide it to make the doctors be completely sincere, I mean, to avoid them seeing me as a girl and consequently make them think “Well, we are going to tell her that everything is okay”. (I25)

A repeated complaint that the interviewees manifested was related to the fact that the healthcare professionals normally ignored the patient and looked and talked only to the brokers.

They talked to me as if the patient were not there and I thought “Talk to him that I translate”, but if they talk to you as if the patient were there as a decorative item, I do not know, I do not agree with that. (B28f)

They constantly talked to me, instead of talking to or looking at my mother. Yes, the conversation usually took place like that. (R28)

They talked as if my father were not there. In fact, many times, that was a problem because my father is somehow bad tempered. And then the doctor sometimes talked so much to me, so directly, that he asked questions only to me. My father answered, he wanted the doctor to look at him, to make eye contact with him, and the doctor did not look at him, he only looked at me. And therefore, my father said, “He is not paying attention at me; he is not understanding me”. (I25)

The main difficulties the interviewees found were related to the vocabulary used, the retention of information and the management of turns in the conversation, as well as finding an equivalent in the other language (all skills that a professional interpreter should master), as can be inferred from the following answers:

The most difficult thing was that, even if the information was explained to me in simple words, there were still medical terms, and I did not know the medical terminology. I do not know it yet, so, when I was a child, even less. (B28m)

For example, my parents’ situation, in which you have to tell the doctor what is happening to them, and you are under pressure, because they are saying “Tell him everything, tell him everything, do not forget anything, do not forget anything” and maybe they interrupt you in the middle. Or when you are talking with the healthcare professional and he is trying to give you some explanations and some

people, because of their lack of training, do not know the medical terms and do not trust the professionals. And this is a burden on you and it provokes stress, that is the feeling. (B42)

I did not know how to translate exactly some words from Spanish into Arabic. I tried to explain the message in a way that they had the information, but I did not translate word for word and clearly what I had to say. The issue is that sometimes there is not an exact equivalent. At other times I knew what that word meant in Spanish, but, as I had been living in Spain for some time, I did not know how to say it in Arabic. And therefore I thought "Let's see how I can explain it". (M28)

When the interviewees were asked about how they felt while mediating, some positive emotions arose. The majority of the respondents stated that they had felt proud and useful for being able to help those in need, as evidenced in some of their interventions:

I like helping people, so I translated with great pleasure. (R42)

When everything turned out well, I was proud of doing an important job. (A38)

Additionally, some of them highlighted the importance of being calm in order to avoid increasing the inevitable patients' nervousness. They showed understanding with the situation that the people for whom they mediated were living, with empathy. And they manifested great generosity since, in an altruistic manner, they did this brokering job with big pleasure, without expecting anything in exchange.

On the other hand, negative emotions were also present in their answers. Most of them admitted having felt stressed, afraid of making mistakes, unsure of their own performance or with the impression of being unable to do what was expected from them.

I was overwhelmed thinking "What if I don't do it well?". Because I was doing things that maybe did not appertain to me. (M28)

When I was interpreting for my parents' friends, I was very nervous, I wanted to do it well, I listened carefully to avoid asking and make them think I did not know Spanish. (R22)

In their own words, it was a great deal of responsibility, considering the contexts in which they mediated, the potential consequences of a translation error and their lack of maturity.

Sometimes I thought “I shouldn’t be here; I just want to crawl in a hole; this is a great deal of responsibility”. (A38)

And, for example, when you are a child, you do not know how to say “plaquetas” (platelets) in English, and I was really afraid of making mistakes with this kind of things. I was very stressed when I had to interpret, thinking about what could happen to the people if I did not do a good job. I felt uncomfortable and overwhelmed due to this responsibility. (B28m)

Negative experiences

All the interviewees confessed having had negative experiences. For example, one woman discussed mediating for her mother when she was diagnosed with breast cancer, one man talked about a situation in which he mediated for his grandfather who had a terminal illness, or a woman looked back on the time she had to mediate for her sister who had suffered a miscarriage.

When my mother was diagnosed with cancer, I was 15 years old. We were at the consultation and the oncologist told me that the tumor was malignant and... at that moment I translated and pretended to be strong. But afterwards I went home crying, I was hopeless. The cancer period is blurred, as if I did not remember it very well or do not want to remember it. (R26)

When I was 16 years old, I had to tell my grandfather that he would live only for approximately 5 years because of a tumor the doctors had found. And it was really difficult, especially considering that he was my grandfather. In fact, that was one of the worst situations I have had to experience until now. And I think that was not an appropriate situation for a teenager. (B28m)

Other stressful situations involved mediating for practically unknown people, for example, for a woman who had abandoned her husband and was to be admitted in a women’s shelter, for a young girl who had been left alone at the emergency room door after suffering a miscarriage or for an acquainted family member in their process of asylum application (which may involve a medical check-up).

Many times, at the interviews, when they had come to ask for political asylum, I, who was 14 or 15 years old, felt that translating was a big responsibility. I had already been living in Spain for two or three years, but I felt extremely responsible having to translate something that was so important, because the life of the people for whom I translated depended on me. And I was really afraid of making mistakes and make them take on the consequences. (A38)

One of the interviewees talked about a very embarrassing and shocking situation in which she and her siblings were in their first paediatrician check-up after their arrival in Spain. As she explained,

There is something I remember very well, something that left a great mark on me. In this case I was not the interpreter, but it was a teenager who was a family friend. It was the first time we were at the doctor's here in Spain to make us, to me and my siblings, the complete paediatric check-up. We were with the doctor and the nurse, they were all the time speaking, and measuring, and we were with our underwear, because they were making some kind of test. And in front of everyone, they took my knickers off to see if everything was okay there, in a manner of speaking, for no reason at all, without previously informing me. (R28)

Would have the doctor behaved like this, without explaining what he was about to do, if the patient understood Spanish? We will never know, but we tend to think that a language in common or the presence of a professional interpreter would have prevented such behaviour on the part of the doctor.

Discussion

Our results confirm to a large extent what recent literature in the field has highlighted in different countries, based on relevant, often extensive quantitative studies (Cohen et al., 1999; Green et al., 2005; Rainey et al., 2014) with regard to the degree of acceptability of the practice, its unavoidable risks and its potential benefits.

The testimonies we collected and analysed allowed us to identify a few conditions which could make LB by children and young adults if not acceptable – it remains of course highly controversial whether it is ever acceptable to burden children with such a task – at

least minimally risky for the parties. Thus, LB by children and young adults could work satisfactorily if:

- it is a short-term measure for urgent GP consultations that do not involve serious health risks (see also Cohen et al., 1999);
- it remains occasional, so it will not impede the broker's regular schedule or threaten to have an impact due to repetition;
- it is limited to cases in which brokers can understand and describe, maybe because they have had experience with similar cases themselves (see Cohen et al., 1999);
- it is limited to illnesses related to non-taboo parts of the body or bodily functions, which also depends on their age (Rainey et al., 2014).

Even so, the adults involved (patients and especially healthcare providers) should be made aware of the immediate risks of mistranslation and omissions in this very particular cognitive and emotional context. The child or young broker most likely does not have enough general and medical knowledge to understand the topic discussed, nor the linguistic mastery required, nor the interpreting skills. Also, she or he cannot be impartial and cannot get over the experience as a professional might, making the distinction between an interpreting assignment and her or his life.

Also, long-term psychological consequences have been identified in other studies—from inadequacy, self-doubt, guilt and worry to depression – and partially confirmed by our subjects. The causes are understandable if we look at the situations they describe.

We should nevertheless stress that there were also positive emotions. A feeling of pride and usefulness was present in most answers, and occasionally the brokers' generosity, selfless willingness to help and empathy found an opportunity to manifest themselves in this very particular context. Some also learnt from the experience about, for example, the importance of remaining calm in order to keep things under control. It may also be relevant to note that, as Green et al. (2005) noticed in their study, many of the interviewees took for granted such "translation" tasks. In the given context, the adults considered it natural for the children to broker, so no permission was asked, nor were other solutions sought after.

Conclusion

We are clearly in a situation that is far from perfect. In the US, “Minor children are not permissible as interpreters for parents under any circumstances” (Giordano, 2007, p. 129) and the use of minor children for LB is discouraged (Giordano, 2007). In EU countries, one cannot employ young people under the age of 15, and it is forbidden to ask minors to perform “work which is beyond their physical or psychological capacity” (Your Europe, 2023). Other very clear conditions are stated in the legislation (Your Europe, 2023), but reality is sometimes different, as the empirical evidence we gathered shows.

Yet, is banning the practice altogether the adequate approach for preventing its possible negative consequences? After all, as Harris remarked back in 1976, this is a type of “natural interpreting” that occurs whether we agree to it or not and whether it is regulated or not. But it should be the last resort and adults should be aware of these circumstances. And even then, it should be assessed very carefully as a solution. In our opinion, the efforts could rather focus on reducing harm wherever and whenever possible. In other words, child protection should be the priority, whatever the country.

For that, the first thing adults involved should do is to think of alternatives. Professional interpreters / mediators / translators, or bilingual staff or even adult ad-hoc interpreters who have been informed about a situation are certainly preferable. For this it would be realistic to envisage a list of basic good practices they can go through quickly before intervening, following the example of guides which exist in the field of education (Brookes & Angelleli, 2015; Thomas Coram Research Unit, n.d.). Also, the practice should be limited to well-defined, low-risk situations. For assessing the potential, one should consider factors like the age of the broker and his or her relationship to the patient, the linguistic profile (mastery of the two languages), the type of medical interaction and the likelihood of sensitive situations. Once the adult parties involved are made aware of the limitations of this non-professional service, solutions for replacing it or for reducing the pressure on the child or young adult might be found.

Ideally, legislation should make it mandatory to have professionals available, but it is easy to understand the practical difficulties in this respect. How long it will take before the situation improves depends on a whole series of local factors, and there are objective reasons to believe that improvement will not happen overnight. Still, with every child protected from a negative brokering experience, a step forward will have been made.

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Appendix

Interview script

Sociodemographic data

- Age
- Birthplace
- Place of residence
- In case his/her birthplace is in Spain, where his/her parents were born
- In case his/her birthplace is not in Spain, how old he/she was when he/she arrived to Spain

You have been selected to participate in this interview because you acted as an interpreter when you were a child or a young adult. We would like to know more about this experience.

Interview

1. Where did you interpret and for whom?
2. How old were you?
3. How often and for how long have you been acting as an interpreter?
4. What was your level of Spanish at that time?
Low Medium High
5. Who had the idea to ask you to interpret?
6. Were you asked whether you agreed to interpret?

Yes, I was asked if I agreed to interpret.

No, I was simply asked to interpret.

7. Did anyone explain you how to act as an interpreter before doing it?
Yes No A little In detail

8. Did the healthcare providers offer any other solution (person, software etc.) to overcome the linguistic and cultural barriers that they encounter when communicating with your parents/relatives/friends?

9. Did you ever consider the information you had to interpret was too personal / delicate for a child to interpret?

Yes No I don't know / I have never thought of this

10. How were you treated by the (healthcare) professionals working in the places where you interpreted?

They spoke in a way I could understand.

They treated me as if I were a trustworthy interlocutor.

They looked at me to make sure I understood.

They spoke as they usually did.

They seemed to ignore my presence.

They seemed annoyed to have to resort to my linguistic abilities.

They addressed only me, as if the patient was not there.

Other:

11. What were the main difficulties you remember having encountered?
12. How did you feel in your role as interpreter?

I was proud of myself.

I felt useful and trusted.

I was afraid of making mistakes.

I suffered from interpreting-related stress.

I felt uneasy or overcome by this responsibility.

Other:

13. (Question only for those familiarized with the topic, for example, graduates in Translation & Interpreting) In case you had several experiences, did you feel your strategy improved from one to the other?

14. Did the interpreting experience impact your relationship with the people for whom you interpreted (especially your parents or extended family)?

Yes No

15. If so, in what way?

We became closer.

I was asked to keep the information I had learned secret.

I was looked at suspiciously.

I was regarded with more confidence.

Other:

16. Did your task as interpreter affect your academic performance and subsequent educational development?

Yes No

17. If so, in what way?

18. Did your task as interpreter affect your relationship with your friends and classmates?

Yes No

19. If so, in what way?

20. Did your task as interpreter affect your self-esteem?

Yes No

21. If so, in what way?

22. Can you recall any specific emotion (either negative or positive) experienced while interpreting?

23. If so, can you describe the context in which you felt that emotion?

24. In your opinion, what have been the (positive and negative) implications of your role as interpreter in your present life? Has acting as an interpreter influenced some of your important vital decisions (for example, studying Translation & Interpreting or Medicine, migrating, etc.)?

25. If so, can you specify?

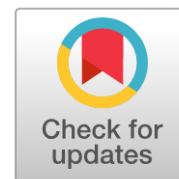
26. Would you like to add anything else regarding this experience?

HENRY HOLDSHIP WARE: A U.S. MILITARY INTERPRETER, A SOVIET SPY, AND AN ECONOMIST

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Abstract



This article looks at the life of Henry Holdship Ware (1908-1999), the grandson of the founder of Atlanta University. Captain Henry H. Ware was an aide and interpreter to Major General John Deane, Chief of the U.S. Military Mission to the Soviet Union during World War 2. In this capacity, he was an interpreter with the U.S. Army assigned to the Tripartite Conference in Moscow (1943) and Conferences at Tehran (1943) and Yalta (1945), and a liaison officer and interpreter during Operation Frantic, a joint American-Soviet campaign of shuttle bombing missions in Poltava, Ukraine, in June–September 1944. He was also present at the official surrender of the armed forces of Nazi Germany at Karlshorst on May 8, 1945, and interpreted toasts at the banquet of celebration after the ceremony. Henry Ware learnt Russian during his five-year stay as a student at Plekhanov Institute in Moscow, where he studied economics and was recruited by the NKVD to report on the American community in Moscow. Back in the USA, he was independently recruited by the Golos-Bentley Soviet espionage network under the codename ‘Vick’. In 1975, probably inspired by his study of the Soviet economy, he founded the Useful Services Exchange (USE), a community-based organization in Reston, Virginia, enabling neighbors to help each other through the exchange of services. The discussion draws on available visuals, memoirs, newspaper sources, and declassified documents.

Keywords: translation studies, history of interpreting, military interpreter, Tehran, Yalta, Henry H. Ware

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The Military Interpreter

Reading through Edward Topol's Russian-language novel "The Flying Jazz, or When We Were Allies", which describes the relations between American and Soviet pilots, commanders, and ordinary people involved in Operation Frantic in Poltava, Ukraine, in the autumn of 1944, I came across the name of U.S. Army Captain Henry Ware, who was presented as "the Embassy interpreter". First, I was surprised to see this name mentioned but then realized that the episodes with Captain Henry Ware had been taken from the memoir "The Strange Alliance: the Story of Our Efforts at Wartime Co-operation with Russia" written by John Russell Deane (e.g. 1947, p. 29).

Major General John Russell Deane (1896–1982) was a senior United States Army officer who served as Chief of the United States Military Mission in the U.S. Embassy in Moscow during World War II. And Captain Ware, who had spent five years as a student in Moscow before the war, was his aide and Russian interpreter throughout Deane's stay in Moscow starting on October 18, 1943. In this capacity, Henry Ware was an interpreter with the U.S. Army assigned to the Tripartite Conference in Moscow (1943) and Conferences at Tehran (1943) and Yalta (1945), and a liaison officer and interpreter during Operation Frantic, a joint American-Soviet campaign of shuttle bombing missions in Poltava, Ukraine, in June–September 1944. He was also present at the official surrender of the armed forces of Nazi Germany at Karlshorst on May 8, 1945.

In other words, although the office of the United States Military Mission in Moscow was housed at the U.S. Embassy, Henry Ware was not an "Embassy interpreter". For interpretation, Ambassador W. Averell Harriman relied on people like Charles Bohlen, First Secretary at the American Embassy at Moscow, or Second Secretary Edward Page, who, for instance, acted as interpreter during the meeting between Marshal Stalin and Ambassador Harriman on April 15, 1945 (Borch, 2011). On October 18, 1943, during the preliminary meeting of the Tripartite Conference, interpretation was provided by Charles Bohlen and Vladimir Pavlov (Deane, 1947, p. 8). Ambassador Harriman was also assisted by his daughter Kathleen, who came to Moscow at the age of 25 and learnt enough Russian "to make polite, if stumbling, conversation at receptions, propose toasts, and translate those of her father" (Roberts, 2015, p. 17).

General Deane had a very high opinion of Pavlov's skills as interpreter. On Churchill's suggestion, the Yalta Conference started with the presentation of the military situation of the Western Allies in Europe and in the Pacific. Lord Alanbrooke presented the European part, and General Deane followed with a discussion of the Japanese situation (Deane, 1947, p. 245):

I had arranged to have Pavlov, the little blond-headed interpreter who accompanies Molotov everywhere, interpret for me. As soon as I started, I realized that nothing is easier than to speak through an interpreter - especially one as good as Pavlov. While sentences are being translated, one can arrange one's thoughts about what is to come next and at the same time observe the audience to see the impression made by the thought just expressed.

Although Captain Henry Ware, interpreter, is mentioned as member of the American delegation at Yalta (Barron, 1955), General Deane preferred to have the Soviet interpreter Pavlov for the presentation. At the opening of the Tripartite Conference in Moscow, General Deane highly appreciated Bohlen's Russian rendition of Roosevelt's opening speech: "His speech was well delivered through Chip Bohlen, acting as interpreter, and the ball was then passed to Churchill" (Deane, 1947, p. 40). On the other hand, he was frustrated by the work of the British interpreter, Major Arthur H. Birse, although he does not mention the name (Deane, 1947, p. 42):

Churchill used every trick in his oratorical bag, assisted by illustrative and emphasizing gestures, to put over his point. At times he was smooth and suave, pleasant and humorous, and then he would clamp down on his cigar, growl, and complain. His efforts reached the Russians through his interpreter, an excellent technician but who had none of Churchill's oratorical ability. Heard through the interpreter, Churchill's words lost their force and fell on deaf ears.

Deane's words of appreciation for Captain Ware's work refer to the banquet of celebration following the official surrender of the armed forces of Nazi Germany at Karlshorst on May 8, 1945 (Deane, 1947, pp. 179-180):

As usual, the toasts were continuous and endless. British-American-Soviet friendship was at its peak... The Russians had an interpreter who soon lost his voice, leaving the entire burden of translating the glowing sentiments that were being bandied about to Captain Henry Ware, whom I had brought with me from

Moscow. Ware has a flair for the dramatic and he translated the toasts in a loud falsetto voice which carried even more feeling than the person making the toast had intended. We were all overcome with emotion, vodka, or both.

The ceremony of surrender started at midnight and took 50 minutes to complete (Zhukov, 2015); the banquet started an hour later and lasted until six (Deane, 1947, p. 180) or seven (Bokov, 1979) o'clock in the morning. Zhukov's interpreter at the ceremony was Anatoly Mitskevich (Figure 1). After the war, Mitskevich became a famous science fiction author with the pen name of Anatoly Dneprov. However, his first work was a non-fiction book "On the Other Side of War (1943-1945)", published posthumously in 2017.

Figure 1

Marshal of the Royal Air Force Sir Arthur Tedder (sitting at left) and Marshal Georgy Zhukov (sitting at right) at the German capitulation ceremony at Karlshorst, Berlin, May 8, 1945. Standing in the middle is Soviet interpreter Anatoly P. Mitskevich.



Note: [Screenshot], Berlin - Germany Surrenders: Karlshorst, Berlin. History Untapped <https://youtu.be/bojvIkEK4Zo?si=H7aTBtPl6e4yZUV>

There was at least one more Soviet interpreter at the banquet, who can be seen in the only photo of the event I have been able to find so far (**Figure 2**). Lieutenant Ivan Chernyaev was aide and interpreter to General Ivan Al. Susloparov, who signed the first Instrument of German Surrender on May 7, 1945, in Reims, northeastern France (**Figure 3**).

Figure 2

(first row, left to right) Marshal Arthur Tedder, Marshal Georgy Zhukov, and US General Carl Spaatz toasting the unconditional surrender at Karlshorst, Berlin, May 9, 1945. Standing behind at the right of Tedder is Lt. Ivan Chernyaev.



Note: Life (TimeLife_image_1176077).

https://artsandculture.google.com/asset/PwG_XKbY1QM0aQ

Figure 3

General Major Susloparov (second from right) signing the Instrument of Capitulation in Reims on May 7, 1945. First from right is U.S. General Carl Andrew «Tooey» Spaatz. Lt. Chernyaev sits behind Susloparov at left.



Note: <http://waralbum.ru>

Unfortunately, I have not been able to get hold of Dneprov's memoir before the publication date of this article, so at this stage it is impossible to say with definite certainty who lost his voice during the banquet, Mitskevich or Chernyaev.

The photographs of Henry Ware as interpreter in **Figures 4 & 5** were taken in Poltava, Ukraine, where he was a liaison officer and interpreter during Operation Frantic, a joint American-Soviet campaign of shuttle bombing missions in June–September 1944. The idea for Operation Frantic was proposed by President Franklin D. Roosevelt to the Soviet leader, Joseph Stalin, at the Big Three conference in Tehran in November 1943. Ambassador Harriman and Major General Deane actively participated in the negotiations. The progress was slow as Stalin was reluctant to allow American bombers to land on Soviet bases. As a result, the shuttle bombing operation did not begin until June 1944.

Figure 4

Gen. Perminov and Gen. Walsh listen to a pilot's report after the mission to Galati. The officer in the center is Capt. Henry Ware, interpreter from Gen. Deane's staff, June 1944.



Note: U.S. Air Force photo.

Figure 5

USAAF Lt Gen Ira C Eaker with Ambassador Averell Harriman and Capt. Henry Ware in Poltava Russia, July 6, 1944, NA740.



Note: 96th Bombardment Group Historical Photographs.

In the documentary Operation Titanic (1944) released by the U.S. War Department in 1945 (Operation Titanic was code-named Operation Frantic), Captain Henry Ware can be seen walking down the streets of Poltava, interpreting at the grave of Vladimir Korolenko, a famous Ukrainian writer, at the Old Cemetery in Poltava (**Figure 6**) and sitting next to Soviet Air Force General Perminov, commander of the air base at Poltava at a Show and Dance event (**Figure 7**).

Figure 6

Captain Henry Ware (first from left), interpreting at the grave of Ukrainian writer Vladimir Korolenko at the Old Cemetery in Poltava



Note: [Screenshot]. U.S. War Department. (1945). Operation Titanic (1944).
<https://youtu.be/k-4aZ2cb7Ug?si=nW4J4FADhIjsCiqM>

Figure 7

Major General Alexei R. Perminov, (front row, at left) and Captain Henry Ware (front row, at right) at a Show and Dance Event at Poltava airbase.



Note: [Screenshot], U.S. War Department. (1945). Operation Titanic (1944). Reel 4.
Russians entertain Americans with folk songs and dances. <https://youtu.be/k-4aZ2cb7Ug?si=nW4J4FADhIjsCiqM>

Of course, Henry Ware was not the only American interpreter at Poltava because an operation of such scale required dozens of interpreters on both sides. More than twenty US officers and GIs with a knowledge of Russian were selected by George Fisher to serve as interpreters and liaisons at the Ukrainian bases (Fisher, 2000, p. 104). First

Lieutenant George Fischer, adjutant to Colonel Thomas Hampton, grew up in Moscow and was proficient in Russian. General Deane mentions Corporal Paul Kisil, “an excellent Russian interpreter” (Deane, 1947, p. 195). Other interpreters included Second Lieutenant Igor Reverditto, First Lieutenant William Kaluta, Sergeant Samuel Chavkin, and Corporal Peter Nicolaeff, to name just a few. More information can be found in Kaluta (n.d.), Conversino (1997), and Plokhly (2019). Interesting archive photos can be seen in Musafirova (2020) describing the efforts of Oleg Bezverkhyi, a military historian from Poltava, to collect available documents, photos, and videos about Operation Frantic at NARA, U.S. National Archives and Records Administration.

Recruited Twice by the Soviet Secret Service

Henry Holdship Ware was born in Montclair, New Jersey, in 1908. His father, Edward Twitchell Ware (1874–1927), was the son of Edmond Asa Ware (the founding president of Atlanta University), and third president of Atlanta University. His mother, Alice Holdship Ware (1872–1965), was a playwright who used theater as a platform to advance civil rights. For instance, her one-act play “Mighty Wind A-Blowin” was performed by African-American actors at the opening of the New Theatre League biennial conference in New York on June 10, 1938 (New Theatre League to Meet, 1938, p. 12). Alice Ware was a member of an independent citizens committee to support the senatorial candidacy of Corliss Lamont running on the Independent-Socialist ticket (Independent Citizens Committee for Lamont, 1958, p. 2). Corliss Lamont was one of the founders and the first chairman of the National Council of American–Soviet Friendship (NCASF) established in 1944. According to “Woman’s Who’s Who in America” (Leonard, 1914–1915, p. 854), Alice Ware

... was charter member and director of Twentieth Century Club and of the Civic Club of Allegheny County; was secretary for many years of Kingsley House Association; organizer and officer of Tenement Improvement Co. Mem. Civic League, Gate City Free Kindergarten Association, Drama League of America; chairman of the Negro Race Committee of the Anti-Tuberculosis Association, Woman’s Alliance of Unitarian Church. Clubs: Atlanta Woman’s, honorary member Southern Association of College Women, the Little Club (literary and dramatic). Unitarian. Favors woman suffrage; marched in N.Y. parade; belongs to only local suffrage organization, the Civic League.

Before getting married to Edward Twichell Ware in Pittsburgh in 1905, she had spent several years in Europe. Although not a card-carrying member of the Communist Party USA (founded in 1919), she obviously had close ties with it. According to information in declassified KGB archives, Alice Ware was “a trusted individual and a Comparty sympathizer” who in 1940 was used “to deliver money to Germany, to the family of a prominent German Comparty figure who had been arrested” (Vassilev, n.d., pp. 302-303). Alice Ware visited the USSR in June 1933 to participate in the First Moscow Theater Festival (Americans, Scandinavians Arrive for Theater Festival Opening, 1933, p. 1). Her son Henry was already there, learning Russian in order to study economics at Plekhanov Institute for National Economy, after receiving his B.A. from Pomona College (1929) and M.A. from Columbia University (1932).

The article ‘The Founding of USE’ in the *Reston Connection* newspaper (May 26-June 1, 1999) informs that Henry Ware spent five years with a Russian family in the Soviet Union while teaching at the Anglo-American School and writing for the *Moscow Daily News* in the period before 1939. The *Moscow Daily News* (1932-1938) was a short-lived sister publication of *Moscow News* (1930-2014), the oldest English-language newspaper in Russia founded by the American socialist Anna Louise Strong, who was its associate editor. According to an article in the *Moscow News* (Taplin, 2008), the Anglo-American School (AAS) in Moscow is “the oldest international school in Moscow [...] founded in 1949 as an independent, coeducational day school, chartered by the American, British and Canadian Embassies in Moscow”. In 1949, Henry Ware was Acting Chief of the USSR Division of the Office of International Trade at the U.S. Department of Commerce and could not have been a teacher in Moscow.

However, a search in the *Moscow News* archive revealed a heated and prolonged discussion of the need of an English school for the children of American and other specialists working in the Soviet Union. The first article entitled “English School Wanted in Moscow” is dated September 13, 1931. Next to it is an interview with Mr. Leon A. Swajian, an engineer from Detroit, who complained that he had had to leave his kids in the U.S.A. because there was no English school in Moscow. Leon A. Swajian was in fact the person who “helped build Stalingrad [tractor plant] and was chief of the construction for the Kharkiv tractor plant”. I recently came across an article in the first issue of “Science and Technology for Youth”, a Bulgarian magazine launched in 1948. The article entitled

“The Myth of the Miracles of American Technology” (pp. 24-27) and written by A. Markin, a Soviet engineer, claims that modern Soviet equipment made it possible to build much faster than in the U.S.A, and the Kharkiv plant was built in just 15 months (Markin, 1948). The article fails to mention that both the Stalingrad and the Kharkiv plants were designed by Albert Kahn Associates Inc., U.S.A., and were supplied with equipment from more than eighty US engineering companies and several German firms. The Kharkiv plant was a replica of the Milwaukee Harvester factory in Wisconsin. The speed of the construction works was only due to the shock labor of peasants, students, Red Army soldiers, and convicts (Kozoriz, 2021). According to engineer Swajian,

The trouble with most Russian engineers is that they haven’t seen any big job carried on from beginning to end under American conditions. They lack practical experience. And they do too much writing... At Kharkiv ten engineers were assigned to assist me... In America, I would have found two engineers sufficient... Another point is the Russian habit of half-finishing a job, then returning to finish it (Swajian, 1931).

After a long campaign of requests to the People’s Commissariat of Education, the Anglo-American school was finally opened a year later, on September 1, 1932, on Sadovaya Spasskaya 6 in Moscow. The article “Anglo-American School Opened” (Moscow Daily News, September 2, 1932, p. 4) informed the readers that Elizabeth Manevich was appointed director, and Sophie Hollander supervisor of the curriculum. The school had twelve qualified teachers with university or college degrees. According to the unnamed author, any school in America with these teachers would be given a first-class official rating. Unfortunately, no names of the teachers are mentioned, and it is impossible to say at this stage whether Henry Ware ever taught at the Anglo-American School in Moscow in the 1930s.

In 1933, the Anglo-American Institute was launched when a group of American educators (Harvey W. Zorbaugh, professor of sociology at New York University, Dan H. Kulp II, professor of sociology at Columbia University, and Professor Sollins) organized the first American summer school in Moscow to attract U.S. students to the Soviet Union. A year later, with the cooperation of VOKS (Society for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries), the Commissariat of Education, Intourist, and Moscow University, a permanent school was established that came to be known as the Anglo-American

Institute of the First Moscow University sponsored by the Institute of International Education in the USA, the educational division of the Carnegie-Rockefeller Foundation (Classes Here to Graw 200 U.S. Students, *Moscow daily News*, June 30, 1934, p. 4). Again, there is no information that Henry Ware had any connection with this Institute.

As for writing for the *Moscow Daily News*, a search in the archive revealed two articles authored by Henry Ware. His first article in *Moscow Daily News* entitled “Foreign Book Store Lacks the Classics” appeared on March 30, 1933 (Ware, 1933a). In the article, Henry Ware insisted that something should be done to improve the supply of reading material at the Book Shop for Foreign Workers in Pushkin Square. He was saddened by the fact that the works of Lenin were only available in German. His second and last article in the Soviet English-language press, “A Butcher Shop on the Grand Scale” (Ware, 1933b, p. 2), gives a clear idea of Ware’s political and economic views (Ware, 1933b, p. 2):

From the present somewhat primitive methods of handling meat, the USSR in one jump will actually surpass the efficiency of the U.S. packing houses. This is possible because in America material and efficiency is wasted through cut-throat competition between owners of various patented processes...

The unwary customer in America buys bone with his meat, only to throw it away. All retail butcher shops waste bone and a certain amount of scrap meat...

The supply of meat will be prepared to meet the demands of factory kitchens and restaurants, to which the meat will be delivered by a fleet of closed trucks. In this way the retailer is eliminated...

In 1930, a special commission went to America to study methods and practice. It was with the help of American architects and designers in Chicago that the commission drew up the plans for the Moscow plant.

For many decades, the urge to surpass America using American technologies and experts was the cornerstone of Soviet propaganda. In 1957, Khrushchev came up with the promise to “overtake and surpass America” in the production of meat and butter, boasting that by 1970 the U.S.S.R. would be ‘the first country in the world’ (Crankshaw, 1964) and insisting that plans to overtake the U.S. by 1975 were too pessimistic. *Time Magazine* promptly reacted to this statement with a short article entitled “Russia: Bark on the Wind” (1957), paraphrasing Khrushchev’s referral to a Russian proverb, “A dog

barks and the wind carries the sound away." The call to "catch up with and overcome" the capitalist countries was voiced by Lenin in 1917 and repeated by Stalin in his speeches in late 1920s and early 1930s. In January 1949, Stalin had plans to "free Europe from economic dependence on the U.S. and England by developing our production to such an extent that it could make up for the shortage of food and raw materials that Europe is currently experiencing and making it dependent on the U.S. and England (together with Canada)". In other words, Stalin quite seriously believed that the combined efforts of the USSR and the countries of the socialist camp could "in the next 8-10 years" help to "provide Europe with food, cotton, coal, rubber, non-ferrous metals" (Kolarov, 2005, pp. 618-625; my translation from Bulgarian).

Not surprisingly, Henry Ware was soon recruited by Yakov Mulyarov, lieutenant of State Security within the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs (NKVD), to report on the American community in the Soviet Union and was given the codename 'Vick'. Back in the U.S.A, he started work with the State Department and in 1942 was independently recruited into the Golos-Bentley network of Soviet spies in America. A brief description of Henry Ware's and his mother's involvement with Soviet secret services can be found in Vassilev's Black Notebook (n.d., pp. 302-303):

Report on "Vick"⁸³ 28.10.48 (Henry Ware – p. 300) (Leg. contact – "Saushkin")

YOB: 1908, born in New Jersey, U.S. citizen. From '32 to '36, he lived in Moscow and studied at the Plekhanov Institute of National Economics. In '35, he was recruited by the OO NKVD USSR to cover the American colony in the Soviet Union. "Former employee of the NKVD USSR Mulyarov—who had handled 'Vick'—was arrested in 1938; during his cross-examination, he testified that in 1935, 'Vick' had allegedly recruited him for Amer. intelligence; furthermore, Mulyarov supposedly gave 'Vick' the names of all NKVD USSR agents he knew that were used to cover the Americans. This information was not verified."

In '42, the station obtained a positive reference for "Vick" from the CP USA and independently decided to recruit him (recruitment was carried out by "Vardo," whom "Vick" knew as "Helen"). Information about his agency's activities. The connection was interrupted in '44 as he was drafted into the army. In Oct. '44, Vick was in Moscow, on the staff of Deane's mission. The 2nd Directorate of the MGB attempted to establish agent ties, but he refused.

“Vick’s” mother – Alissa Ware, b. 1872, a writer. Visited the USSR in ’33. According to information from 1942, she is a trusted individual and a Comparty sympathizer. In 1940, we used A. Ware to deliver money to Germany, to the family of a prominent German Comparty figure who had been arrested.

Vassilev’s Notebooks is a collection of eight notebooks and loose pages kept by Alexander Vassiliev while researching Soviet espionage in America in the KGB archives in 1990s. The Notebooks were instrumental in identifying the real names behind the codenames of some of the spies, including Henry Ware (Haynes & Klehr, 2009). The codename “Vick” came up during work under the secret program codenamed ‘VENONA’ that started in February 1943 and provided insight into Soviet intentions and treasonous activities of government employees (VENONA Documents, n.d.). It was mentioned once in a message of 21 June 1943 (New York KGB station, 2010) in the VENONA files revealing the Soviet espionage ring in America:

Vick: unidentified asset of the New York KGB in 1943. Had contact with State Department officials and may have been a State Department employee (Haynes & Klehr, 1999, Appendix A, p. 369).

In the U.S.A, Henry Ware was recruited by Elisaveta Zarubina (codename ‘Vardo’), a legendary spy known as the Soviet Mata Hari (Yuferev, 2017). Of course, the VENONA files are most famous for exposing Julius and Ethel Rosenberg who provided the Soviet Union with top-secret information about American radar, sonar, jet propulsion engines, and nuclear weapon designs. Compared to them, Henry Ware was a low-profile source of information.

He was drafted into the U.S Army soon after 21 June 1943, and not in 1944 as stated in the Black Notebook documents. Captain Ware is listed among the members of the American delegation at the Tripartite Conference in Moscow, October 18 – November 1, 1943, as Aide to General Deane (Franklin & Perkins, 1963) and to the Tehran Conference, November 28–December 1, 1943, as Interpreter with the United States Army assigned to the Conference at Tehran (Franklin & Gerber, 1961). Technically speaking, Henry Ware was still a Soviet spy when he was drafted into the U.S. Army, received the rank of Captain, and was assigned to General Deane’s staff in Moscow. There, he was once again approached by the NKVD but finally refused to cooperate.

The economist

The articles ‘The Founding of USE’ in the *Reston Connection* newspaper (May 26-June 1, 1999) and ‘Economist Henry H. Ware, 90, Dies’ (1999, May 26) in *The Washington Post* claim that after moving to Washington D.C. from Moscow in 1939, Dr. Ware became the Acting Chief of the USSR Division of the Office of International Trade, U.S. Department of Commerce. He indeed occupied this position, but in late 1940s, after the end of WW2. According to the Records of the International Trade Administration (n.d.), the Office of International Trade was established as one of the five autonomous units of the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce (BFDC) on December 18, 1945, and abolished on October 9, 1953. That’s exactly the time when Henry Ware worked there at the USSR Division with the first mention dated August 22, 1946 (Julius Rosenberg et al., n.d.; News, 1950, p. 62).

Ironically, as part of his official duties, he was obliged to perform “a thorough and complete search of the appropriate Commerce Department files for a record of all available material and correspondence which passed between the USSR Branch of the Office of International Trade and the U.S. Service and Shipping Corporation” (Federal Bureau of Investigation, September 3, 1948, Julius Rosenberg et AL. Referral. Commerce Dept. No. 1., n.d.). The Vice President of the U.S. Service and Shipping Corporation in question was Elizabeth Terrill Bentley, an American NKVD spymaster, recruited from within the USA Communist Party. In the Black Notebook, she has the codename “Myrna” – “Elizabeth Bentley, former vice president of the “United States Service and Shipping Corporation.” A traitor since ’45”. In 1945, she defected by contacting the FBI and exposed two spy networks. There is no evidence that Henry Ware was involved in the spy ring at that time, and the identity of ‘Vick’ in the VENONA files was still unknown.

Henry Ware’s interest in the Soviet economy culminated in his Ph.D. thesis defended at Columbia University, “Economics of Soviet retail trade” (Forty-Eighth List of Doctoral Dissertations, 1951, p. 793) with the initial title “The Soviet consumer: a theoretical approach to the problem of consumer satisfaction under the Soviet set-up” (Notes, 1946, p. 759). While working on his thesis, Henry Ware published three articles on the Soviet economy, i.e. “Costs of Distribution in Soviet Domestic Trade” (1950a), “The

Procurement Problem in Soviet Retail Trade” (1950b), and “Incentives for Soviet Store Personnel” (1950c).

In 1975 Henry Ware founded the Useful Services Exchange (USE), a pilot neighborhood barter project in Reston, Virginia offering services that participants could do for others like giving rides to the airport or lending of equipment. He co-authored the “Barter Network Handbook” (Tobin & Ware, 1983). Ware’s experience with small business bartering started in the 1950s when he worked as a consultant in the operation of a commission swan shop. He summarized his experience in “Starting and managing a swap shop or consignment sale shop” (Ware, 1968). He also worked for the National Education Association and Arlington County, conducted seminars and lectured at various American colleges and universities.

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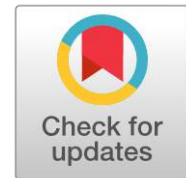
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NARCISSIST TRAITS AND TRANSFIGURATION OF DOMESTIC TERRITORY IN ANNE TYLER'S "SAINT MAYBE"

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Abstract

Men and women in the domestic territory are predominantly presented as the main sources of family in most of the contemporary American novels. Yet their significance is portrayed with multitudes of familial responsibilities in nurturing their children. Anne Tyler's *Saint Maybe* appraises the familiar theme of ordinary people and their encounter with sufferings to culminate in transfiguration of domestic territory. This paper displays the outlook of ordinary people in *Saint Maybe* to prevent them from falling astray. More crucially, the framework of the paper lays its emphasis on how Ian Bedloe sheds his narcissistic traits to capture the attention of his brother's children in the domestic sphere after the death of their parents. Therefore, this paper purports to bring out the effect of narcissistic traits in which Tyler has ingrained a real and a fervent tone about religion to protect Ian Bedloe as a surrogate father.

Keywords: Domestic Territory, Familial Responsibilities, Transfiguration, Narcissistic Traits, Sense of Existence, Surrogate Father, Children, religion

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Domestic Territory

During the 1990s, a significant transposition of men occupied a lion's share in the American families. Remarkably, the men started to shun the view of a provider of the family by widening their horizons more than that of women would perform and contribute. To substantiate this view, Ivonne Arroyo Picard in his study of Carl Gilligan's theory of women's moral development attests to make an important point about this significant transposition that: "women and men take different paths to moral development and self-definition. Women's Conception of morality is centered in caring, understanding and relating, while men's morality is centered in fairness" (Picard, 1992, p.2) However, Picard comments that the lack of intimacy creates a complicated relationship between the father and his children. Besides, the distanced father figure poses a threat and provokes the children to encircle themselves within the mother's warmth.

More crucially, feminists have been continuing their demand that men must plunge into domestic activities to draw their children's attention. The lack of intimacy creates a complicated relationship between the father and his children. Besides, the distanced father figure poses a threat and provokes the children to encircle themselves within the mother's warmth. In contrast, Anne Tyler, the southern female writer considers men to be the part and parcel of the domestic activities and brings novelty in them by providing a new dimension to their thoughts. For instance, Ian leaves no stone unturned to transfigure the domestic territory through his heroic efforts in *Saint Maybe*. In this regard, the ordinary people belonging to the community of Bedloes in *Saint Maybe*, suddenly transfigured due to the relentless efforts of Ian who succeeds in providing the family with warmth which they have not witnessed before. In particular, Tyler describes about the Bedloes that, "There was this about the Bedloes. They believed that every part of their lives was absolutely wonderful" (1991, p.15). Inevitably, the Bedloes being ordinary people become extraordinary due to the enormous achievement of Ian Bedloe.

Remarkably, Anne Tyler with her intuitions, cultivates to illustrate and express the value and priority about human existence in the universe by creating the distinctive features of ordinary people who consider and reconsider their bondage with their family as seminal and crucial. Relatedly, Tyler in her novel *Saint Maybe*, has precisely combined both the masculine and feminine idiosyncratic traits and imbued in the male protagonist,

Ian Bedloe. At this point, Ian never shares the burden with his family and readily admits to burdening himself with masculine and feminine personalities to alchemize the life of ordinary people in his family including his parents and nephews to foresee a new transformation. It is also a rare distinction in a male protagonist to discover the combined idiosyncrasies in which Ian Bedloe sacrifices his education to take up a parental role which is a separated common quality of the females.

Here in this novel taken for study, Ian Bedloe is seen as an ordinary individual whose misjudgement pollutes his mind and cunningly induces his ego to be responsible for his brother's death. Later, being an ordinary individual, Ian transfigures to become a saint. Apparently, Anne Tyler brings out the day-to-day happenings with the analysis of realistic themes in her novel, *Saint Maybe* which relatively sets a path for realistic fiction. With reference to Anne Tyler's *Saint Maybe*, Tyler envisages the real-life events taking place in the life of Ian Bedloe who, being an ordinary man with delicate emotions, reacts to calamitous events with a spirited mind. While in realistic domestic world, he severely confronts his brother Danny with his false assumption about his wife, Lucy's liaison with men and like a bolt from the blue, both his brother and Lucy unexpectedly die by committing suicide with the consumption of pills. Shortly, after his death, Ian is left to shoulder the responsibilities of taking care of his old parents and Danny's children.

Saint Maybe delineates the character of Ian Bedloe, seventeen years old bachelor in Anne Tyler's inexpressible depiction of South Baltimore. *Saint May be*, Danny Bedloe with Lucy Dean with serious admiration, adores and marries Lucy Dean instantly though she has two children from her former marriage and astonishingly separated from her husband. As being head over heels in love for Lucy, he estimates that his married life is more complacent and satisfactory. While discussing about Lucy, Danny's joy knew no bounds and enthusiastically, Danny portrays Lucy in order to register that no one can pose to be a substitute in her place for her traits. Obviously, Danny showers his love and intimate affection on Lucy's children but is soon misguided by his brother. Poignantly, Anne Tyler declares the bitter jealousy of the most intimate brother towards his brother's new found wife. Moreover, Lucy suffers from mingling with the new family from the beginning till her death to seek asylum in her husband's family. In fact, Ian stands confused over the unexpected death of his loveable brother and his innocent wife.

More pitifully, the consequences and sufferings after his brother Danny's death, Ian Bedloe bears the blame and learns through the indecipherable pain of his brother's death that more than seeking the spiritual guidance, he accepts his fate to perform the role of a caretaker of the three children who are not connected in terms of blood. Mysteriously, Tyler finds Ian engrossed in embedding to take care of the family and children. feminine images. More predominantly, Ian dithers about the role thrust on him and the solicitous way in which the brother's children surround him to give a new definition to his life. In many ways, undoubtedly, Ian is described as a product of a new man to his generation though being a teenager. As a matter of fact, Durham in his analysis of the novel highlights that: "Ian's sacrifice of his old life in order to be more obvious now that he is leaving his old life behind him, especially things that emphasize his masculinity" (Durham, 1998, p.147)

Considerably, more explanations would be regarded as Ian's state of a transformed youth as agreeable and satisfactory beyond describing him as remotely eccentric. Certainly, Tyler has formerly created the similar alternation in Ezra, the protector and a custodian of his family in another novel, *Dinner at the Homesick Restaurant*, who is solely left unnoticed because of his blunder for which his brother bears the blame of a scapegoat. In the meantime, Ezra collects and regains his conscience to work for the betterment of the family by being mindful of his guilt. Following his guilt, he arduously becomes a caregiver of his mother, Mrs. Scarlett and a phenomenal human being to stand as a pillar behind reuniting his family back together over a dinner at his restaurant. Likewise, Ian Bedloe also appears to be an embodiment of virtues before his family consisting of ordinary people who do not hold respectable positions in any of the organizations. Initially, Tyler engraves narcissistic traits on Ian's mind and later imparts Ian to acquire the extraordinariness of masculine and feminine attributions.

Accordingly, *Saint MayBe* is an apple pie household of the innocent Ian Bedloe who stumbles and struggles with an emotional bondage of his family and discovers the real-life sequences surrounding him with the self-imposed blame for the untoward death of his brother, Danny and takes a rebirth of a new Christian. In Tyler's sympathetic and empathetic style of description, the sensitive readers observe the growth of innocence to maturity of the three innocent children under the meticulous care of Ian Bedloe who does not permit the reader to get distracted from his own sense of tolerance and compassion.

Saint Maybe is a profusely intriguing story of a young man's blame over his sibling's demise and in which Tyler's readers would examine that she highlights an intricate complication at the beginning of this novel to leave it resolved at the end by justifying the actions of Ian Bedloe who suffers to conquer the domestic territory of ordinary people to pave a path for extraordinary lives. Simultaneously, Tyler enfold a veritable and a penetrative tone about religion. Nevertheless, the novel forcibly enables Tyler's persistent pursuance of the theme of salvation through religion to envisage that one can be refined or proceed onwards to recall the pleasant moments instead of the troubled miseries.

Narcissistic Traits

Taking a long generational view, the present paper culminates in delineation of routine realistic experiences as how the characters would be in real life. Firstly, the research design has been employed to characterize the ordinary people and primarily about the bourgeois community who encounter unexpected confrontations by preoccupying themselves in the prosaic world of everyday concerns. Secondly, the research design also brings out the findings of the overtones of sin inside a religious American family. In embodying the perils, Tyler envisages a deep intimacy between the individual man and his family as, "They were never the Bedloes but the Bedloe family, Waverley street's version of the ideal apple-pie household: two amiable parents, three good-looking children, a dog, a cat, a scattering goldfish". (1991, p.11). Significantly, this apple-pie household gives an account of narcissistic traits in ordinary people of the Bedloes. On the surface, Steven James Bartlett demonstrates: "We are all narcissists to a degree. If we enjoy our work, our families, our lives, we feel a degree of self-involvement which is desirable and healthy". (James, 1986, p.17)

Particularly, Ian Bedloe in the novel taken for study, *Saint Maybe*, overcomes the sin committed by him as he belongs to ordinary people of the Bedloes. Interestingly, the themes of this novel and the style of adaptation display the saga and sufferings of the ordinary people. Eventually, the plot circulates around the spontaneous emotions of ordinary people rather than the incidences of life which is the chief source behind Tyler's determined thoughts. For instance, Tyler focuses on the man's repossession of his value in order to pave the way for constructing an ideal society to comprehend and solve the

apprehensions of the world around him with his magnanimous power of transformed mind.

Effect of Narcissistic Traits in "*Saint Maybe*"

Frantically, the concept of sin appears to be a violated part of human existence which is committed knowingly or unknowingly in the societal order. Further, sin is considered to be a vice or evil part of man's life and when committed consistently then it mars the personality of man and leaves no space for reformation. On the one hand, sin should be considered as a moral state of man whose soul is separated from God the Almighty. On the other hand, the superficial commitment of sin encompasses man's foibles but is not a profound commitment of sin. Most importantly, Ian commits the sin due to his inbuilt narcissistic trait as a superior human being.

The writer brings out the idealistic image of the Bedloes who practice the most conventional way of American life. In connection with conservatism and traditionality, the family does not live in the unrealistic world when observed from their outside world of practicality. Meanwhile, the family appears to be in the clutches of the day-to-day challenges of life and live with expectations to clear away the challenges or the hurdles of ordinary people. Everything Ian, the teenager performs to be in the good books of his brother, Danny which is the toughest challenge of his life. It is perhaps the effect of the Narcissistic trait in Ian for having won the heart of his brother to bear the responsibility for his brother and Lucy's death. However, when Danny falls for Lucy, a divorced woman with her two children from her ex-partner. By contrast, against the concern of his family, the destination plays a severe game in Ian's life. Besides Doug and Bee, their parents face the harsh reality of accepting a divorced woman in their conventional and religious family. Yet, despite the idealistic image the Bedloes created in the religious society, they accept Hobson's choice of the fate of Danny.

Dramatically, submerged in jealousy, Ian grows with suspicious thoughts of Lucy and aims cunningly to marginalize her owing to her pregnancy of the third child, whom the family calls as Daphne belonging to his brother's blood. In the wake of jealous thoughts, Ian is blind folded to consider Lucy as a perfect virgin who has been captivating the attention of his brother ever since she entered the conventional religious family to replace Ian. Correspondingly, the cunning thoughts of expelling Lucy from his brother's

heart take a mountainous shape to lead to the unexpected suicide of his brother, Danny. As a precious child of the Bedloes and the embodiment of straightforwardness, Ian erases the virtues due to his covetousness. Herein, the plot takes a topsy-turvy turn on account of Ian's narcissistic trait as an undefeatable man. Evidently, Gene Koppel identifies that Ian causes, "the death of his brother and his wife when he mistakes his own impatience and adolescent sexual jealousy for a desire for truth and justice" (Koppel, 1993)

According to the Bedloes, "Ian does not care much about others' feelings, embodying the narcissistic behaviour of Americans who believed to be on top of everyone else". (Thaer, 2021, p. 7). Due to the effect of narcissistic traits, Ian, a helpless sinner commits a sin by seducing his girlfriend, Cecily with an unpredicted motive. Nevertheless, he hopes to get united with her at any cost. Suddenly, he realizes and regrets his sin and in fact compromises with her to consume pills. As a teenager, with the narcissistic mind, he egotistically confirms, "that someday, somehow, he was going to end up famous" (1991, p.12) In order to describe the child's narcissistic behaviour, Sigmund Freud analyses and postulates that: "The disturbances to which a child's original narcissism is exposed, the reactions with which he seeks to protect himself from them and the paths into which he is forced in doing so" (Freud, 1914, p. 92). Demonstrably, the Freudian concept of Narcissism emphasizes that narcissistic traits are constructed by the child's parents for the success or the failure in their journey towards life. In another instance, Keith Campbell and Joshua Miller evaluate that, "Narcissism develops as a consequence of parental rejection, evaluation and an emotionally invalidating environment in which parents are inconsistent in their investment in their children or often interact with their children to satisfy their own needs." (Campbell & Miller, 2011, p. 6).

Unbelievably, Danny stands unresponsive and stunned to learn the facts of Lucy through Ian's mouth. As a bolt from the blue, Danny cannot tolerate the way in which Ian blames Daphne's premature state of birth, who is born soon after seven months of their marriage which remains a mystery to him. On account of accusation, Ian accuses Lucy of her Peculiar fancy of applying perfumes, laughing and wearing clothes. Frustratingly, Danny's thoughts start to reverberate on Lucy's motives, deeds, thoughts or designs. Decidedly, Ian pours out his crucial temperament to Danny and bluntly grumbles that he can neither stay blindfolded nor gaze at his brother's naivety towards Lucy's callous attitude of walking out of her house to be engrossed in some unimaginably unvirtuous

jobs. Herein, the novel, *Saint May be*, Ian imagines that Lucy has committed adultery rather than reasoning out for her motives or thoughts and he also gives a wrong picture of Lucy by learning from one of their neighbours, Mrs. Myrdal that Lucy is a shoplifter who secretly steals things from the shops and in this context, Ian projects a wrong picture instead of understanding the concept of Lucy's virginity.

Emphatically, Tyler has proved through Ian's inborn narcissistic motive since his childhood to prove that he has been mesmerized by his parents who have not remained as strong pillars in his endeavours. Therefore, Ian's narcissistic thoughts have never made him famous and he has been influenced by his family. Unquestionably, overtaken by the axiomatic phrase as the most impeccable child of the Bedloes, Ian accepts cruelly that his words would be truthful and genuine, and his family believes in whatever false utterances he makes towards Lucy. Clearly being polluted with jealousy and over possessiveness, Ian puts on the pretensive face of a true human being who is more meticulous about the welfare of the family and the security of the brother. In other words, Ian embeds in his mind that the flawless image of himself would make him escape from sinning. As a result of his ignorant narcissistic trait about himself, he has shaken the trust the family placed on himself, and he is horrified to realize that his false perception of the world has befuddled him to put him in falsehood. Emphatically, Jerrold.M. Post, in his investigation of narcissism concludes that, "The narcissist's exaggerated sense of self-importance tends to be manifested as extreme self-centeredness, egocentricity and self-absorption. Abilities and achievements tend to be unrealistically overestimated, but minor setbacks can give a sense of special unworthiness." (Post, 1993, p.103)

In brief, Ian declares his deceitful nature to his brother, Danny and plants a seed of poisonous thoughts about Lucy's lewdness to the point of victimizing her with severity. Unthinkably, Danny commits suicide without a second thought of clearing away the guilt of Lucy and unable to cope with the three children, Lucy consumes pills by leaving her three children under the custody of the Bedloes. Unfortunately, Ian bears the blame of the incitement of the sin. For this reason, he hates himself. Unquestionably, the effect of narcissistic traits leaves Ian to commit a sin.

Transfiguration of Domestic Territory

First and foremost, Ian's unbreakable ties with his family persuades him to look upon Lucy as a stranger in the family and not as an important member who has entered the family to bring happiness and warmth. On the contrary, Ian hangs on to the ruthless thought of untying the ties of Lucy with his family for she being a stranger with different culture and different customs. Later, he realizes that it is indeed a welcoming change of strangeness which results in a positive outcome but before delay, he stands astonished to learn of the death of Danny and Lucy. Beneath the surface, the alarming news of Danny facing the unpredictable danger of death resounds in his ear and immediately, Ian rises from the normalcy to dwell in the nightmare. Persistently, the jarring sound of the car knocks him to realize the hardest truth that he is going to encounter ever in his life. At this moment, his eyes are filled with tears, and he gives a thought to recall about Danny's presence and absence and this thought strains his nerves to an extreme extent and compels him to transfigure the domestic territory for his unforgivable sin which has led the children to loiter in the wilderness.

Gradually, Ian turns out to be a caretaker of Danny's children due to his untold sin of the past for which he hankers after salvation. Owing to the double responsibility in acting behind Lucy's death, he stands guilt-stricken by these deaths and left with the option to take care of Danny's children without expecting any reward in return. In reality, he stands to shoulder both the father and the mother's responsibilities in bringing forth the children by leaving behind his education as a key factor of salvation. Nonetheless, as Tyler elaborately explains and probes into moulding the male in *Saint Maybe*, the discoveries of the father figure's role of a caretaker seems noteworthy. While Ian undergoes an excruciating pain of the sin he has committed, the destined actions prepare for his eagerness to surrender for transfiguration of the domestic territory. Besides, he searches for salvation in pursuit of the advice of Reverend Father in the church.

Inevitably, Ian by no means remains pessimistic, he starts to take up the life of a carpenter to feed the children by observing the inability of his old parents. Unobtrusively, Ian becomes a carpenter in helping his aged parents raise the children. Over the time, Ian becomes more and more the primary caretaker, taking the responsibility from his parents with a sole intention to transfigure the domestic territory. Moreover, he feels that he sacrifices his life and is filled with never ending grief. Decidedly, goes to the church to

wash his guilt where he finds himself in an asylum only to learn and embed the quest for salvation which is enigmatically prevalent in the church with more of prayers and past repentance.

Before the traumatic incident of Danny and Lucy's death, Ian exceedingly poses to be a pure male with archetypal masculine features. But as the tragic incident intensifies, Ian grows more feminine with mother's archetypes to lead his life as a savior of his brother's children by being a baby-sitter to endure the uneasiness created by the children during their childhood days. Being a benevolent human being, the motherhood in him derives joy and pleasure to supervise the children's homework sitting at the kitchen table by hearing their quarrelsome conversation and also seems to attain a complete satisfaction and pleasure in negotiating their quarrels as an arbitrator. Later, Ian decides to read a story to the children which he has preserved from his childhood. He reads this book to the kids during bedtime so that the children not only learn the moral values but they try to adopt the same in their life.

Subsequently, in his ninth class, Ian has introspective through a microscope of an amoeba and he recalls this experiment whenever he is disturbed about Danny's death. In fact, he realizes that he is the source of Danny's death and his words have tormented Danny to take an extreme step of committing suicide. The abominable thought of Danny's suicidal death disturbs him and distorts his peace of mind. Confoundedly, he stands still without making conclusions but he senses completely what permeates around him. Further, the obscure picture of amoeba is comprehended whenever Ian perforates to ponder over Danny's death and also bitterly unrelieved about the sin of inducing Lucy's death. Thus, Ian comments: "Oh, God this is the one last little dark dot I can't possibly absorb" (1991, p.94) Initially, Ian rethinks for his confession to his parents would give him a salvation but becomes alert and executes the notion of receiving salvation by washing the guilt of his sin through a surrogate father in him.

In the meantime, Ian dreams about the dead Lucy who has left her lovely children behind and vanished mercilessly. It also seemed to Ian that he has been bombarded with a lot of questions. Firstly, Lucy asks him whether it is fair on his part to have done injustice to her and Danny and has he achieved in ruining their lives by bringing a cleavage into their lives. Critically, Tyler retorts that Ian is a complete domestic man who understands his complications of parenthood to fulfill the needs of the children as he "feels stuck with

these querulous children night after night after night” (1991, p.91). At various other times, Daphne becomes intimate with Ian as he muses literally and perhaps symbolically. In other words, Ian hankers after his vision of transfiguring the ordinary people and their extraordinary lives in the domestic territory.

Suddenly, Ian dreams of Danny’s appearance as he has been thinking about Danny’s death and his suicide. As a matter of fact, Danny appears in his dream and expresses his gratitude towards Ian for baby-sitting and for which he has to pay but Ian feels quite relieved and finds salvation in being a maternal figure to his children. Interestingly, Ian identifies the closeness of a father figure to his teenage children and endearingly wins the hearts of the adopted children of his brother to remain as their favorite forever. On the one hand, in his youth, Ian suffers from narcissistic disorder and puts himself in feeling superior to his family. In due course of time, Ian hates baby-sitting to care for his brother’s children. On the other hand, Ian redeems from being responsible for his brother Danny’s and his wife Lucy’s death. Suddenly, Ian transfigures from his tendency of self-admiration to become a surrogate father. Whenever Ian develops intimate relationships with his brother’s children, he does not find the task to be hard as he reads and introspects their way of thoughts. In addition, he also puts on the pride that he has adapted to change when compared to other Stereotypical fathers.

Beyond the other mental complications, Tyler brings the Christian concept of salvation through Ian who meets Reverend Emmett to seek redemption. The paper discusses the concept of narcissistic traits in ordinary people to transfigure the domestic territory. Further, the paper brings out the discussion that by executing the exceptionally compassionate thoughts of bringing forth his brother’s children, Ian achieves by proving himself to be a saint with a strong ascertainment of salvation. At the outset, Reverend Emmett posing himself to be a father figure after the death of his brother Danny falls terribly sick and proposes to Ian to take over the responsibilities of the church after he is dead. Yet Ian refuses to share the burden of the church as he does not want to let his church job impinge on his homelife which is also hard to give up.

Thus, he emphasizes that there is nothing he can care for more than his children. Absolutely, he describes that on his path to attain salvation, he cannot remain as a pure soul to be the head of the church and also the circulating thoughts for the quest for salvation does not rest him in peace and so his thoughts reverberate persistently.

Instinctively, Durham, glorifies men while Ian instantly takes up the role of a homemaker, "Ian adapts himself to his new role and does not complain about it, He does not feel uncomfortable doing tasks that are usually done by females" (Durham, 1998, p. 148). In this regard, Ian is ever fatigued to feel disdainful about his absorption in domestic activities.

At a prayer meeting with Reverend Emmett, Ian confesses his sin by lowering himself in the main room of the church with his bowed heads and prays whole-heartedly to forgive him for the unforgivable sin he has committed. At the closing of the prayer meeting Emmett highlights that some prayer meetings are like a closet similar to clearing away the dribs and drabs. Immediately, Ian is entangled into a perplexed state. With the number of questions in his mind. Uncompromisingly, Ian's perplexed thoughts have embroiled him to brood over the only human life he has wasted, as a result, Reverend Emmett pointedly figures out that Ian is put in a state of pleasurable pain to activate his genuine intentions of protecting the children against evils without interventions.

Eventually, he searches for the quest for salvation and arrives at a decision that he ought to seek salvation through forgiveness of sin and which can be conceived in caring the children of his brother as his own though they have been seen as an obstacle on his way to his personal life. Nonetheless, he deciphers that they are the soul strength of his life to wash his guilt. Appropriately, he haunts on his perturbed thoughts: "You could never call it a penance to have to take care of these three. They were all that gave his life color and energy and ... well, life." (1991, p.189). Allen Tan in his article, "Four Meanings of Fatherhood", supplements that:

Most fathers certainly see the role of provider as a major one, but to the procreator, it can often be the only one he sees. Having sired a child, he has an interest in seeing the child mature and continue the genetic linkage through future generations. (Tan, 1994, p.30)

While the father becomes very much intimate with his children, he commences a new journey to monitor the child and deliberately accepts the critical ways in which his child thinks and executes. Most importantly, the three children become the healing power of sin in his life which Ian Bedloe extracts through gaining salvation. According to Joel Green in his description of the metaphor of healing of sin connotes that: "The concept of healing has an impressive elasticity that promotes its usefulness of salvation" (Green,

2003, p. 354) Henceforth, Ian gains the power of salvation which has a magnificent adaptability to advocate its value in a true sense. Truly, Ian resumes to a balanced state of mind through attainment of salvation in his narcissistic world of supremacy by surrendering himself to work for transfiguring his domestic territory. According to Joel Green, the concept of healing of sin is accomplished by the understanding of the human psyche and its confrontation with the narcissistic world. Besides, Ian is relieved from the entanglement of narcissism to absorb in his domestic territory of his blood relationships.

Explicitly, it is important for Ian to realize about caring the children's affairs and at the cost of paying much attention to them, Ian does not repent or regret for leading a bachelor life neither he regrets for not marrying a young woman as he fixes his concentration completely on monitoring his nieces and nephew during the weekends so that they will be completely be saddled by him till they become completely independent. More relevantly, Ian eschews companionship of his friends especially women who are selfish and cheap minded to spoil his reputation. By all means he hasn't even got the slightest inclination to give up his prime duties for the sake of recreational activities. Very frequently, he is reminded of creating his domestic life for the children who have well past the stage of depending on sitters.

As for illustration, other men in the family don't display or represent their roles as care providers along the way committed by Ian. To a large extent, both the brother, Danny and their father, Doug Bedloe contemplate the domestic activities as tasks carried out by women. In general, Danny negates the perspective of a wife as an office goer who works outside the family. Rather, he embeds a wife in his mind as a traditional home maker to monitor her children and other domestic activities. It should be noted that Doug maintains his masculinity to be dominant and superior compared to Ian, Doug also hesitates to execute his domestic activities even for the sake of his life partner. For the most part, this shows how Ian lives in a domestic environment or a time to cope with multiple challenges to transcend the limitations of an ordinary individual. To intensify further, Doug Bedloe, Ian's father, never ever encourages the roles of a man to take up the roles of a woman, Tyler underlines through Doug Bedloe as he converses and complicates: "Women were the ones who held the reins, it emerged women were close to things. Men stood off at one remove and were forced to accept women's reading of

whatever happened" (1991, p.30). From the beginning, Doug Bedloe has been pointing out the fact that men are not for domestic activities.

Beyond doubt, Doug Bedloe attempts to move far away from his duty in the domestic world. Whenever the challenges are provided and this provokes Ian to be annoyed or enraged about the manner exhibited by his father. Perhaps, Doug realizes and conveys his thoughts, "He felt as if Ian was the grown up and he the child. It had been years, maybe all the years of his adulthood, since he had relied so thankfully on someone else's knowledge of what to do". (1991, p.156). In Tyler's works, a reader would arrive at a conclusion that though she leaves an unsolved puzzle in the beginning but at the end of the novel, she solves the enigmatic puzzles where the other characters also communicate to fight for their rights. While Rita enters to communicate for her rights to get married, Ian leaves the reader in relief and satisfaction. The novel is narrated from a third person's perspective to allow each character to communicate for their rights. Tragically, the novel puts Ian's life in predicament as he faces the troubles and tribulations inwardly for being the cause of his brother's death.

Relatedly, he faces the new turmoil which he has never faced ever in his life. For many people from outside, his life is never extraordinary, but his troubles persuade him to stay apart as a rare individual. After his brother's death, the writer concentrates to mold the other characters including Agatha, who watches her mother's instant death during her childhood days and tries to put an end to the confounded thoughts prevalent in her family. In addition, Daphne gives up her possessiveness and begins to intervene with the affairs of Ian's personal life to thoughtfully provoke Ian to get united with Rita.

Remarkably, Ian becomes a saint in which Daphne claims that God has appeared before her to unite Ian with Rita in marriage. Therefore, Ian without exposing his sin before Danny's children becomes a saint. In her review of *Saint Maybe*, Jay Parini concludes about Ian that, "Inspired by a weird but engaging little protestant Splinter group called the Church of the Second Chance, he drops out of college after only one semester to help his parents care for the orphaned children. (Parini, 1991). However, the present paper discusses how Ian ruminates about himself and his association with the past sin, he enters the Church of second chance and considers it to be a blessing from God where he picks an opportunity to heal the everlasting guilt in his mind. At the end, he seeks the guidance of the religious people like Reverend Emmett and his crew who drag

him to the genuine path of righteousness. On account of voicing her ideas, Tyler examines and reveals the space occupied by men in the domestic world when Ian says towards the end of the novel, "People changed other people's lives every day of the year. There was no call to make such a fuss about it" (1991, p.300)

Conclusion

In the final analysis, appertaining to sin and salvation, Anne Tyler indicated the protagonist's past sins, his quest for salvation who surrenders himself to sacrifice his youth for the sake of redeeming from his guilt. Consequently, the patriarchal image or the fearsome image of the father have been transmogrified and gained a new momentum to reign supreme in the dominant territory to come into proximity with children with devotion and not as an authoritarian figure whose commands have been undeniably put into action by the family members including women and children.

Convincingly, the ordinary trait as an ordinary individual in Ian amidst the ordinary people of his family celebrate his sacrifice for mitigating his narcissistic traits. Consequently, Ian is not a threat to his family but instead instils love, affection and comradeship in the family to be an ideal father in the domestic environment. Increasingly, Ian Bedloe establishes the new dimension of masculinity by confronting sin and projects himself to be a man with perfection in the family by building confidence in his brother's children. In other words, things get settled and never bring him threats but he explicates himself to be a man of principles to commence his life with expectations to result in bringing transfiguration in domestic territory.

Evidently, Tyler incorporates a new journey to Ian construct his domestic world for healthy cultivation and growth. In brief, he signifies as a responsible male to impeccably produce a meticulous care to his brother's children. Towards the end, Tyler assertively portrays Ian as a free bird though not moved away from sense of commitments but takes up the rights with absolute freedom to lead an independent life of his own after putting an end to his unendurable past sins. Hence, he marries a woman of his wish to experience a new essence of life with his new family to foresee the close birth of the next posterity. Conclusively, Tyler's theme of the novel, *Saint Maybe* re-explores and redefines the sense of existence through Ian's acumen while he becomes a surrogate father to transfigure the children of his brother's assiduous care and attention.

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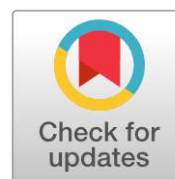
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NATIVE AMERICAN HISTORY AS COUNTER-DISDISCOURSE IN JAMES WELCH'S NARRATIVES: THE EXAMPLES OF "FOOLS CROW" AND "KILLING CUSTER"

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Abstract

A peculiar dimension in the Native American writing is the documentation of the history of the Native Americans' traditional lives before, during and after their encounter with the white settlers. It is a development that is essentially explicable within the purview of postcolonial discourse, given that, in some contexts, historical distortions from the perspective of the 'other' have been asserted as the rationale for such creative explorations on the part of the Native writers. In the context of this study, such a dimension, with particular reference to James Welch's novels, is considered as, indeed, counter-discursive. Two of his novels, *Fools Crow* and *Killing Custer*, are selected with a view to assessing how the historical documentations in the texts translate to counter-discourses in the context of the Native Americans' historical evolution. The study reveals that, while the Native American histories in the texts dovetail into each other, they are largely inspired by the Native Americans' colonial experience vis-à-vis the need to represent their history from the perspective of 'us' as opposed to 'other'. It concludes that the narratives have, in a significant way, performed the allegorical configuration function, as a counter-discourse strategy described by Slemon (1987). This holds in that they have conceivably assumed 'readings' and 'contestations' of the previously textualised colonial experience of the Native Americans from the perspective of the 'other'.

Keywords: Native American history, counter-discourse, postcolonial discourse, James Welch, *Fools Crow*, *Killing Custer*

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Literature has, indeed, played a significant role in the historical documentation of the American racial structure; from hegemony of the majority Euro-Americans to resistance by the minority races, most especially the African Americans and Native Americans. The latter, in particular, have creatively explored American society with specific emphasis on their encounter with the colonial culture of the white settlers. In this way, considerable numbers of their acclaimed master narratives have assumed counter-discourses, having been primarily constructed with a view to correcting the distortions in the images of the Native Americans in stories and reports from the Euro-Americans' perspectives. Historically speaking, according to Xhang and Liu (2011), American mainstream media have tended to distort the images of the American Indians, and the development has consequently occasioned misinformation and or misconception in the formation and representation of Native Americans' identity. Indeed, this tradition is relatable to what Brotherson and de Sa (2002) report of American critics and historians of literature and culture, that they have "often proceeded along lines that, in practice, continue the great work of destruction, dispossession and denial that began with the arrival of Europeans in 1492" (p. 2). Such colonial discourses would constitute what, echoing Bhabha (1994), Champagaee (2024) regards as attempts by the colonizers at depicting the colonized as racially inferior with a view to legitimizing invasion and reestablishing control through "administrative and educational structure", with the ultimate impression that "the colonized are the 'other' in social reality". (p. 139). Against this backdrop, therefore, counter-discourse becomes fundamental to the writings of the colonized, which are particularly aimed at redirecting the course of the supposedly distorted historical accounts of their encounter with the acclaimed 'superior'. This can be further averred in the prominent historical (ethnographic and autobiographical) dimensions by which the Native American writing has evolutionarily become characterised. Connette (2010, p. 9) notes this peculiar evolutionary trend in their writing alongside its reception thus:

During the twentieth century, the study of Indians changed from a strictly anthropological point of view (outside cultures writing about Indians) to an ethnographic and autobiographical point of view (Indians writing about Indians). Instead of reading texts or literature produced by the white observer, scholars and general readers placed more value on an authentic version of the Indian point of view.

Indeed, Native writers are famous for their constant penchant for revisiting and rewriting their alleged distorted history, as explicitly noted by Welch in the prologue to one of the texts selected for this study, *Killing Custer*. For Welch, in this particular non-fictional account, it is emphatically established that the battle of the Little Bighorn and the fate of the Plains Indians narrated in the text is told:

[...] not only because it happened to my own people, but because it needs to be told if one is to understand this nation's treatment of the first Americans and to understand the glory and sorrow of that hot day in June 1876 when the Indians killed Custer (1994, p. 23).

Similarly, in the introduction to the Penguin Classics Edition of *Fools Crow*, Mcguane (1987, p. xi) notes the rationale for Welch's penchant for history in his narratives. In his report, "Welch was frustrated at the inexorable deracination of the Native Americans. 'Indians don't know anything about Indians', he once told me in exasperation". In view of this, therefore, it is of paramount importance to Welch that the image of his people; before, during and after their encounter with the white settlers, be properly presented to the current and coming generations, given the inherent contradictions by which accounts from the two perspectives would usually be characterised.

Counter-Discourse in the Postcolonial Context

The evolution of the concept of counter-discourse in the postcolonial context has been largely credited or traced to the French critic, Richard Terdiman, in his book, *Discourse/Counter-Discourse: The Theory and Practice of Symbolic Resistance in Nineteenth-Century France*. Although the concept is originally employed by Terdiman (1985) to reexamine, particularly via caricatural images, the French literature of the early nineteenth-century by demonstrating the manner in which such images could potentially discredit or invalidate the bourgeois culture, it has been thus ideologically adopted by the larger circle of postcolonial critics mainly to:

describe the complex ways in which challenges to a dominant or established discourse (specifically those of the imperial centre) might be mounted from the periphery, always recognizing the powerful 'absorptive capacity' of imperial and neo-imperial discourses. (Ashcroft et al., 2007, p. 50)

Indeed, according to Terdiman (1985), the theoretical project is counter-discursive because it presupposes the hegemony of its 'other' by projecting a division of the social space, and seeking to segregate itself to allow for the prosecution of its critique. This critical paradigm, in the postcolonial context, means that "certain literary texts inhabit the site of allegorical figuration in order to 'read' and contest the social 'text' of colonialism, and the ways in which they perform this counter-discursive activity are inherently differential and diverse" (Slemon, 1987, p. 11). This implies that counter-discourse primarily seeks to represent reality differently with a view to challenging the dominant discourse by which the understanding of social reality is being ordered and/or controlled (Amirouche, 2021). Terdiman's (1985) identification of what he refers to as the "confrontation between constituted reality and its subversion" as "the very locus at which cultural and historical change occurred" (p. 13) is apparently a pointer to this understanding. Therefore, as a postcolonial discourse, the critical practice of counter-discourse is fundamentally "informed by the responses of the postcolony to colonialism and all that it inspired." (Okunoye, 2008, p. 79)

Native American History as Counter-Discourse in Native American Writing: An Overview

A phenomenon that is peculiar to postcolonial discourse has been the hegemonic control of the understanding of social reality by the culture of the 'coloniser' and the symbolic resistance by which such development has been, in turn, confronted with by the 'colonised' culture. Indeed, a close scrutiny of the indigenous American Indian literary production will continually yield an awareness of the foregoing force, often disguised but especially important and inherent, in the literature: colonisation and its aftermath. This peculiar understanding can be largely placed within the context of what Slotkin (2024, p. 12) describes as the myth of the frontier. In his account:

The stories that constitute the Frontier Myth are legion, appearing in every medium and many genres — histories, personal narratives, political speeches, popular fiction, movies — and they refer to episodes from colonial times to the heyday of westward expansion and the jungle wars of the twentieth century. The Myth of the Frontier locates our national origin in the experience of settlers establishing settlements in the wilderness of the New World.

Indeed, the foregoing phenomenal force has consequently generated changes in the attitudes of the Native people of the United States vis-à-vis the social and political realities and as such, it has assumed the common defining feature or element as well as the backdrop of their entire literature.

Against the above development, for a group of acclaimed Native American writers, such as Scott Momaday, James Welch, Leslie Marmon Silko, Gerard Vizenor, Sherman Alexie, among others, colonialism symbolises a single, socio-culturally unhealthy phenomenon: a break, a terrible separation from their culture and sacred land, bearing in mind the strong value that they attach to their entire socio-cultural milieu. Hence, all of them have, to a great degree in their various narratives, given voices to the anguish of what is describable as their first and original crisis – a separation from their ancestral land, originally occasioned by their movements to reservations by the white settlers. This ‘mythical trend’, in the Native American sense, is largely aimed at explaining the character and or evolution of America as a nation state. For example, in a poetic prelude to her acclaimed most successful Native American narrative, *Ceremony*, Silko (1977, p. 2) conveys this definite idiosyncrasy in the Native American literary project thus:

I will tell you something about stories,
[he said]
They aren't just entertainment.
Don't be fooled.
They are all we have, you see,
all we have to fight off
illness and death.
You don't have anything
if you don't have the stories.
Their evil is mighty
but it can't stand up to our stories.
So they try to destroy the stories
let the story be confused or forgotten.
...
Because we would be defenseless then.
[...]
There is life here
for the people
And in the belly of this story(ies)
the rituals and the ceremony
are still growing.

Apparently, the writer's concern in the above is the centrality of the art of documenting the American Indian history in their narratives, from their indigenous perspectives, as opposed to the perspectives of the 'other'. This, understandably, being the only way the evil of the 'other', in the form of imperialists' hegemonic accounts or distorted images of the natives, can be effectively combatted. It is only when this has been ensured that the so-called native identity, as characterised by the 'rituals' and the 'ceremonies', can ever be revived and sustained. Indeed, this position corroborates the Native American project that is presumably upheld in their writings, generally. It is a literary project and/or tradition targeted at reviving and/or breathing life into their ancestral socio-cultural values which, allegedly, have been deracinated by the whites. Holistically, therefore, Silko's position is largely subversive and challenging in the sense that it adequately conveys communal cum identity consciousness and the need for its preservation, via self-perspective historical documentation, with every sense of respect and pride.

Against the above background, thus, James Welch, in particular, can be said to have contributed immensely to the growth of Native American literature. Specifically, he has earned his fame in being one of the foremost Native American writers who have creditably chronicled the historical contact of the American Indians and the Europeans which began in the colonisation and European expansionist era. He wrote up to six novels and a collection of poetry before his death in 2003, and all these works are primarily focused, among other things, on the realities of the historical contact of the two civilisations. Largely, his works reflect the ripple effects of the American government's systematised subjugation, tribal separation, and captivity of the Native Americans, which led to long-drawn wars between them. Hence, to a considerable extent, his works can be said to have assumed a narrative whole in time and space. For instance, in *Fools Crow*, Welch narrates the tribal life of the American Indians before western invasion and the fall. In *Killing Custer*, the resilient struggle of the Natives against the white settlers who are taking over their revered territories and confining them to reservations is narrated. The ripple effects of the fall are given voices in other novels, notably *Winter in the Blood* and *The Heartsong of Charging Elk*, thereby offering peculiar chronicles of the Native American history.

Welch and the Narrative of Natives' Resistance to Whites' Encroachment and Control in *Fools Crow* and the Implication for Identity Formation

Like many of Welch's novels, *Fools Crow* is a historical novel set in Montana Territory in 1870. It is a panoramic view that captures the entire life of a people – the Native Americans – at a given period or stage of history. On the one hand, the narrative dramatises a setting of tribes, which makes up the native community, sharing boundaries. Early in the novel, via the eyes of the protagonist, White Man's Dog, Welch narrates the competitive rivalry between two native tribes, the Lone Eaters (a Pikuni community) and their long term enemies, the Crow. On the other hand, the narrative represents the confrontation of the Native Americans with the Napikwans (white settlers) over the encroachment on, and control of, their territories which are considerably sacred to them as a people.

In an attempt to address the complexities and complications of the foregoing colonial experience, the narrative of *Fools Crow* is critically two-faced. This is the sense in which the challenges of the distant past of the Native Americans are brought to the present in the narrative in order to envision future challenges. On this note, the novel adopts the narrative technique of flashback at the resilient but failed struggles of the Native Americans against the Euro-Americans' domination at the point of their heavy and overwhelming movement into their land. Moreover, it also looks forward to the hopes and challenges of the Native Americans in the new America. In the novel, this critical view is essentially conveyed in the natives' struggle with the dilemma of whether to fight the Whiteman and secure their future or live submissively in humiliating poverty and confinement on reservations. The conversation between a native chief, Rides-at-the-door, and his two sons, Running Fisher and White Man's Dog, is significant in this regard:

"... These seizers will rub us out like the green grass bugs." "Someday we will have to fight them," said Running Fisher. "Already the white horns graze our buffalo grounds." "Perhaps someday that will come to pass, my son. But for now it is better to treat with them while we still have some strength. It will only be out of desperation that we fight." "I know you are right, my father. But I am afraid for the Pikunis. Last night I dreamed that we had all lost our fingers like poor Yellow Kidney." "It is good for you to be concerned, White Man's Dog. But you must remember that the Napikwans outnumber the Pikunis. Any day the seizers could

ride into our camps and wipe us out. It said that already many tribes in the east have been wiped away. These Npaikwans are different from us. They would not stop until all the Pikunis had been killed off." Rides-at-the-door stopped and looked into the faces of his sons. "For this reason we must leave them alone, even allow them some of our grazing grounds to raise their white horns. If we treat wisely with them, we will be able to save enough for ourselves and our children. It is not an agreeable way, but it is the only way." (Welch, 1986, p. 90)

The foregoing is evidently revealing of the cultural universe of a people already undergoing colonial subjugation, hence the ensuing deliberations over the deployment of either direct confrontations or appeasement, going forward, by the population trying to survive the white settlers' domination. Apparently, the natives are divided over this crucial measure. While some native chiefs choose to relate with the whites peacefully, others are angrily hesitant. In the same vein, among the youths, while some have indifferently resigned to fate, some young Pikuni warriors take it upon themselves as communal responsibility to fight the whites with a view to protecting and sustaining their identity. To this group of youths, community's or elders' approval or disapproval is of no importance. What is rather important is the impact they can make in securing their territory against any form of invasion that is perceived as capable of spelling doom on their cultural identity in the present and in the future.

The native community described in the novel is that which is structured along youths and elders with a centre of control being headed by certain chiefs. The centre is eventually broken owing to the division of the natives along hostile and friendly lines on their relationship with the whites. This development assumes a manifestation of the hidden ethno-racial conflict between the natives and whites running parallel to the ongoing crisis between the two native tribes – the Lone Eaters and the Crows. The ethno-racial conflict is made visible through the activities of some young native warriors led by Owl Child, Bear Chief, Black Weasel and, joining them later, Fast Horse. They are the group of aggrieved youths who decide to exile themselves from the Lone Eaters camp to fight the whites from behind as a group in resistance to the encroachment and control on their land. This evidently represents direct military confrontation with the colonial incursion observed to be capable of redefining their culture and existence as a people. They carry out this task by launching open attacks on the whites, killing and stealing their horses.

The development thus breeds stronger hostility between the two races. Prominent figure among the aggrieved youths, Owl Child, responds in this regard while they are being cautioned against causing troubles with the whites by another indifferent and more tolerant young Pikuni peer, Three Bears:

Someday, old man, a Napikwan will be standing right where you are and all around him will be grazing thousands of the white horns. You will be only a part of the dust they kick up. If I have my way I will kill that white man and all his white horns before this happens." He looked at Fast Horse, his eyes the gray of winter clouds. "It is the young who will lead the Pikunis to drive these devils from our land. (Welch, 1986, p. 62)

At the above point in time, Owl Child succinctly justifies their hostile relations with the whites. They see themselves as the future of the native land and the only bequest they have is their sacred territories that are highly symbolic of their culture and tradition. To this end, to them, theirs is the future against which adequate protection must be ensured, regardless of the elders' position(s) on their actions. White Man's Dog's father, Rides-at-the-door, laments to his son the anarchy that has, as a consequence, taken over the atmosphere thus:

We are leaderless people now. I have tried my best but I do not inspire the young ones to listen. I am too old and I do not possess the strength. Look around you, White Man's Dog, do you see many of our young men? No, they are off hunting for themselves, or drunk with the white man's water, or stealing their horses. They do not bring anything back to their people. There is no centre here. That is why we have become such a pitiful sight to you. (Welch, 1986, p. 98)

It is apparent from the above that law and order has broken down in the land, especially on the part of these young native warriors. The Owl Child's group has succeeded in establishing themselves before the whites and the American government at large as an open enemy, as they ceaselessly pose serious threats to the whites' expansionist project, with their activities. In order to curb the development, the whites in turn serve the native chiefs serious notes of warning, threatening to wage war on the entire territory if they fail to call the young dissidents to order with immediate effect. Upon invitation, some native chiefs led by Rides-at-the-door and Heavy Runner, therefore, meet with the whites on peace terms. A three-point condition which must be

met without delay is given to them as communicated by a white General, Sully. The first condition is that the Government of the United States requires the assistance of all the Blackfeet people to aid the arrest of, or capture, dead or alive, the leaders of the dissidents – Owl Child, Bear Chief and Black Weasel. Two, they shall return all the estimated thousands of horses and mules the whites have been dispossessed of by the group in the last six months. And lastly, all the forms of hostilities against the citizens of the United States must henceforth cease.

From the foregoing, it is evident that the group of the native youths succeeded, at some critical moments in the historical development, in establishing themselves as a strong force that the whites would have to reckon with. This is in spite of the latter's acclaimed racial superiority and civilisation. That is, it is conceivable that the idea of threatening to wage war on the entire community is borne out of the sheer fear of being overwhelmed or consumed by the tactical force by which they are being engaged by this specific group of native youths. Hence, it becomes imperative to nip such a potentially disastrous development (to their imperialist mission) in the bud. Otherwise, they could have ignored their supposed 'inferior' tactics and simply capture them, with ease, with their own 'superior' ones. This understanding of the narrative, as it relates to a people's definitive perspective of themselves (as the colonised), largely positions the narrative essence of the text as counter-discursive to the constructed views of them (by the coloniser), at that critical stage in their historical evolution.

Between the 'Uncivilised' and the 'Civilised': A Narrative Re-Appraisal of the Native-White Encounter in *Killing Custer* and the Implication for Cultural Redefinition

In the prologue to the narrative, the writer emphatically notes:

Much has been made of this incident by the whites, the only truly hostile encounter of the Lewis Clark expedition, but more was made of it by the Blackfeet. From that time forward, they considered the Americans their enemies... (Welch, 1994, p. 26)

The above quotation is reminiscent of the first European expedition of the Indian territory of Montana in 1806 led by Lewis and Clark, on the one hand; it provides the background to the age-long hostility between the two races, on the other. In the course of the expedition, the group runs into some Pikuni warriors; the encounter appears to be peaceful and friendly initially, but eventually left one Indian killed and another wounded

(Welch, 1994, pp. 22-26). Thus, since that very first contact, the Indians have considered the whites their enemies, and this assumes the genesis of the warring contacts between the two ethno-racial groups that last for decades. For every contact, for every single Indian, the often held impression against the whites boils down to suspicion and deception. In other words, the Indians always believe that the coming of the whites is deceitful; thus, if they are allowed and welcomed, they will eventually rob them of one thing or the other:

But the Plains Indians were equally outraged by the notion that an invasion force of whites was seeking to conquer them, perhaps annihilate them, certainly take their land, kill all their buffalo, and reduce them to prisoners on reservations where they would be forced to deny their religion, their culture, their traditional methods of supporting themselves – in short, take away their way of life as they had practised it for centuries. They had learned at Sand Creek, the Marias, and the Washita that the whites would stop at nothing to bend the Indians to their will. The arrogant invaders would not stop until the Indians were forced to adopt the ways of the white man – or were executed. (Welch, 1994, p. 145)

Apparently, from the above, the hostility within them grows more and stronger both consciously and unconsciously. Indeed, in the narrative, it is offered that by the second half of the nineteenth-century, the whites have already settled; occupying territories and confining the Indians to reservations based on the treaties signed with natives in 1868. This development is consistent with the world described in *Fools Crow*, that which is inevitably witnessing socio-cultural transformation as a result of colonial incursion. Nonetheless, despite several warnings as well as issuance of deadlines for the natives to be on reservations, there are many resilient ones, regarded as free Indians, who have defied such confinements, especially in the territories being led by two Indian warriors – Crazy Horse and Sitting Bull. To Sitting Bull, in particular, he “would rather die an Indian rather than live [as] a white man” (Welch, 1994, p. 265). This is a strong declaration of self-identity and socio-cultural values which the American Indians are conscious of and seek to protect at all costs, not just for the people of that period, but also for the coming generations.

Killing Custer is James Welch’s only non-fictional work which chronologically details the account of the historical contact between the American Indians and the Euro-

Americans; from invasion to confinement, from resistance to surrender, and from violence to dialogue. In this novel, with the research assistance of Paul Stekler, a documentary film maker with whom the film version of the novel – *Last Stand at Little Bighorns* – had earlier been produced in 1992, Welch offers what can be described as a sweeping historical account of the coming together of the two races from a Native American perspective. It is described as ‘a sweeping narrative’, indeed within a postcolonial counter-discursive context, in the sense that the author himself in the prologue of the novel, as cited earlier on, notes the existence of the previously distorting and fallacious Euro-American perspectives of the historical contact. Hence, from the novelist’s (i.e. Native American’s) perspective, it is pertinent to set the historical reality proper in order to have the American Indians’ colonial image and experience reshaped. This is adducible in that, in practice, predominant issues and concerns in postcolonial writing ‘are often fused as writers tend to respond to many of the realities generated by the colonial experience’ (Okunoye, 2008, p. 81).

The story primarily centres on the Battle of the Little Bighorn, in which an American Civil War hero, General George Armstrong Custer, and his seventh cavalry troopers suffered a historical heavy defeat at the hands of Indian warriors led by Crazy Horse and Sitting Bull. Significantly beyond this, the volume actually chronicles the white/Indian contact and conflict from the expedition of Captain Meriwether Lewis and William Clark in 1806 to the present from the viewpoint of the Indians. Again in the prologue of the novel, the author explains:

I begin my account of the conflict between whites and Indians with an event that occurred on January 23, 1879, more than six years later before Little Bighorn, in which 173 Blackfeet men, women, and children were slaughtered by U. S. soldiers. The Massacre on the Marias River was more representative of what happened to Indian people who resisted the white invasion than Custer’s Last Stand. (Welch, 1994, p. 22)

He then moves on to the story of Custer. Regarded as the best Indian fighter, Custer was a Civil War hero who nonetheless suffered a demotion and ordered to fight the Indians on the Western frontier. Several destructive preliminary attacks have been launched on the Indians since he activates the battle. But on that fateful day, precisely 25th June, 1876 in history, Custer and his 7th Cavalry troopers attack a large Indian

village of Sioux and Cheyenne people on the Little Bighorn River and are wiped out by a swarm of Indian warriors. He makes his 'Last Stand' and dies gallantly on a hilltop. A character flaw (hubris) in Custer, which is associated with his foolish prioritisation of glory over good sense, is remotely noted to be the cause of this huge defeat at the hands of the Indians. Moreover, the military might and skill demonstrated by the so-called 'uncivilised' Indians, of immediate cause, end the story of the heroic record of General Armstrong Custer – from Civil War to the Little Bighorn.

To a considerable extent, the Native American's narrative perspective of the encounter therein can be conceived as counter-discursive. It is said to have assumed such a counter-ideology to the whites' because a key understanding of the context of the encounter largely borders on the perceptiveness and skillfulness of the supposed 'uncivilised' people to proactively and reactively respond to the looming challenges that the arrival of the 'civilised' (the white settlers) was heralding. Interpreting the context of the battle in this manner essentially renders the narrative account subversive, as it strongly challenges the whites' notion of the American Indians as an inferior race. The fundamental question which underlies this conception is that, if the American Indians of that historical period were, indeed, raw and wild, and therefore inferior, how come they were able to timely discern the ulterior motives and manipulations of the white settlers to redefine them as a people (via colonialism), apparently against their wish? This is because in the colonialists' ideology, "the naming of other people as irrational, barbarian, Indian, animal like was simultaneously an act of evaluation usually of downgrading" (Boehner, 1995, p. 80). This obvious contradiction between who a people is, as constructed by themselves, and how they have been constructed by the 'other' essentially sets the narrative as counter-discursive, hence redefining the Native Americans ideologically and culturally.

Conclusion

It is assertive from the foregoing analysis that the narratives in the two texts have, in a way, substantially performed that function of allegorical configuration, as a counter-discourse strategy described by Slemon (1987). This holds in that they have conceivably 'read' and 'contested' the previously textualised colonial experience of the Native Americans from the perspective of the 'other'. It is noteworthy that such a peculiarity in

the Native American writing essentially further foregrounds the postcolonial discursivity of the Native American literature at large, which assumed a fundamental subject of critical debates in the evolution of their distinctive literary tradition. Moreover, this understanding is evidently deducible from the novelist's claims in this regard and which have, in turn, largely given impetus for these specific historical narratives. In other words, the realities surrounding the encounter of the natives and the whites have been represented differently from the dominant white discourse to which Welch's narratives are essentially responsive. Hence, among other things, in particular, the narrative contexts in the novels collectively assume a counter-discourse in the documentation of the history of the Native Americans by challenging the dominant Euro-Americans' ideologies which emphasize their (colonisers') supremacy. Generally, against the foregoing backdrop, the entire Native American writing is fundamentally construable as constituting a veritable tool with which generations of survivors of colonial invasion and forced assimilation, like them, have their cultural heritage renewed and reconnect with their lost lands, amidst the struggle within dominant culture(s) that continue to belittle and misrepresent them.

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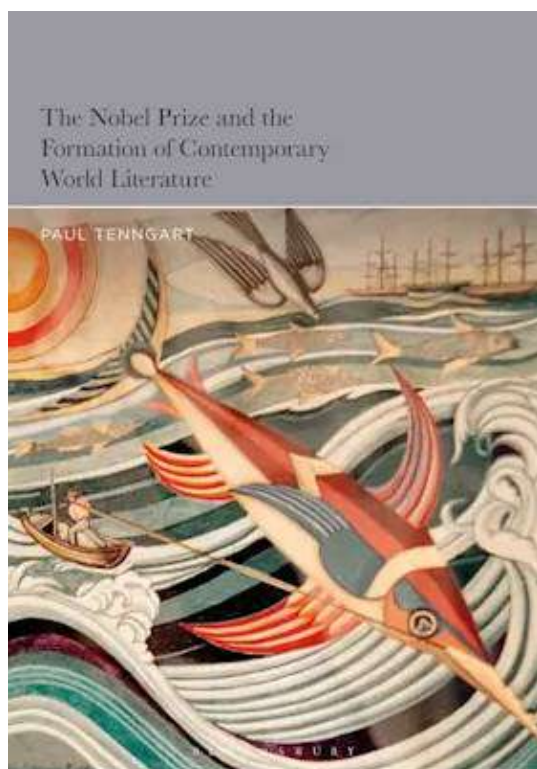
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BOOK REVIEW SECTION

THE NOBEL PRIZE AND THE FORMATION OF CONTEMPORARY WORLD LITERATURE – BOOK REVIEW

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Independent scholar, United Kingdom



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For over a century, the Nobel Prize in Literature has commonly been regarded as the world's preeminent award in the field of literary production. In his newly-released monograph *The Nobel Prize and the Formation of Contemporary World Literature*, Paul Tenngart, associate professor of comparative literature at Lund University in Sweden, meticulously charts the development, evolution, and importance of the prize since its foundation in 1901. This multifaceted literary and historical analysis is all the more valuable since surprisingly, until the appearance of this excellent volume, a large-scale externally-based analysis of the award had not been conducted, thus underscoring the need for it to be "thoroughly and neutrally scrutinized" (Tenngart, 2024, p. 3). The book's appearance also coincides with growing research over the past couple of decades on factors relating to various extratextual aspects of the literary and publishing industries, of which national and international awards and prizes have become an important component (for example, see Driscoll, 2013; English 2005; Hoyte-West, 2023; Squires 2004, etc.). Running to 249 pages, Tenngart's book comprises six chapters, each exploring a different aspect of the Nobel Prize in Literature, together with an appendix detailing every Nobel literature laureate with the year of their award, a list of over 700 references (mostly in English and French, but also in Swedish and other languages), as well as an index.

The opening chapter (pp. 1-18) opens by outlining the story of the origin of the Nobel Prizes via the will of the Swedish industrialist Alfred Nobel which made provision for literature alongside the four other original areas of peace, chemistry, physics, and physiology/medicine. In recognising the apogee of contributions to humankind, the first set of prizes were awarded by the Swedish Academy in 1901, five years' after Nobel's death in 1896. Through detailing the backstory to the Prize in Literature, Tenngart also draws attention to its well-known features, including the classified nature of the nominations and the associated discussions which are embargoed for fifty years, as well as its pioneering status as *the* landmark global literary award. He examines issues relating to finding a "balance between absolute contemporaneity and a longer temporal perspective" (Tenngart, 2024, p. 5), as well as the complex interlinkage of cultural capital and economic capital, together with prestige and scientific knowledge, that the Prize embodies, before linking these aspects to its cosmopolitan aspects as a canonical award recognising world literature. Noting Stockholm's position at the (semi-)periphery of world literature, Tenngart posits, with detailed reference to the relevant viewpoints, that the Nobel Prize in Literature is located in an eccentric (see Shih, 2015) rather than a concentric (see Casanova, 2005) conceptualisation of global literary consecration.

Chapter 2 (pp. 19-58) charts the development of the Prize from its earliest beginnings, and is based on the author's meticulous analysis of newspaper coverage from 1901 to 2022. Noting the pivotal role of London, Paris, and New York as global literary centres, Tenngart examines annual international media responses to the announcement of the Prize decision in three major daily newspapers, one from each city: *The Times* (London); *Le Figaro* (Paris; and which incidentally was also Alfred Nobel's newspaper of choice (see Tenngart, 2024, p. 1)); and the *New York Times*. Noting that the award of the first set of Nobel Prizes were "an immediate success" (Tenngart, 2024, p. 21), the author details the vicissitudes of the literary award during its first decade of existence; in some instances, the announcement or ceremony did not even feature in some of the newspapers selected, whereas in other cases, numerous or lengthy articles were published, with the 1913 honouring of Bengali author Rabindranath Tagore proving a particular draw. Yet, as Tenngart's research outlines, it was not until the 1920s that the Prize began to gather significant steam, gaining in prominence and indeed, at least in terms of press attention, becoming the most talked-about of all of the Nobel prizes. Increased coverage persisted through 1930s and, after a short hiatus during World War Two (no awards were made from 1940 to 1943), this growing wave of interest continued into the 1950 and up to the present day. As the subtitle of "Breaking News (the 1950s and Onward)" (Tenngart, 2024, p. 45) indicates, the immediate postwar year can be said to be the era when the Prize first started to get the high level of media coverage which it still attracts nowadays.

In Chapter 3 (pp. 59-102), Tenngart focuses his analysis on the remit of the Prize, noting how the broader international aspect of it has been crucial since its foundation. As such, bringing together historical and literary analysis, he outlines the central role that the Swedish Academy and its decisions have had in creating a global literary canon, making reference – where possible and relevant – to the various debates and discussions on the deliberations and potential motivations that may have led to the selection of specific prize-winners. With laureates having written their works in two dozen languages (Tenngart, 2024, p. 94), the author also notes the seminal importance that translation (particularly into Swedish) has played in this regard, as well as discussing the nomination process and the international scope of the award in terms of geographical and gender representation.

Building on the discussions of consecration and the global literary system outlined in the first chapter, Chapter 4 (pp. 103-146) concerns itself with analysing the Prize's general impact. Indeed, with the annual choices of the Swedish Academy often

hotly debated and discussed, Tenngart first draws attention to surveys conducted in the 1950s and 1960s which sought to examine these issues, before outlining discussions surrounding some of the overlooked authors who, despite their prestige, prominence, and the quality of their literary oeuvre, were never awarded the Prize. In synthesising these lively and interesting discussions, as well as critiques of how and why these choices appear to have been made, the chapter contributes further insights not only into how the award has significant ramifications for the circulation of global literature via translation and so forth, but also in terms of its broad cosmopolitanism and ensuing political impact (for example, in recognising laureates from marginalised or politically-repressed backgrounds).

The penultimate chapter, Chapter 5 (pp. 147-198), focuses on a totally different facet of the award: its poetics. By “sanction[ing] a definition of what prototypically high-brow literature should look like” (Tenngart, 2024, p. 148), Tenngart observes that the annual decision made by the Swedish Academy is most certainly not straightforward, grounded as it is in the weighing-up and analysis of a multitude of ideological, cultural, epistemological, and other factors, and leading to the formation of what he terms “Nobel Literature” (Tenngart, 2024, p. 148). The author analyses the list of Nobel laureates by genre, noting the predominance of prose fiction novelists among the awardees, before subsequently analysing the Swedish Academy’s annually-published motivations, which each justify the selection of that particular prize-winner for that year. In scrutinising these short texts for the presence of different keywords, he advances that thematic patterns emerge corresponding to different time periods usually corresponding to duration of around two decades. For example, the concept of ‘nobility’ is present from 1901 up to 1920; the notion of ‘mastery’ is highlighted between 1941 and 1960; and the universality of laureates’ oeuvres was highlighted from 1981-2000. These evolving categories are compared and analysed, noting the changing role of the author, the role of poetics in a political context, as well as providing perspectives on the poetics inherent in the Nobel lectures given by selected laureates.

Chapter 6 (pp. 199-213) concludes the volume, and looks ahead to the future of the Prize. Here, Tenngart outlines the scandals and crises which have befallen the Prize during its history, including the most recent one just a few years ago. Noting the dichotomy of tradition vs contemporary relevance, he also discusses on how keeping the “prestige and importance” of the award is “a perpetual act of balance” (Tenngart, 2024, p. 205), including with regard to how the global aims and scope of the Prize and role in the world literary canon will continue to be applicable in our modern age which

is seemingly characterised by increased polarisation and conflict at both the macro and the micro levels.

As detailed by the different foci presented in each of the six chapters, this is a book that will be useful for specialists from literary studies, history, and translation studies, as well as for social scientists and media scholars. It provides an excellently-researched point of departure for comparative studies, and the clear and well-defined structure of the work means that the chapters are both self-contained yet also contribute to the coherence of the book as a whole. Indeed, as the world waits every November for the annual announcement of the new laureate, it is clear that, as the author states, the Nobel Prize in Literature is an award embodying "a very special kind of consecration with its own mechanisms" (p. 18). Therefore, as a multifaceted study which analyses the world's most famous literary prize since its creation, Paul Tenngart's *The Nobel Prize and the Formation of Contemporary World Literature* is a comprehensive, insightful, and well-written volume which represents an important contribution to research on the study of international literary prizes and awards and their role in world literature.

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