



# FORUM OF FOREIGN LANGUAGES, POLITOLOGY, AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

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- DIE PERSPEKTIVE DES LESENS UNTER HEUTIGEN BEDINGUNGEN
  - ENGLISH IN THE LANGUAGE POLICY OF INDIA IN COMPARISON WITH OTHER COUNTRIES
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- IDENTITY AS CAUSE OF INTERSTATE CONFLICT: RETHINKING THE WAY WE VIEW TERRITORIAL DISPUTES
  - THE BAN OF CHATBOT GPT IN ITALY: A LEGAL OVERVIEW AND OUTLOOK

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# FÓRUM CUDZÍCH JAZYKOV, POLITOLÓGIE, A MEDZINÁRODNÝCH VZŤAHOV

# FORUM OF FOREIGN LANGUAGES, POLITOLOGY, AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

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zameraný na cudzie jazyky,  
politológiu a medzinárodné vzťahy**

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**Fórum cudzích jazykov, politológie a medzinárodných vzťahov** je recenzovaný vedecký časopis vydávaný na CD nosičoch Vysokou školou Danubius. Bol založený v roku 2009 ako Fórum cudzích jazykov ako recenzované neimpaktované periodikum. Od roku 2017 je rozšírený o novú sekciu politológie a medzinárodných vzťahov.

Časopis si kladie za cieľ byť otvorenou platformou pre uverejňovanie inovatívnych výsledkov z teoretického, aplikovaného a empirického výskumu zo širokej oblasti lingvistiky, politológie a medzinárodných vzťahov, výmeny názorov, skúseností a získaných nových poznatkov a tvorivej práce prispievateľov zo SR a zo zahraničia. Je určený predovšetkým akademickým pracovníkom univerzitných i neuniverzitných vysokých škôl a vedeckých ústavov.

Časopis vychádza dvakrát ročne a vydáva štúdie, odborné príspevky, diskusné príspevky a recenzie, pričom je rozdelený do dvoch sekcií a to na lingvistiku a oblasť politológie a medzinárodných vzťahov. Prispievatelia sekcií lingvistiky môžu svoje publikácie písať v anglickom i v inom svetovom jazyku a prispievatelia v sekcii politológia a medzinárodné vzťahy v anglickom jazyku.

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The journal is published twice a year and it published studies, academic articles and polemical articles, and reviews. It is divided into two sections: Linguistics and the field of politology and international relations. Language of the publication is English or other for linguistics and English for politology and international relations.

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## Editoriál

Vážení čitatelia,

po ôsmych rokoch existencie vedeckého časopisu **Fórum cudzích jazykov**, ktorý vznikol v roku 2009, nastal čas na zmenu. Ročník 2017 sme otvorili nie len zmenou názvu časopisu, ale aj rozšírením o novú sekciu.

Dovoľte mi, aby som Vás niekoľkými slovami oboznámil s novým zameraním časopisu VŠD pod názvom **Fórum cudzích jazykov, politológie a medzinárodných vzťahov**. Publikuje štúdie, odborné príspevky, diskusné príspevky a recenzie. Je to vedecký recenzovaný časopis.

Prvá sekcia - **lingvistika** - bude tak ako aj doposiaľ venovaná potrebám a výsledkom výskumu v oblasti jazykovedy, didaktiky, svetovej literatúry a jazykového vzdelávania. Naším prvoradým cieľom je, aby časopis dosiahol vysokú odbornú a metodickú úroveň a zároveň sa stal i užitočným pomocníkom pre všetkých tých, ktorí sa podieľajú na výučbe cudzieho jazyka.

Druhá sekcia - **politológia a medzinárodné vzťahy** - sa bude zameriavať na vedecké a odborné príspevky, štúdie, recenzie a informácie o dianí v politologickej obci. Tematicky zahŕňa oblasti politickej filozofie a teórie, komparatívnu politológiu, politickú sociológiu, analýzy policy, európskych štúdií, medzinárodných vzťahov, či bezpečnostných štúdií

Verím, že Vás zameranie nášho časopisu osloví, že Vás nami predkladané výsledky poznania a výsledky výskumu zaujmú a že postupne sa rozšíri okruh čitateľov a aj prispievateľov.

**doc. PhDr. et Mgr. Peter Ondria, PhD.**  
šéfredaktor časopisu

## Editorial

Dear readers,

after eight years of existence of the Foreign Language Forum scientific journal, which was created in 2009, it is time for change. We opened the volume 2017 not only by changing the title of the magazine, but also by adding a new section.

Let me introduce the new title of the journal **Forum of Foreign Languages, Politology and International Relations**. The journal publishes research, scholarly articles, discussions and reviews. The platform is based on peer to peer reviews.

The first section - **linguistics** - will continue to publish the research in the fields of linguistics, world, literature and language education. It aims to be both research platform and offer the support for those who are active in language education.

The second section - **politology and international relations** - will focus on research, discussions, reviews, and information in the field of politology. It aims to publish the papers on political philosophy and theory, comparative politology, political sociology, policy analysis, European studies, international relations, and security studies.

I believe the new focus of the journal will be interesting to the scholarly public and we can together improve the knowledge on the mentioned topics.

**Assoc. Prof. PhDr. et Mgr. Peter Ondria, PhD.**  
Editor in chief

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## **I. LINGUISTIC SECTION**

# **DIE PERSPEKTIVE DES LESENS UNTER HEUTIGEN BEDINGUNGEN**

Viera LAGEROVÁ – Alica HARAJOVÁ

**Abstrakt:** Lesen ist einer der Eckpfeiler unserer Bildung und des lebenslangen Lernens. Ein Mensch mit einer ausgeprägten Lesekompetenz hat bessere Chancen auf Erfolg im Privat- und Berufsleben und verständlicherweise eine bessere Grundlage nicht nur für kreatives Denken, sondern auch für die Lösung von Problemen. Es ist daher sehr wichtig, die Lesekompetenz von klein auf zu fördern und den Kindern die richtigen Gewohnheiten zu vermitteln, wozu auch das regelmäßige Lesen außerhalb der Pflichtlektüre in der Schule gehört. Daher sollten wir vor allem auf Ressourcen zurückgreifen, die außerhalb der Schule genutzt werden können, wie Bibliotheken, das Internet, kulturelle, aber auch sportliche Veranstaltungen....Das Lesen in der Familie wirkt sich nachweislich auch positiv auf die schulischen Leistungen der Schüler aus und fördert die Entwicklung positiver Gefühle gegenüber Büchern und der Lesekompetenz. Wird das Lesen in der Familie als eine Quelle der Unterhaltung und des Unterrichts dargestellt, haben die Kinder eine positivere Wahrnehmung des Lesens, als wenn hauptsächlich die Lesefähigkeiten betont werden (Gavora, 2012).

**Schlüsselwörter:** *Lyrik für Kinder, Kinderliteratur, Lieder und Spiele im Unterricht, kreatives Lesen, Lesekompetenz,*

## **1 Lesen von Lyrik und Prosa**

Das Lesen von belletristischen Texten, zu denen nicht nur Prosa, sondern auch Lyrik gehört, führt Kinder, an die künstlerische Sprache und ihre Kommunikation heran. Rusnák (2009) argumentiert, dass die künstlerische Sprache der gewöhnlichen Kommunikationssprache überlegen ist und unser Denken und unsere Fähigkeit bereichert, auch figurative Bedeutungen in Texten, aber auch in der gewöhnlichen Kommunikation zu entschlüsseln. Auf diese Weise wird selbst ein banales Wort in einem künstlerischen Text und Kontext stilistisch und semantisch bedeutsam und neu. Das Lesen von Lyrik und Prosa ist ein wichtiger Faktor für die Entwicklung von Lesekompetenz, Vorstellungskraft, ästhetischer Sensibilität, persönlichem Wachstum und innerer Erfahrung.

## **2 Die Rolle der Lieder und Spiele im Deutschunterricht**

Viele Lehrer meinen, dass die Schüler in der Schule arbeiten und ihre Zeit nicht mit Singen und Spielen vergeuden sollen. Oft wird auch die Frage gestellt, was haben denn Spielen und Singen z. B. mit Grammatik zu tun?

Vielen Deutschlehrern hat aber bisher nur der Mut gefehlt, mit modernen Liedern im Deutschunterricht zu arbeiten. Infolge der kommunikativen Wende des Fremdsprachenunterrichts wurde das spielerische Lernen das Schlüsselwort der Didaktik im Fremdsprachenunterricht. Kinder lernen durch Miterleben und Nachvollziehen, durch spielerisches Experimentieren und Ausprobieren. Lieder und die dazu gehörenden Spiele geben dem kindlichen Bedürfnis Raum, etwas auszuprobieren und zu entdecken. Sie unterstützen selbstbestimmendes Lernen. Es gibt Kinder, die gehemmt sind, Lieder und Spiele können auch sie zur Äußerung ermutigen. Die Atmosphäre kann viel lockerer und angstfreier als im traditionellen Fremdsprachenunterricht sein. Lieder und Spiele motivieren die Schüler auch das früher Gelernte kann durch Lieder geübt werden. Mit Singen und Spiel wird Spaß mit größerer Lerneffektivität verbunden, die zu den Liedern gehörenden Spiele und Bewegungen, in der Schule auch die Konzentrationsfähigkeit der Kinder. Mit Liedern und mit spielerischen bzw. lustigen Aufgaben kann man nicht nur einen neuen Lehrstoff erlernen, sondern Lied und Spiel können sehr gut zur Anwendung und zum üben Vertiefen des vorher Erarbeiteten genutzt werden. Volkstümliche Spiele mit Gesang oder verbaler Begleitung – die dem Alter der Kinder entsprechen – sind ein sehr wichtiges Mittel zur vielseitigen Übung der Sprechorgane. In diesen Spielen machen Kinder meistens einfache rhythmische Bewegungen beim Reden des Sprüchleins, des Gedichtchens oder beim Singen – Wort und Bewegung oder Wort, Musik und Bewegung sind in der Regel mit ihnen in die Einheit verbunden. Ein rhythmischer Vortrag des Sprüchleins, des Gedichtchens oder das Singen haben für die vielseitige Übung der Sprechorgane und für die Entwicklung einer klaren und ausdrucksvollen Aussprache eine unmittelbare Bedeutung. F. Kábele und B. Pávková (1988, S. 12) legen dem Sprüchlein eine wichtige Aufgabe bei. "Das Sprüchlein ist ein wichtiges Mittel zur Entwicklung der rhythmischen, dynamischen und melodischen Seite der Kindersprache." Mit der Übung der Sprechorgane beschäftigte sich auch D. Kutláková (2005, S. 31) und sie führt an, dass die gute Beweglichkeit der Sprechorgane nur eine der Voraussetzungen für eine korrekte Aussprache ist, aber zugleich eine sehr wichtige Bedingung.

Der Rhythmus – die Muttersprache wirkt wie der Filter ein, lässt nur solche Laute und Formen, auf welchen sie angewöhnt ist. Beim Fremdspracheunterricht sollen sie gewisse neue Laute und



Formen lernen, der Rhythmus ist dazu das ausgezeichnete Mittel. Die Kinder müssen neue Mundbewegungen bei den Lauten, die nicht in der Muttersprache sind, lernen. Die Schüler müssen sich auf dem Wort- und Satzakzent aufpassen, sie müssen hören, wo die Melodie und die Pause stehen, ob der Vokal lang oder kurz ist oder der Konsonant mit der großen oder kleinen Energie ausgesagt ist, dann versuchen sie diese Merkmale allein zu produzieren. Die Kinder im jüngeren Schulalter motivieren sich leicht und sind für alles Neue offen. Die Kinder schämen sich nicht etwas zu wiederholen oder neue Laute auszusagen. Die Sprache ist der Rhythmus und die Kinder haben den Spaß von dem Rhythmus. Das beste Mittel bei den Rhythmusübungen ist der unsere Körper (das Geklapper, das Geklatsche, das Stampfen,). Das Ziel des Fremdspracheunterrichts auf der ersten Stufe die Grundschule soll – die Sprache und der Rhythmus – die Sprache und die Bewegung – die Sprache mit dem Spiel verbinden – so lernen die Kinder mit den allen Sinnen – mit dem Kopf, mit dem Herz, mit den Armen, mit den Beinen. Die Entwicklung der Sprachfertigkeiten – Bewegtes Lernen und die kommunikative Einstellung im Unterricht der jüngeren Kinder, für die Arbeit auf der ersten Stufe ist die große Hilfe im Fremdspracheunterricht die Bewegung die Kinder. Überlieferte Kinderreime, Kinderlieder und Kindergedichte mit Hilfe von Bildern Kindern vertraut und verständlich zu machen, hat eine lange Tradition im Bilderbuchschaffen. Bilderbücher mit überlieferter und moderner Kinderlyrik erweitern das sprachliche Erfahrungsfeld der Kinder.

Für die Kleinkinder sind besonders die *Spielreime* und ersten *Kinderverse*, die zum *Mitmachen*, *Nachsprechen* und *Nachahmen* anregen, interessant, als gutes Beispiel ist das Bilderbuch „*Mein Hund kann Suppe kochen*“ von Ernst A. Ekker und Heinz Ortner anzuführen. Fantastisch und bunt gestaltete Reimspiele und Spielreime regen zum Vorlesen, Nachspielen und Weiterspielen an.

### **3 Kinderlyrik**

#### ***Ziel und Bedeutung***

Kinderreime und Kinderlieder bieten einen ständigen Anreiz für gemeinsames Sprechen, Singen und Spielen. Weiterhin werden in ihnen Informationen über die Welt auf verständliche Weise weitergegeben, die nicht nur passiv von den Kindern aufgenommen, sondern auch aktiv und produktiv umgestaltet werden dürfen. Bei den Kindergedichten fällt das Gemeinschaftserlebnis weitgehend weg. Sie können als Vorlese – und aufsage Materialien Anregungen und Denkanstöße auf besonders einprägsame Weise vermitteln. Die Schüler sollen den historischen Werdegang und die Charakteristika dieser Gattung kennen lernen. Sie sollen die erzieherische Bedeutung von Reimen, Liedern und Gedichten erkennen und die Fähigkeit erwerben, diese in der Praxis einzusetzen.

Mit dem Begriff "Kinderlyrik " werden die Begriffe Kinderlieder und Kinderreime zusammengefasst, da Lieder, Lyrik und Reim eng miteinander verwandt sind.

Die Lieder, mit denen im Deutschunterricht gearbeitet werden soll, müssen rhythmisch sein. Zusammenfassend hängt die Auswahl der Lieder von den folgenden Gesichtspunkten ab:

1. *Altersstufe*: das Lied ist zu schwer, wenn der Umfang zu groß oder der Text abstrakt ist, ein fügsamer Rhythmus erleichtert die Aneignung des Textes.
2. *Lehrplan - Lernziele*
3. *Aktualität* (Schulfeier, Jahreszeit, Tageszeit, usw.)
4. *Geschlecht* (die Mädchen sind häufig lyrischer, die Buben rhythmischer veranlagt)
5. *Bedürfnis der Schüler*: wenn der Lehrer den Kontakt zu den Schülern nicht verlieren will, muss er in Kauf nehmen, dass sie, ihre Lieder und die Musik viel rhythmischer und lauter geworden sind als früher.

### ***Themenfeld der Kinderlyrik***

Kinderkunstgedichte handeln von Reisen, von der Natur, von Wind, von Nähe und Ferne, von Rätseln und Geheimnissen. Das Kindergedicht von heute unterliegt keinem Zwang. Es enthält Liebe und Zuwendung der Erwachsenen an die Kinder nach ebenso wie den Kinderprotest und die Suche der Kinder nach Zuwendung und Zärtlichkeit. Es werden aber auch Flugzeuge, Raumfahrt, Autos, Raketen, Bomber, Bagger usw. im zeitgenössischen Kindergedicht thematisch eingearbeitet, so dass das Spektrum der Inhalte und Themen breit ist. Das Thema der Kinderlyrik ist die Welt. In Gedichten und Liedern begegnet das Kind der Welt. Dabei wird deutlich, wie die Kinder selbst an ihrem Weltbild mitarbeiten, denn sie dulden nur das, was ihrer Eigenen noch unvoreingenommen, vorurteilslosen Einstellung, der Welt gegenüber entspricht, und das Kinderkunstgedicht erweist sich dann umso besser, wenn es diesem Beispiel folgt. Die Welt erscheint dabei nicht als kindische Welt, es werden reale Dinge und Vorgänge vorgeführt, wobei Reim und Rhythmus wieder abrunden und harmonisieren.

### ***Beispiel***

*Das ist der Daumen,  
der schüttelt die Pflaumen,  
der liest sie auf,  
der trägt sie heim,  
und der kleine Wix isst sie ganz allein.*

Liebe und Heirat ist ein oft auftauchendes Thema der Kinderlyrik, allerdings kommt dieses Motiv häufiger in der Kindervolkslyrik als in der Kinderkunstdichtung vor.

### **Beispiel**

*Wenn du brauchst*

*Einen zum Küssen und Augenzubinden,*

*einen zum lustige- Streiche – erfinden.*

*Einen zum Regenbogen- suchen - gehen*

*und einen zum fest- auf – dem- Boden – stehen.*

*Einen zum Brüllen, zum Leise sein einen,*

*einen zum Lachen und einen zum Weinen.*

*Auf jeden Falleinen, der dich mag,*

*heute und morgen und jeden Tag. (R. Schwarz)*

Ein wichtiges Thema der Kinderlyrik ist auch die nähere Umgebung des Kindes, die Familie und der Spielbereich. Neben den starken Einflüssen durch Rhythmus, Reim und Sprunghaftigkeit bewirken dabei Fantasie, Humor und Freude am Spott, dass, obwohl die Themen zumeist dem Alltagsleben entnommen sind, in der Kinderlyrik eine Wirklichkeit entsteht, die die kunstvoll aufgebaute Erwachsenenwelt, in der ein Vogel keine sieben Jahre singen kann, zerschlägt und ihr eine Welt entgegensetzt, die einem anderen Realitätsprinzip entspricht.

### **Beispiel**

*Hokuspokus, Kokosnuss*

*Hexenzwirn und Löwenfuß*

*Eulenschwanz und Nudelmann-*

*Der-ist-dran. (Janosch)*

Kinderlyrik muss nicht analysiert und interpretiert, sondern einfach und ihrer ursprünglichen Funktion entsprechend situationsgerecht im Alltag der Kinder zum Einsatz gelangen bzw. angewendet werden. Bei Bilderbuchbetrachtungen, in Sing – und Spielstunden, bei kleinen Feiern oder anderen Anlässen kann sie unaufdringlich und spielerisch zu Wort kommen. Dieses kann und soll keineswegs ausschließen, dass nicht hin und wieder auch ganz gezielte Impulse vom Erzieher gegeben werden sollten, die die Kinder zum Nachschaffen anregen, zum Spiel mit Klang, Wort und Reim, zum Selbsterfinden von Versen und Reimen. Mit der **Kinderkunstlyrik** verhält es sich anders. Die frühere als die heutige Kinderkunstlyrik wollen bewusst auf Ungerechtigkeiten und soziale Missstände hinweisen. Die heutige Kinderkunstlyrik ermöglicht den Kindern, selbst zu urteilen. Im Kinderkunstlied wird direkt oder indirekt die Aufmerksamkeit der Kinder auf soziale Probleme

hingelenkt. Dagegen werden sozialkritische Tendenzen und soziale Phänomene im Kindervolkslied zumeist absichtslos eingebaut.

#### 4 Zusammenfassende Übersicht zu den produktiven Verfahren

*Umgang mit Gedichten:*

- Szenisches Lesen
- Malen und Zeichnen zu Gedichten
- Verfolge herstellen (Gedicht in die Verse auseinandergeschnitten)
- Strophenfolge herstellen (Gedicht in die Strophen auseinandergeschnitten)
- Zeilenumbruch vornehmen (Gedicht wie Prosa fortlaufend geschrieben)
- Titel ausdenken
- Leergelassene Wörter oder Zeilen einfügen
- Eine Fortsetzung/einen Schluss zu einem unvollständig ausgegebenen Gedicht formulieren
- Ein Gedicht erweitert durch Einfügen oder Anhängen von Versen
- Ein Gedicht in eine Erzählung umformt
- Nach dem Muster eines Gedichtes selber ein Gedicht schreiben
- Zu einem Gedicht ein eigenes Erlebnis erzählen oder seine Gedanken aufschreiben
- Zu einem Stichwort aus einem Gedicht selbst ein Gedicht schreiben
- Ein Gedicht pantomimisch darstellen

#### 5 Literarische Texte in Lehrwerken

Bei der Auswahl der Texte ging es uns immer um die Beschäftigung mit dem Text im Unterricht, nicht um die Präsentation sogenannter Kulturdenkmäler („literarischer Zeugen“), wie das häufig in Lehrwerken der Fall ist. Die einzelnen Texte wurden dort in das Lehrwerk integriert, wo sie inhaltlich und sprachlich hineinpassten. Wie die Auswahl oben schon gezeigt hat, haben wir besonders **konkrete Poesie und Lyrik** berücksichtigt. Aufgrund ihrer Einfachheit eignen sich diese Textarten besonders gut für den Anfangsunterricht.

Nehmen wir einmal das Gedicht **Konjugation** von Rudolf Steinmetz als Beispiel.

Das ist ein auf den ersten Blick einfacher Text, der sich auch von der Grammatik her für eine Anfangslektion eignet. In einer Grammatikprogression kann man das Gedicht am besten bei der Einführung der Verbkonjugation (kommen <-> gehen) berücksichtigen. Aber es weckt auch Neugier. Es unterstützt nicht nur ein generelles Interesse an Grammatik, wenn man schon über



dieses Gedicht spricht, wenn auch nur in der Muttersprache. Denn wird hier nicht eine Perspektive an Grammatik herangetragen, die sich fundamental von der üblichen, nämlich „Grammatik als notwendiges Übel“ unterscheidet?

### ***Konjugation im Singular***

**ICH liebe dich - DU liebst mich**

**ER liebt Sie**

**(Es ist unterwegs)**

**Christine Roller**

Was die Lernenden bei diesem Gedicht ohne viele Worte erfahren: „Konjugation“ ist nicht nur ein trockener Grammatikbegriff. Mit Konjugationsformen kann man auch spielerisch umgehen und überraschende Wirkungen erzielen, Grammatik ist lebendig.



Dass man mit Konjugationsformen auch eine ganze Geschichte erzählen kann, zeigt das Gedicht Konjugation im Singular von Christine Roller, es eignet sich auch gut für die Einführung des Akkusativ-Personalpronomens).

In der neueren deutschen Lyrik findet man viele Beispiele, sie überzeichnen die Wirkung zwischen Struktur und Bedeutung und machen diesen Zusammenhang zum Gegenstand ihrer Aussage. Die bewusst herbeigeführte Spannung zwischen Struktur und Bedeutung bringt Spannung in den Sprachunterricht. Beim Einsatz einfacher Gedichte im Anfangsunterricht haben wir die Erfahrung gemacht, dass der Unterricht dadurch viel lebendiger wurde und die Kinder dazu angeregt wurden, selbst mit den Sprachformen zu spielen.

### ***Didaktische Überlegungen***

Die Mehrheit der Deutschlernenden in den verschiedenen Ländern besteht aus Anfängern. Gerade für diese Lernenden ist die Arbeit mit leicht verständlichen literarischen Texten wichtig, denn:

Sie bringt eine ***ästhetische Komponente*** in einen meist pragmatisch orientierten Unterricht ein, ergänzt das übliche Angebot von Sprachübungen, von Speisekarten, Fahrplänen und Werbetexten, lädt zum Spielen mit der Sprache ein und vermittelt ein vielseitiges, positives Bild von der deutschen Sprache und der deutschen Kultur.

Sie spricht die ***Emotionen der Lernenden*** an. Aus nüchternen Formen und Vokabeln entstehen lebendige Texte, zu denen die Lernenden eine persönliche Beziehung herstellen können und mit denen sie interagieren wollen. Das Bedürfnis der Lernenden, auf die Texte zu Reagieren (laut lesen, über das Leben und die Menschheit nachdenken, Stellung nehmen, Meinungen äußern, Ideen austauschen, selbst etwas schreiben), führen zur natürlichen Integration der vier Sprachfertigkeiten.

Sie lässt ***echte Kommunikation*** im Klassenzimmer entstehen, weil die Lernenden, statt Lehrbuchrollen zu übernehmen, als sie selbst an Diskussionen und Aktivitäten teilnehmen und ihre eigenen Interpretationen und Perspektiven zum Ausdruck bringen.

Sie ***baut*** die ***Angst*** der Lernenden vor der neuen Sprache und vor dem Lernprozess ***ab***, fördert Sprachfreude und weckt das Interesse an und die Liebe zu Literatur.

Sie fördert ***Lerner Autonomie*** und berücksichtigt unterschiedliche Lerntypen. Die beiden Unterrichtsentwürfe, die hier vorgestellt werden, betonen die multimodale Aufnahme eines Gedichts und berücksichtigen dabei Audi tōrische, visuelle und kinästhetische Lernende.

Als Einführung in die Literatur sind Kindergedichte auf der Ebene der sprachlichen Anfänger besonders geeignet. Da sie sprachlich relativ einfach und auch meist kurz sind und dabei eine Vielfalt von Inhalten anbieten, lassen sie sich thematisch und zeitlich leicht in den Stundenplan einbauen. Wenn Kindergedichte ausgesucht werden, die sprachlich eher unter dem Anforderungsniveau im Lehrwerk sind, können die Lernenden die Pointe selbst verstehen und auch den Reiz des Gedichts genießen. Das Lesen von Gedichten ist dann ein schönes Erlebnis, eine Belohnung für geleistetes Lernen. Die Lernenden erleben Erfolg und entdecken Freude am Lesen und an der deutschen Sprache, was die Hoffnung entstehen lässt, dass sie auch nach der sehr begrenzten Unterrichtszeit den Kontakt zu Deutsch halten. Wenn aber Gedichte als Einführungsmittel oder Experimentierfeld für grammatische Strukturen zweckentfremdet

werden, wird die Freude am Lesen verdorben und die Schönheit des Textes für die Lernenden zerstört. Selbstverständlich werden schon gelernte grammatische Strukturen gefestigt und schon gelernte Vokabeln weiter vernetzt, aber beim Lesen eines Gedichts ist die Sprache nicht das Ziel, sondern der Weg zum Ziel.

Die deutsche Sprache wird für die Lernenden lebendig, weil sie Neues durch die Sprache entdecken und erfahren, sie erkennen, dass eine Sprache nicht nur aus Grammatik und Wortschatz besteht, sondern auch aus Tönen, Reimen und Rhythmus.

### **Zusammenfassung**

Singen und Spielen fasziniert und macht Spaß- eine Tatsache, die sich sowohl bei Kindern immer wieder beobachten lässt. Eine enge Verbindung besteht zwischen Spiel, Neugier verhalten, Kreativität und Erkenntnisgewinn. Mit dem Begriff "Kinderlyrik" werden die Begriffe Kinderlieder und Kinderreime zusammengefasst. Es lassen sich zwei große Kategorien der Kinderlyrik unterscheiden: die Kinderkunstlyrik und die Kindervolkslyrik, bewusst von Erwachsenen für Kinder verfasste Lieder und Reime gehören zur Kategorie Kinderkunstlyrik. Demgegenüber haben Lieder und Reime, die der Kategorie Kindervolkslyrik zugeordnet werden, einen langen, zumeist verzweigten Entwicklungsprozess (mündliche Überlieferung) hinter sich.

Die Kindervolkslyrik stellt den Kern der Gattung dar.

Die Kindervolkslyrik entspricht genau den kindlichen Bedürfnissen. Sie kann vielfach psychisch befreiend wirken.

Das Themenfeld der Kinderlyrik ist die Welt. Sie erscheint zur Unterhaltung und Belehrung, als Erklärung zu Bildern, als Schnellsprechreim, als Schlafliedchen, Vers, Auszählreim und begleitet die verschiedensten Tanz- und Reihenspiele.

Die Kindervolkslyrik bietet einen ständigen Spielanreiz, motiviert zu gemeinsamem Singen und Sprechen und ist Anreiz für gemeinsame Gefühlsäußerungen.

Bei der Kinderkunstlyrik fällt das Gemeinschaftserlebnis weitgehend weg. In der zeitgenössischen Kinderkunstlyrik werden Kinder oft mit Konflikten und Problemen konfrontiert, die sie selbst erkennen und lösen können. Sozialkritische Tendenzen sind bewusst eingebaut.

### **Diskussionsvorschläge**

1. Inwiefern tragen Reime und Rhythmen zur Ausbildung des Sprachverständnisses bei?
2. Fördert der Umgang mit Reimen Kreativität?
3. Worin liegen der pädagogische Gebrauchswert der Lieder und Reime?
4. Tragen Sie die Ihnen aus Ihrer Kindheit bekannten Reime zusammen und überlegen Sie, warum

diese Reime Ihnen Spaß gemacht haben.

5. Versuchen Sie, die wichtigsten Gestaltungsprinzipien und Bauelemente der Kinderlyrik herauszuarbeiten.

***Die Vorschläge lassen sich in vier folgenden Kategorien einteilen:***

1. Kinderlieder zum Grammatiklernen
2. Kinderlieder zum Wortschatzlernen
3. Kinderlieder zu der Landeskunde im DaF-Unterricht
4. Kinderlieder mit unterschiedlichen Einsatzmöglichkeiten

### ***1. Kinderlieder zum Grammatiklernen***

- **Die Konjugation von Sein und Haben**

Lied: [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ttTPtYsNOI&ab\\_channel=LearnGermanThroughMusic](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ttTPtYsNOI&ab_channel=LearnGermanThroughMusic)



### ***2. Kinderlieder zum Wortschatzlernen***

- **Wochentagelied**

Lied: [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HZtzbBkkP2Y&ab\\_channel=KinderliederzumLernen](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HZtzbBkkP2Y&ab_channel=KinderliederzumLernen)



- **Farbenlied**

Lied: [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AGrsasgsFuQ&ab\\_channel=Singmitmir-Kinderlieder](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AGrsasgsFuQ&ab_channel=Singmitmir-Kinderlieder)





### 3. *Kinderlieder zu der Landeskunde im DaF-Unterricht*

- **Weihnachtslied**

Lied: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=27JleM39TPY>



### 4. *Kinderlieder mit unterschiedlichen Einsatzmöglichkeiten*

- **Vokale-lied**

Lied: [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9C2cLTif4QU&ab\\_channel=Singmitmir-Kinderlieder](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9C2cLTif4QU&ab_channel=Singmitmir-Kinderlieder)



*Singen Sie mit und beachten Sie dabei die Vokaländerungen! Anschließend markieren Sie alle Vokale, die im Deutschen zu finden sind:*

A – B – C – D – E – F – G – H – I – J – K – L – M – N – O – P – Q – R – S – T – U – V – W  
– X – Y – Z – Ä – Ö – Ü – ß

<https://deutschmusikblog.de/>

<https://docplayer.org/9998637-Deine-freunde-einfach-klein-sein.html>

<https://v1.islcollective.com/fill/deutsch-daf-arbeitsblatter/allgemeines-thema/weihnachten/o-tannenbaum/2739>

<https://v1.islcollective.com/fill/deutsch-daf-arbeitsblatter/leseverstandnis/allgemeines-leseverstandnis/weihnachten/guten-tag-ich-bin-der-nikolaus/37841>

<https://de.islcollective.com/deutsch-daf-arbeitsblatter/horverstehen/wiegenlieder-und-musikaktivitat/lander-und-nationalitaten/erste-kontakte-mit-dem-lied-ich-komme-aus-bonn/53642>

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# ENGLISH IN THE LANGUAGE POLICY OF INDIA IN COMPARISON WITH OTHER COUNTRIES

Terézia ONDRUŠOVÁ

**Abstract:** This paper deals with the role of English in India. It analyses the language situation of India. It is characterized by many inhabitants living in several states and the great linguistic diversity is typical of this country. This paper examines the problems, limitations, and possibilities of creating and implementing the language policy of India. The dominance of English in the world is an important factor affecting the language policy in many countries of the world including India. It wants to point out that language policy plays an important role in the state's foreign policy.

**Key words:** *English, India, languages, language policy, linguistic diversity*

## Introduction

The topic of languages and language policy is currently still not given much space in the theory of international relations itself, although the issue of languages is an important part of the politics of individual states. Finding a satisfactory solution to the problem of linguistic diversity in multilingual states is difficult to impossible, as representatives of individual nations or ethnicities try to assert their demands in the languages.

The main goal of the contribution is the analysis of linguistic diversity and, consequently, language policy on the example of India. It is assumed that the state often uses language policy as its tool. The subject of research is the language policy of India. India is a suitable country from the point of view of analysis, as it is characterized by many inhabitants living in several states and the great linguistic diversity of this country is connected with this.

In the case of many countries, linguistic diversity appears as a basic source or cause of disputes. The contradiction between the desired and at the same time officially proclaimed multilingualism and the effort to protect and strengthen the position of the local language is particularly visible. Therefore, the paper also focuses on other countries and their language

policies. I will use the comparison method to analyse this relationship. Using the example of their language policies, I try to prove in the article that language policy plays an important role in the state's foreign policy.

The partial aim of the paper is to examine the problems, limitations, and possibilities of creating and implementing the language policy of India. The subsequent comparison with the language policy of other countries aims to find support points for solving the given issue. Another sub-goal is to point out the dominance of English in the world as an important factor affecting the language policy in several countries of the world, such as India. An important goal is also to explore possible solutions to the language situation in India, considering the equal use of the languages of all language groups, as well as the use of English.

### **Development of language policy in India and comparison with language policy in other countries**

In the Indian territory, in the past, the most prestigious position always belonged to languages far from the speech of most of its inhabitants. The official languages of vast empires (Sanskrit, Persian, English) coexisted with the home languages used by most of the population (Ráková, 2015). Even though the language issue is receiving constant attention in India, the problems are far from being considered resolved. The situation was often complicated by the fact that the political aspect of the language problem was emphasized, which was manifested in diverse language movements. Such movements took place most often in the Hindi-speaking region, where, in addition to the dominant Hindi, there are a number of regional languages and dialects with an old and rich literary tradition, which, although not mentioned in the constitution, are considered by a significant part of the population as their mother tongue. The goal of the language movements was to reorganize the existing state within the Indian Union (Ráková, 1984).

The language situation in India is very complicated, from several points of view. As for the composition of the population, the northern and central parts of India (72% of the total population) are inhabited by Indo-Aryan peoples who speak Indo-European languages. However, South India is inhabited by Dravidian peoples (about 1/4 of the total population) who speak Dravidian languages. The small peoples and tribes that live in the mountainous regions of northern, eastern, and central India speak Munda and Mon-Khmer languages. All Indian languages do not have the same position or importance in the country.

In the census of 1961, 187 languages were registered in India, of which 23 were spoken by more than 1 million people. These represent 97.3% of the entire Indian population. However, in India, unlike other multilingual countries, there is not a single language spoken by most of the population. The Hindi-speaking population is the most numerous, but even this represents only 30.4% of the total population of India (1961). And at the same time in several Indian languages, for example in Hindi, Telugu, Marathi, Tamil, Bengali, spoken by more than 30 million people, and thus these languages are among the most widespread in the world (Ráková, 1984).

The Indian constitution recognizes only 22 Indian languages, namely from the Indo-European ones such as Assamese, Bengali, Gujarati, Hindi, Kashmiri, Marathi, Punjabi, Sanskrit, Sindhi, Urdu, Uri and from the Dravidian languages Kannada, Malayalam, Tamil and Telugu. They are spoken by over 88% of the Indian population. There is a rich literature in all these languages and almost all of them served as a language of instruction up to high school long before the declaration of independence. 1947 (Krishnamurti, 1979, p. 676).

In 1956, the country began to be reorganized on a linguistic basis into federal states and territories. The result of the reorganization was the unification of the largest Indian nations into states where from 75% (Punjabi, Rajasthani) to 99.7% (Assamese) of the representatives of the given nation live. A special situation has arisen in the vast Hindi-speaking area, where there are three Hindi-speaking states of Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh and Haryana, which are joined by Bihar, where Hindi is also the most widespread language, and Rajasthan, where 1/3 of the population speaks Hindi. The first three mentioned states concentrate 3/4 of the entire Hindi-speaking population and, together with Bihar, Rajasthan and Punjab, up to 95% of the Hindi-speaking population (Sdasjuk, 1981, p. 17).

During the 1960s, most Indian states recognized the regional language as official for both local administration and higher education. Of the main Indian languages listed in the constitution, only Sanskrit and Sindhi are not official languages in any Indian state. In contrast, Hindi is the dominant and official language in several states, and although it is not the language of only one nation, at a certain period the idea of a dominant Hindi nation appeared in political dialogue (Brass, 1974, p. 15).

In the struggle for primacy, three languages, namely Hindi, Urdu and English, met. It can be said that Hindi won, but despite this, the English language managed to maintain its position and even consolidated it. Language policy is dealt with by the highest law, namely the

Constitution of the Republic of India. Although the Constitution established Hindi as the state language and set a deadline after which English was to cease to be used in designated areas, the adoption of other regulations reflected the current situation in India. Hindi was supposed to symbolize unity and national awareness, as well as the fight for the right to self-determination (Ondrisová, 2010, p. 15).

If the language situation in India were to be compared with the language situation in other countries, the language revolution in Turkey, like in India, was only a consequence of political changes. In 1923, Mustafa Kemal was elected president. His policy was secular and anti-Ottoman, with the aim of modernizing the country. At that time, the Arabic alphabet was used in Turkey, and the Turkish language contained many borrowings from Arabic and Persian, making it incomprehensible to a large part of the population. As part of the "language reform" in 1928, the Latin alphabet began to be used, then the teaching of Arabic and Persian was suppressed, and the reading of the Koran in Turkish and not in Arabic was promoted. At that time, it was primarily a fight against the Islamic tradition (Calvet, 1998).

Mustafa Kemal was elected president after the fall of the Ottoman Empire. After his election to the position of president of the republic in 1923, he went through the policy of modernization and secularization of the Turkish state. The Kemalist form of power found its legal expression in the constitution of April 20, 1924. According to Article 2 of this constitution, Turkey was considered "republican, nationalist, popular, interventionist, secular and revolutionary". These characteristics determined the ideological content of the Republican People's Party, which, according to Mustafa Kemal, was the only party tolerated. He considered the era of religiously based empires to be over and at the same time rejected the ideological domination of Islam over his country; in fact, he rejected Islam in the political management of the state. Turkey became the first "secular Muslim state". To this end, it was necessary to abandon the notion of a multi-ethnic Muslim empire in favour of an essentially Turkish and secular nationalism.

Kemalist historiography interpreted the Ottoman Empire as an "Arab-Islamic domination" from which the Turks were to be "liberated" thanks to the political intervention of Mustafa Kemal. He believed that the reorganization of the Turkish state must undergo a radical language change, that is, the support of the new Turkish language. The new Turkish state was also based on a secular desire to modernize and westernize society, relying on fierce nationalism to ensure the cohesion of Turkish society (Haig, 1996). In 1928, Mustafa Kemal created a "linguistic commission" tasked with developing a Turkish alphabet adapted to the Latin alphabet and

"purifying" the vocabulary. He argued that an independent state should have its own national language.

A similar situation arose in another part of the world - in Norway. In the middle of the 16th century, as a result of the reformation ordered by the Danish king within the union that has existed since 1380 with Denmark, there is a big difference between the written and spoken language in Norway. Danish replaced the traditional native Norwegian as a written language, while the spoken language of the people fragmented into numerous dialects (Haugen, 1966).

Around the year 1800, an elite Norwegian was created, the basis of which was Danish from the lexical and morphological point of view, but the pronunciation was Norwegian. However, only 3-4% of the total population spoke this language. The dissolution of the union with Denmark and the entry of Norway into a freer union with Sweden resulted in the creation of a state in 1814, but the written language practically remained Danish, which was called "dansk-norsk". In 1853, based on a comparison of several dialects, Ivar Aasens created landsmal, which became an equivalent language to Danish. Knud Knudsen creates riksmal on the basis of Danish immersion. A new orthographic system was applied to Norwegian pronunciation to distinguish it from Danish. Since 1929, the name Bokmal (book language) has been used for riksmal, which differs from contemporary Danish mainly in pronunciation and Nynorsk (New Norwegian), which is a reformed Landsmal. During the 20th century, seven language reforms were carried out. The latest eighth reform entered into force on July 1, 2005 (Askedal, 2007).

Bokmål and Nynorsk are equivalent languages. However, both variants have many dialects. Bokmål is the mother tongue for most Norwegians, but since 10 to 15% of the population list Nynorsk as their mother tongue, official documents, exams, etc. they are obligatorily bilingual. From a geographical point of view, Nynorsk is mainly used in the west of Norway. However, it is not a dialect, but the second variant of the official language.

On the example of countries with a colonial past, the war of languages is only one aspect of another war. After liberation from foreign rule, they again move towards monolingualism - in the case of India, one can observe the promotion of Hindi, although for practical reasons English is also used. These efforts lead to the confirmation of the distinction between the state and the nation and the distinction between the official language and national languages (Calvet, 1998).

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With their language policy, the British contributed to the creation of tension between Hindus and Muslims, because in the northern provinces they did not make the native Hindi the official language, but Urdu, which the Hindus considered a foreign language of the Muslims. It is true that Urdu developed as the language of the Mughal royal camp, but in its colloquial form it was not, and still is, different in grammar and basic vocabulary from colloquial Hindi. Both languages took on a different form even as standard literary languages – Hindi relies on Sanskrit to develop its vocabulary and is written in the Indian Devanagari script, and Urdu relies on Persian and Arabic and is written in the Perso-Arabic script. Upon arrival in India, British officials encountered Persian as the official language and writing script. They were taught to communicate with their subordinates in Urdu, and thus they could logically consider Urdu and its script as a suitable language of administration. However, their decision provoked sharp protests from Hindi-speaking Hindus, whose lack of knowledge of Urdu put them at a disadvantage in obtaining lucrative government posts. Their struggle against Urdu intensified

in the second half of the 19th century, until finally Urdu gradually lost its positions as an official language in the provinces of northern India and was eventually replaced by Hindi. The conflict was finally resolved in 1950, when Urdu took its place among the 22 Indian languages listed in the constitution, and Hindi became the official language of several Indian states and at the same time gained the position of the official language of the Indian Union (Rácová, 2016).

At the beginning of the national liberation movement, the idea arose to make Hindustani, a language based on the Delhi dialect of Khari Boli, which functioned as the lingua franca of northern India, the common language of India's multilingual population. This idea was also supported by Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru. It was opposed by the representative of South Indian Tamil, Herod Venkata Ramaswamy Nayakkar, also called Perijar (The Great), because he perceived it as an attempt by North India to control South India. The inhabitants of southern, Dravidian India did not understand northern Indo-European languages, so they preferred English as the official language, which was known by educated Indians from both the north and the south at that time. Disputes over the official language in which, for example, the Indian constitution would be written, and which would be used in assemblies, dragged on for three years. Finally, an agreement was accepted and Hindi in the Devanagari script became the official language of the Indian Union. Official communication between the Indian states and between the states and the Union was supposed to take place in it. Along with Hindi, for fifteen years English was to be used for all legal purposes - in court proceedings, bills, in laws, etc. After five years, a language commission could be convened to recommend ways to establish Hindi as the sole official language and phase out the use of English.

## **Conclusion**

Currently, there is a critical attitude towards state interference in the language situation, which can be explained as a reaction to the period of the demise of colonies and the emergence of independent states in the 1950s and 1960s. years of the 20th century, when language policy changed from a tool of aid to a means of strengthening social inequality in Third World countries. However, with the emergence of independent states, the position of the mother tongue in relation to other languages becomes an important indicator of the economic and political power of individual states within the global community. Languages are subject to constant changes, their form and status change - smaller languages become dialects, and vice versa, larger dialects become languages. When a language becomes a dialect and a dialect a

language cannot be measured. The terms dialect and language are thus subjective quantities. The state plays an important role here. Language policy easily becomes his tool in pursuing certain goals. However, the strong position of the state is an important factor for the preservation of the language.

When examining India's language policy, it can be concluded that in the case of the imminent weakening of the position of a certain language on an international scale, the mother tongue as a carrier of identity becomes an important aspect and its role cannot be underestimated. Linguistic diversity is a natural phenomenon, to understand a member of another nation, in most cases one language is chosen, which is the language with the strongest position in the given area or in the whole world. Uncompromising insistence on multilingualism excludes communication. However, it is communication and the social organization that are the sign of a civilized society, which from a long-term language leads to, if not one, then an increasingly smaller number of languages.

In the case of India, it was not possible to maintain the principle of equal treatment of all languages due to their large number and belonging to different language groups. The struggle for a national language was thus reduced to a struggle between Hindi and Urdu, the two most widely spoken languages with the longest tradition. In the background of the promotion of a certain language, we can often observe economic and political interests, as was the case in one of the states of India - Tamil Nadu, in which, even at the end of the 20th century, opposition to Hindi was manifested several times, but nowadays there are also protests against such a state , as Tamils themselves without knowledge of other languages find it difficult to get a job. Among these languages is Hindi, the use of which they fought for decades. The fact that the Indian constitution recognizes only 22 languages, although there are approximately two hundred of them on the territory of India, shows that the most practical solution is to recognize and then use as few languages as possible, although it contradicts the principle of transparency and democracy. In addition to the solution offered by the choice of one of the home languages, there was the idea of a neutral language, which theoretically and practically could have been English, but for India's colonial past. English thus remained an important language of India, but it is not an official language. On the example of India, we can see that despite the practical use of English, nations tend to choose the local or one of the local languages when establishing an official language. Current developments in India's language policy suggest that English has little chance of establishing itself as an official language in the future.

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# FÖRDERUNG DER SPRECHFERTIGKEIT IM UNIVERSITÄREN FREMDSPRACHENUNTERRICHT

Magdaléna PATÉ

**Abstrakt:** Výučba cudzích jazykov v univerzitnom prostredí na nefilologických vysokých školách, má byť bezprostrednou jazykovou prípravou na komunikáciu v pracovnom živote. Ústna komunikácia v cudzom jazyku na primeranej úrovni patrí k najťažšie dosiahnuteľným cieľom cudzojazyčnej výučby. V príspevku sa chcem venovať tejto jazykovej zručnosti z didaktického a metodického hľadiska, pričom zohľadňujem najnovšie prístupy a stratégie v oblasti rozvoja rečových zručností. Špecifickým problémom pri výučbe cudzích jazykov na univerzitách sú veľké študijné skupiny. Tejto problematike a tiež možným riešeniam, ako sú metódy kooperatívneho učenia, sa vo svojom príspevku venujem podrobnejšie.

**Kľúčové slová:** *ústny prejav, didaktika, cudzí jazyk, výučba, veľké učebné skupiny*

**Abstract:** The teaching of foreign languages at non-philological universities is intended to be an immediate language preparation for communication in working life. Oral communication in a foreign language at an adequate level is one of the most difficult goals of foreign language teaching to achieve. In this paper I want to address this language skill from a didactic and methodological point of view, taking into account the latest approaches and strategies in the field of speech skill development. A specific problem in foreign language teaching at universities is large study groups. I address this issue, as well as possible solutions such as cooperative learning methods, in more detail in my paper.

**Keywords:** *oral presentation, didactics, foreign language, teaching, large study groups*

## Einführung

Der Fremdsprachenunterricht an nichtphilologischen Hochschulen soll eine unmittelbare sprachliche Vorbereitung auf die Kommunikation im Berufsleben sein. Die mündliche Kommunikation in einer Fremdsprache auf angemessenem Niveau ist eines der am schwierigsten zu erreichenden Ziele des Fremdsprachenunterrichts. In diesem Beitrag möchte ich mich mit dieser Sprachfertigkeit aus didaktischer und methodischer Sicht befassen und



dabei die neuesten Ansätze und Strategien auf dem Gebiet der Sprachfertigkeitentwicklung berücksichtigen.

Ein besonderes Problem des Fremdsprachenunterrichts an Universitäten stellen große Lerngruppen dar. Auf diese Problematik sowie auf mögliche Lösungsansätze, wie z.B. kooperative Lernmethoden, gehe ich in meinem Beitrag näher ein.

Šukolová (2020) sieht das Hauptziel des Fremdsprachenunterrichts im Erwerb und in der Aneignung kommunikativer Kompetenzen, um die Sprache in praktischen Situationen anwenden zu können. Das Gleiche gilt für den Fremdsprachenunterricht an einer Universität. Wer mehrere Sprachen beherrscht, hat mehr Chancen auf dem Arbeitsmarkt, da er in einem anderen EU-Mitgliedstaat studieren und arbeiten kann (Ondrušová 2018). Die Motivation der Studierenden, im Berufsleben erfolgreich zu sein, ist also eng mit den Fremdsprachenkenntnissen verbunden.

Eine Fremdsprache wird nur dann als Kommunikationsmedium gelernt, wenn sie ausschließlich und hinreichend oft diese Funktion erfüllt (Butzkamm 2002). Diese Aussage trifft insbesondere auf die mündliche Kommunikation zu. Um in der Lage zu sein, sich mündlich in einer Fremdsprache auf ausreichendem Niveau und effektiv zu verständigen, müssen die Lernenden beginnen, die Fremdsprache zu sprechen.

### **Sprachkompetenz Sprechen im Fremdsprachenunterricht**

Der Fremdsprachenunterricht sollte alle Sprachfertigkeiten gleichermaßen fördern - sowohl rezeptive (Hören und Lesen) als auch produktive (Sprechen und Schreiben). Die Entwicklung einzelner Fertigkeiten ist kein Selbstzweck, sondern soll dazu beitragen, dass die Lernenden die Möglichkeit haben, die Sprache in ihrer Komplexität in einer Vielzahl von kommunikativen Situationen zu verwenden, die der Alltagskommunikation so nahe wie möglich kommen (Gondová 2013).

Sprechen ist die Hauptaktivität, wenn wir die Aufmerksamkeit anderer erlangen wollen, wenn wir in der Interaktion mit anderen etwas erreichen wollen, wenn wir Situationen oder das Verhalten des oder der Gesprächspartner in einem Gespräch im Sinne unserer Intentionen beeinflussen wollen. Ziel des Fremdsprachenunterrichts bei der Vermittlung dieser Fähigkeit ist es, die Lernenden in die Lage zu versetzen, sich selbstständig und kohärent mündlich

auszudrücken (Liedke 2010). Nonverbale Kommunikation ist ein integraler Bestandteil des sprachlichen Ausdrucks und damit auch Teil des Fremdsprachenunterrichts.

Der Gemeinsame Europäische Referenzrahmen für Sprachen (GER 2017) fördert einen handlungsorientierten Ansatz für das Fremdsprachenlernen. Der gewählte Ansatz impliziert, dass die Fähigkeiten und Kompetenzen der Lernenden viel wichtiger sind als ihr explizites Wissen über die Fremdsprache an sich. Lernende werden in erster Linie als "soziale Akteure" betrachtet, d. h. als Mitglieder der Gesellschaft, die bestimmte Aufgaben erfüllen, indem sie bestimmte Aktivitäten in bestimmten Umgebungen durchführen. Wendet man diesen Ansatz auf das universitäre Umfeld an, so bereiten sich die Lernenden als Teilnehmer am Fremdsprachenunterricht auf ihr Berufsleben vor, in dem sie ihre im Klassenzimmer erworbenen Sprachkenntnisse und -kompetenzen einsetzen werden.

Im Hinblick auf die Sprechfertigkeit unterscheidet der Gemeinsame Europäische Referenzrahmen für Sprachen zwischen

- (a) kohärentem mündlichem Ausdruck in Form eines Monologs oder einer Rede vor Publikum
- (b) mündlicher Interaktion - die Fähigkeit, sich an Gesprächen zu beteiligen, wobei Hörverstehen und Sprechen eng miteinander verbunden sind.

Die Unterschiede zwischen diesen beiden Formen des mündlichen Ausdrucks haben Auswirkungen auf die Organisation und die Methoden der Unterrichtspraxis. Während das kontinuierliche Sprechen von den Studentinnen und Studenten weitgehend selbstständig geübt werden kann, ist für die Teilnahme an Gesprächen eine weitere Person erforderlich (van der Burg, 2013).

Die kommunikative Aktivität von Gesprächsteilnehmern umfasst sowohl akustische als auch visuelle Elemente. Die Gesprächsteilnehmer tauschen die Rollen von Sprecher und Zuhörer, sorgen für gegenseitiges Verständnis und versuchen, Missverständnisse zu vermeiden, wozu sie sowohl verbale als auch nonverbale Kommunikationsmittel einsetzen. Bei der vermittelten telefonischen Kommunikation muss der fehlende akustische Aspekt durch Audiomittel ersetzt werden.

## **Studentenzentrierte Methoden für die mündliche Sprachentwicklung**

Kunovská (2014) unterteilt die Aktivitäten zur Entwicklung der Sprechfertigkeit in Aufgaben zur Entwicklung der Genauigkeit des sprachlichen Ausdrucks (Drill-Übungen, Rollenspiele, die im Voraus geübt wurden) und Aufgaben zur Entwicklung des flüssigen sprachlichen Ausdrucks (Äußerung einer Meinung, Argumentation, Diskussion, Interview, Problemlösungssituationen). Beim Fremdsprachenunterricht ist es notwendig, ausreichend Raum für das Üben der Sprechfertigkeit durch Aktivitäten zu schaffen, die es den Schülern ermöglichen, frei zu sprechen und authentische Bedeutungen auszudrücken (Gondová 2013).

Die Gründe für unterentwickelte Sprechfertigkeiten in einer Fremdsprache sind auf einer Seite die institutionellen Rahmenbedingungen des Unterrichts. Dazu gehört vor allem die Gruppengröße (z.B. 25 Studierende pro Lerngruppe), große Gruppenheterogenität, was das Sprachniveau der Studierenden angeht und niedrige Anzahl der Studierenden im Semester (normalerweise 26 Unterrichtsstunden pro Semester, 90 Minuten pro Semesterwoche). Auf der anderen Seite sind es Sprachhemmungen der einzelnen Studierenden, die aber auch mit dem institutionellen Rahmen des Sprachunterrichts zusammenhängen können.

Die Studierenden lernen sprechen nur durch das Sprechen. Auch wenn der Lehrende sich bemüht, die Studierenden während des Unterrichts zum Sprechen zu bringen, ist der Zeitaufwand in großen Gruppen nicht zu bewältigen. Die Sprechzeit, die dem einzelnen Studierenden zur Verfügung steht, ist vernachlässigbar.

Bei der Frage, welche Methoden zum Üben von Sprechfertigkeiten in großen Gruppen eingesetzt werden können, müssen wir die Frage beantworten, welche Bedingungen im Lernraum geschaffen werden müssen und wo solche Übungen eingesetzt werden können. Dabei spielen die entsprechenden didaktischen Fähigkeiten der Lehrkraft eine wichtige Rolle, aber auch die vereinbarten Regeln, die in einer bestimmten Lerngruppe gelten.

Beim Sprechen treffen wir auf eine Form von Angst - Hemmungen, die die Studierenden überwinden lernen müssen. Aus diesem Grund ist es notwendig, eine Atmosphäre der Akzeptanz seitens des Lehrers, aber auch seitens der anderen Studierenden zu schaffen. Der Studierende muss sich der Lerngruppe zugehörig fühlen, sie beeinflussen können und in direktem Kontakt mit den anderen Studierenden und dem Lehrer stehen. All dies trägt zu einem Gefühl der Sicherheit in der Lernumgebung bei.

Zu den didaktischen Kompetenzen des Lehrers gehört die Fähigkeit, klare Regeln im Unterrichtsprozess aufzustellen, diese klar zu kommunizieren und sie zu befolgen. Gleichzeitig sollte er oder sie Ablenkungen ausschließen und so ein optimales Arbeitsklima schaffen (van der Burg 2013). Die Regeln können die selbstständige Arbeit in der Gruppe, die Arbeit zu zweit oder in größeren Gruppen, den Einsatz von Kommunikationstechnologie während des Unterrichts - Telefon, Internet, Computer im Präsenzunterricht - betreffen. Offensichtlich erfordert der Online-Unterricht andere Regeln als der Präsenzunterricht. Dazu gehören insbesondere Regeln für die Verwendung von Kameras, die Art und Weise der Berichterstattung und die Art und Weise, wie Aufgaben zu erledigen sind.

### **Methoden des kooperativen Lernens beim Üben der Sprechfertigkeit**

Zu den grundlegenden Methoden zum Üben von Sprechfertigkeiten gehören Methoden, die auf den Prinzipien des kooperativen Lernens basieren. Diese Methoden tragen dazu bei, die Motivation der Studierenden zu erhöhen und somit die Lernziele zu erreichen. Mehrere Definitionen des kooperativen Lernens stimmen darin überein, dass nicht jede Form der Gruppenarbeit automatisch als kooperatives Lernen angesehen werden kann (Helmova 2018). Ein wichtiges Unterscheidungsmerkmal dieser Lernmethoden ist, dass jeder Studierende individuell zum Erreichen des Gruppenziels beitragen muss und die Studierenden die Möglichkeit haben, voneinander zu lernen. Damit kooperative Lernmethoden erfolgreich sind, müssen die folgenden Voraussetzungen erfüllt sein:

1. Jeder Studierende muss zu etwa gleichen Teilen an dem Endergebnis der Gruppenarbeit beteiligt sein.
2. jeder Studierende übernimmt die Verantwortung für das Ergebnis der gesamten Gruppe und muss in der Lage sein, es zu präsentieren und damit verbundene Fragen zu beantworten
3. Die Studierenden sind in einem positiven Sinne voneinander abhängig: Sie brauchen einander, um die Gruppenaufgabe zu lösen.
4. Das Ziel ist es, so viele Studierende wie möglich gleichzeitig in eine aktive Tätigkeit einzubeziehen (van der Burg 2013).

### **Motivierende Aufgaben, die auf den Prinzipien des kooperativen Lernens basieren**

In jeder der spezifischen Aufgaben zur Entwicklung der Sprechfertigkeit, die im Folgenden besprochen werden, erhalten die Studeirende die Möglichkeit, alle Aspekte der mündlichen Interaktion oder des monologischen Sprechens zu üben und dadurch allmählich an Geläufigkeit und Sicherheit zu gewinnen. Van der Burg (2013) nennt unter anderem die folgenden motivierenden Aufgaben:

#### 1. Arbeit in Paaren

Die Teilnehmer lösen unabhängig voneinander eine Aufgabe. Sie vergleichen und korrigieren oder verbessern die Lösungen der anderen. Die Lehrkraft steht zur Beratung zur Verfügung.

#### 2. Gruppenarbeit mit Zahlen

Die Teilnehmer erarbeiten die Lösung der gestellten Aufgabe gemeinsam in einer Gruppe (2-4 Schüler). Jeder Teilnehmer zieht vor Beginn der Arbeit eine Zahl. Die Ergebnisse der Gruppe werden von dem Studierenden mit der von der Lehrkraft genannten Zahl vor den anderen Studeirenden präsentiert.

#### 2. die Expertengruppe

Die Studierende werden in mehrere Vierergruppen aufgeteilt. Das spezifische Thema wird ebenfalls in vier Teile aufgeteilt. Die Studierenden ziehen Nummern von 1 bis 4. Dann treffen sich alle Studeirende mit der entsprechenden Nummer und bekommen einen Teil - ein Viertel des Themas - zugewiesen. Sie werden zu "Experten" für diesen Teil des Themas. Anschließend berichten sie den anderen Mitgliedern ihres ursprünglichen Quartetts über die Ergebnisse.

#### 3. ein Interview

Diese Methode eignet sich für das gegenseitige Kennenlernen in einer größeren Gruppe. Studeirende A und Studierende B stellen sich gegenseitig Fragen und teilen dann den anderen mit, was sie über ihren Mitstudierenden herausgefunden haben.

#### 4) Interview zu viert

Drei Studierende stellen einem vierten Studierenden Fragen und informieren die ganze Klasse über das Ergebnis. Diese Aufgabe kann thematisch unterschiedlich gestaltet werden. Eine Möglichkeit ist, dass jeder Studeirende vorher zu Hause einen Artikel (eventuell ein Buch oder ein kurzes Video oder einen Film) zu einem bestimmten Thema liest und dann die anderen drei Studierende befragt, um herauszufinden, was sie gelesen haben und zu welchen Schlussfolgerungen sie gekommen sind.

## 5. Präsentation

Die Studierenden präsentieren die von ihnen gemeinsam vorbereitete Präsentation vor den anderen Studierenden der Lerngruppe. Das Publikum stellt den Vortragenden Fragen und bewertet die Präsentation nach den gewählten Kriterien.

## 6. Erstellen von Concept Maps

Eine Arbeitsmethode, bei der sprachliche Inhalte visualisiert werden. Die Technik der Erstellung von Concept Maps basiert auf der Arbeit mit konkreten Begriffen und den Zusammenhängen zwischen ihnen (Kucharová 2018). Die Studierenden entwickeln eine Concept Map zu einem bestimmten Thema und stellen das Thema dann vor allen Mitstudierenden vor, indem sie die Beziehungen zwischen den Konzepten erläutern. Andere Studierende können die Verwendung von Vokabeln, die Aussprache, die Sprechgeschwindigkeit, den Redefluss usw. bewerten.

## **Schlussfolgerung**

Die Verwendung einer Fremdsprache in einem mündlichen Diskurs - sei es in Form eines vorbereiteten Monologs oder eines spontanen Dialogs - ist eines der Ziele des Fremdsprachenunterrichts an einer Universität. Er befähigt Studierende und künftige Hochschulabsolventen, sich aktiv an der Kommunikation in einer Fremdsprache am Arbeitsplatz zu beteiligen.

Das Sprechen in großen Lerngruppen zu üben, ist nicht einfach, stellt aber gleichzeitig die einzige Möglichkeit dar, diese Fertigkeit nach dem Unterricht zu verbessern. Verschiedene Methoden des kooperativen Lernens wie z. B. Interviews, Paararbeit, Arbeit in großen Gruppen oder die Erstellung von Concept Maps sind ein guter Ausgangspunkt. Bei jeder dieser Aktivitäten ist es jedoch notwendig, die Passivität der Studierenden und ihre Fähigkeit, in ihrer Muttersprache zu kommunizieren, so weit wie möglich auszuschalten. Der Vorteil der oben genannten kooperativen Lernmethoden ist ihre Anwendbarkeit sowohl im Präsenzunterricht als auch im Fernunterricht.



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# NEW EFFECTIVE AND INNOVATIVE APPROACHES TO LEARNING FOREIGN LANGUAGE

Ján STRELINGER

**Abstract:** Teaching foreign languages, particularly English, through innovative approaches and educational methods is fundamental to the modern educational system. Based on pedagogical initiatives and teacher innovations, curriculum progress is seen throughout the entire educational system. The article deals theoretically with the analysis of the main innovative approaches and methods in foreign language teaching as well as the empirical evaluation of the most effective methods of foreign language teaching as evaluated by students at a higher educational level.

**Key words:** *effective methods, approaches, learning, foreign, language, students*

## Introduction

One of the most significant aspects of human development is learning foreign languages. Language practice, which is a form of communication, can take place in a structured class or a natural setting, for instance, in a family or community. Theoretical research on linguistic phenomena is conducted continuously. Today's world of international relations highly values multilingualism and linguistic proficiency. Therefore, teaching is evolving quickly.

Nowadays, speaking foreign languages is increasingly becoming a requirement for professional performance in many working areas. High-level language fluency is sought after by professionals from a variety of professions because it influences problem-solving effectiveness and professional advancement as well. The effectiveness and accomplishment of this objective depend on the strategies used and the qualifications of the teachers. The ability to integrate information technology and innovative teaching techniques helps students grasp new material quickly (Bonwell & Eison, 1991).

Innovation can be defined as a novel strategy for overcoming a challenge in a particular sector. Elements like teaching a foreign language, learning a foreign language, managing new processes in education, and innovation in education have all come into play. Providing foreign language teaching and tuition in all educational institutions is also reaching a new level in our country (Rogers, 2001).

## Methodology

The term *method* has two primary meanings as defined by both domestic and foreign scientists. It is known as a specific way or route to achieve the desired outcome or as a comprehensive methodological framework and the fundamental principles guiding the learning process, which have been in place throughout the history of science (Rogers, 2001).

In scientists' opinion, developing a second language personality is the most crucial goal. A new language must be learned at a fundamentally new level by students. To avoid perceiving errors, it is important to do this by separating it from the native language (Fazeli, 2012; Rubtsova, 2018).

Therefore, the focus is mainly on the appropriate teaching method. The literature offers plenty of methods, such as the following:

**Tab. 1:** *Methods of teaching foreign languages* (Belyaeva et al., 2019, p. 4).

Teaching Methods			
Methods Using ICT	Project Method	Problem-solving Method	Methods of Play
	Cooperative or Collaborative Learning	Brainstorming	CLIL
	SCRUM	Dilemma	Tandem
	Jigsaw Reading	Round Table	Method of Mnemonics
		Discussion	Flipped Learning
		Peer Review	
		Case Study	Business Play
			Extensive Reading
			Educational Firm

The conceptual method, methods of induction, deduction, analysis, and synthesis, as well as the graphic method used to assess the level and development of the foreign language teaching system, involve our research's theoretical and methodological foundation. On the other

hand, the following theoretical learning methods for teaching foreign languages have been selected for analysis in the given article:

- the grammar-translation method
- the cooperative learning method
- the project method
- brainstorming method
- case studies method
- the role-playing method
- mnemonics method
- theatre production method
- dilemma method
- discussions method

The author has addressed the following research issues in this article:

- 1) Theoretically explore innovative approaches and methods in foreign language teaching.
- 2) Empirically evaluate the methods of foreign language teaching used by students.

The article's information base consists of both, the findings of scientific studies and methods for determining how the key players in the educational process interact (Borg, 2003; Freeman, 2002; McBer, 2000; Walls, Nardi, von Minden & Hoffman, 2002, and so on).

Empirical experience already allows for the expression of the conclusion that a student's personality and interests directly influence the level of their foreign language comprehension. It's important to use various approaches and teaching methods to do this. As a theory of education, pedagogy has already produced a variety of innovative and successful techniques.

Regarding the known strategies and approaches, the theoretical aspects of the following methods and approaches for teaching foreign languages are covered in the article:

- Humanistic Approach
- Communicative Approach
- Culturological Approach
- Problem Approach

*The humanistic approach* is based on the concept that “*the learning process is guided directly to the individuality of the student*” (Abdyhalykova, 2016, p. 2). By designing game

scenarios, teachers may better engage their students. The teacher's personality is less significant in a humanistic approach, yet it is still significant (Fazeli, 2012).

A few alternative teaching and learning strategies have been developed as a result of the humanistic approach. The community method, the quiet learning method, and neuro-linguistic training are only a few examples of this approach. As has already been proven, language abilities are not developed using conventional grammar-translation techniques. Students are proficient in reading and translating a variety of materials, but they are unable to use their knowledge in real-life scenarios (Walls, Nardi, von Minden & Hoffman, 2002).

*“The communicative approach allows the use of grammatical knowledge in a form of speaking and writing skills”* (ChiriĠescu & Păunescu, 2017, p. 377). Within the methods used in this approach, an example is group discussions, which can be considered a simple activity to enhance communication skills. Pairs of students attempt to communicate on various themes while the teacher guides the discussion or offers guiding questions. Another favourite method is using foreign language movies that can be included in the teaching process at a certain stage of learning a foreign language too.

The main point is that there is hardly any reading and translation of texts in the communicative approach. Teachers most frequently facilitate a group discussion. Traditional grammar and translation assignments are becoming less common in classrooms applying the communicative approach. To get the intended outcome, they applied a range of strategies and combined them. Students develop communicative abilities by using their knowledge of grammar (Liao, 2000).

The development of intercultural competency is the fundamental goal of *the culturological approach*. This is the foundation of a certain learning paradigm, while *“the teacher should select tasks, taking into account various aspects, so students will be able to participate in intercultural communication at various levels”* (Abdyhalykova, 2016, p. 3). The approach is based on the pedagogical concepts that characterise the cultural orientation of learning a foreign language.

The acknowledged categorisation of vocabulary, spelling, phonetics, grammar, speech, and receptive and productive skills is used in modern techniques of teaching foreign languages. However, the ability to maintain intercultural dialogue remains one of the most important aims of learning a foreign language too (Shipunova, Berezovskaya, Gashkova & Ivanova, 2017).

A key component is how suitable the language activities are. Therefore, the best way is for their creation to be based on the model of real-world circumstances for intercultural

communication. The culture, values, communication objectives, and expectations must all be considered by the teacher, along with any prior knowledge. For students to engage in intercultural communication at various levels, teachers should choose assignments that consider various factors.

The following guidelines have been established by pedagogical scientists (Shipunova, Berezovskaya, Gashkova & Ivanova, 2017; Talbot & Lilley, 2014):

- Considering the individual abilities of students.
- Considering the specific characteristics of students' speaking abilities.
- Use of both native and foreign languages appropriately.
- Creating an instance of cross-cultural conversation for educational purposes.

*The problem-solving approach* serves as a tool for students thinking and skill development. The unique aspect of the problem-based learning approach is that students participate in the process of making their unique discoveries and gaining new knowledge, which is the next step in learning. Instead of only learning the offered facts, they also construct assumptions and arguments in favour of their conclusions. As a result, problem-based learning encourages independence and helps students develop the abilities necessary for learning.

Questionable issues typically fall into two categories: educational and psychological. They are becoming more prevalent throughout the educational process and have an impact on both student activities and the learning process itself. For the growth, consolidation, and regulation of learned knowledge, the teacher creates a challenging environment. The purpose of creating problem scenarios is as follows (Rogers, 2001):

- Inspiration for the theoretical explanation of varied facts.
- A complete investigation of life events.
- Independent research into how knowledge might be applied practically.
- The desire to generalise and the comparison of fresh information.

Students analyse a challenging circumstance that the teacher develops. They are searching for inconsistencies, fresh data, and truths. They then work alone to systematise the data. The problem-solving method exposes students to a variety of challenges that help them discover information about themselves.

## Results and Discussion

Authoritarian training practices dominated the educational sector for several decades. Students took on the role of passive objects, who do not often take the initiative. Problem-based learning enables the growth of the character traits required for independent personal development as well as improves the effectiveness of the process of learning a foreign language. Notable language scientists outline numerous fundamental strategies to structure the problem-based learning process (Walls, Nardi, A. H., von Minden & Hoffman, 2002; Freeman, 2002; McBer, 2000; Rogers, 2001). These are predicated on specific methods as follows:

- Monologue
- Dialogue
- Survey
- Justification
- Predictive reasoning
- Planning

Most frequently, unique texts with unfamiliar topics are offered to students. They generate new facts and convey their thoughts in a tale or essay they write as a solo project. The creation of a dialogue between the teacher and students, who must provide answers, is a dialogic activity. They use the new information from a text for this. The presentation is written by the students, who draw certain conclusions. This makes it possible to verify the consistency of the text and its logical reasoning as well as its right comprehension.

Heuristic assignments are a unique kind of activity where students are required to make discoveries about new laws or rules. For instance, they can specify the precise verb or time in a sentence. Higher-level performance tasks include research projects. Students must individually research new phenomena and their significance. Teachers have a variety of options for how to organise lessons, including experiments, reports, simulations, surveys, data collection, fact analysis, and more.

Thus, the teacher can use computer-controlled tasks to ensure reliability. *“New information technologies, such as the Internet, audio and video complexes, multimedia training computer programs are widely used at institutions of higher education”* (ChiriĠescu & Păunescu, 2017, p. 376).

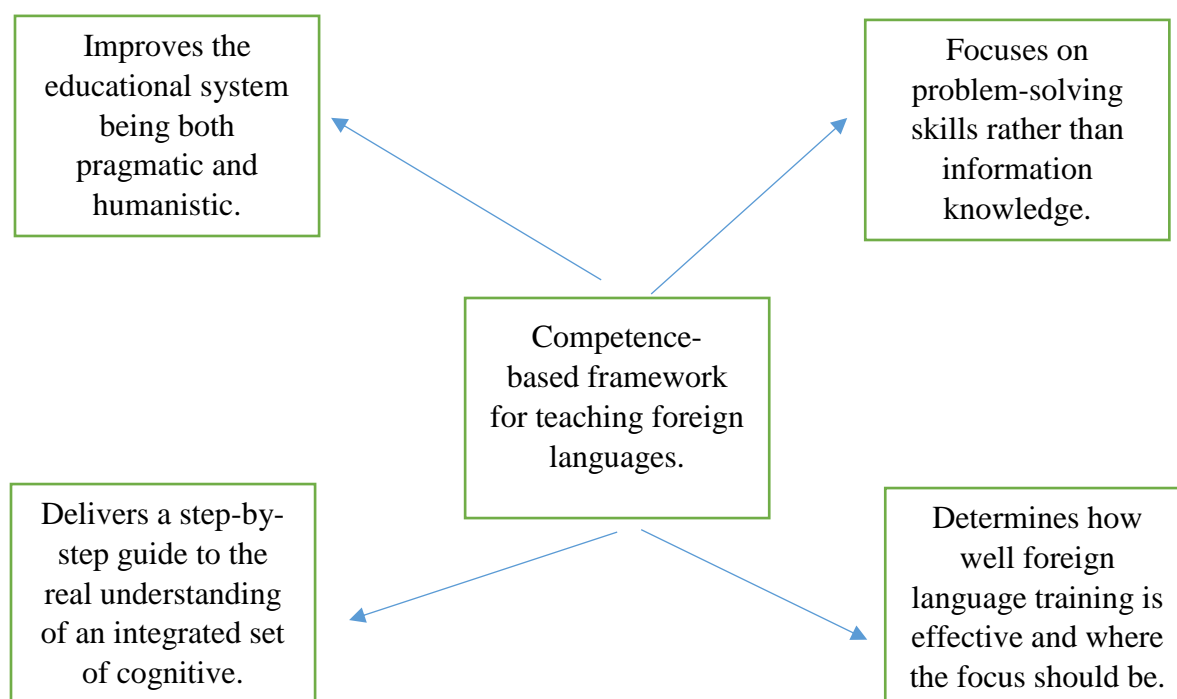
To put this knowledge to use and establish new rules, the teacher can create specific exercises. The use of the problem-solving technique, which is based on an illustration



of a real-life issue, is important throughout the teaching process of students in foreign language classes (Efremenko, 2007). It should be noted that teaching utilising this method can be performed in groups of 3-6 individuals and is concentrated on helping students increase their self-belief, individuality, and thinking skills as well (Kern & Warschauer, 2000).

Another example is using role-playing games based on real-world business situations because they serve as realistic representations of real-world situations, interpersonal relationships in the workplace, interactions between objects, and so on. They also assist students in overcoming uncertainty, encourage self-affirmation, and provide the most thorough assessment of their strengths and weaknesses (Talbot & Lilley, 2014).

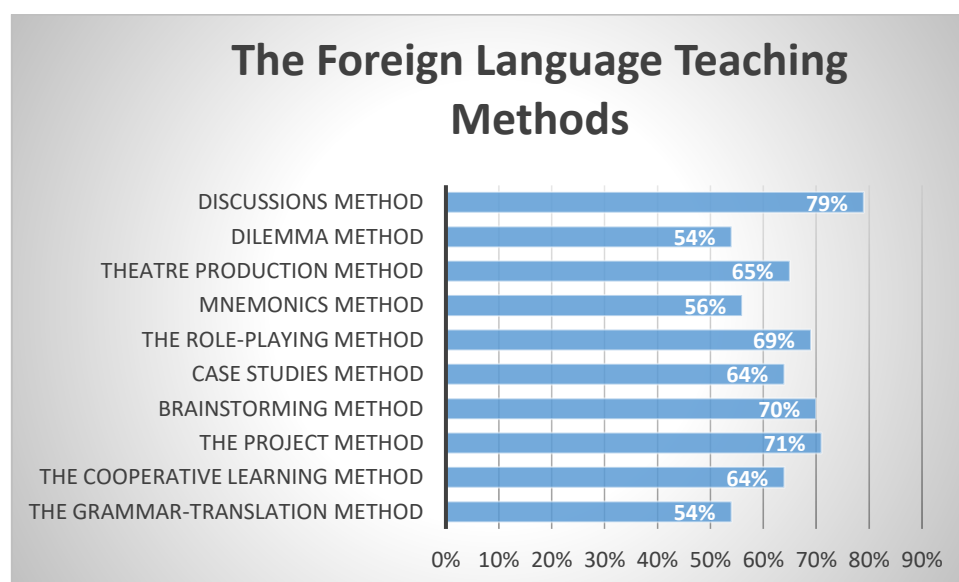
The three main areas of renewing the curriculum of higher education are personality-oriented education, the significance of international and national principles, and maintaining the quality of education based on the latest achievements in educational research. This leads to the development of a distinctive inclination to improve the communicative orientation of the educational process or its approach to the actual communication process. Therefore, the *competence-based approach* should be considered while developing the methodological material for modern foreign language teaching (De Lano, Riley & Crookes, 1994).



**Fig. 1:** *Competence-based framework for teaching foreign languages.*

The research has demonstrated that students develop communicative competence, or the capacity to use the language depending on the circumstances, during the learning process based on the communicative technique. They go through a communication process to learn how to communicate. The utilisation of authentic materials, as well as those used by native speakers, is thus the most important aspect of the communicative approach. The communicative method also requires the use of communicative competence, which comprises social, linguistic, and speaking competence (Pop, 2010).

Regarding the empirical part of our research, the author has addressed the following research problem in this article: empirically evaluate the foreign language teaching methods by students. The author initially collected the data about teaching methods that the students evaluated to determine which ones were the most effective. The results are presented as follows:



**Figure 2:** The foreign language teaching methods

There is just a small amount of variance in the evaluation of the methods listed in the table. The research participants feel that the teaching methods used by foreign language teachers are successful. Nonetheless, it should be highlighted that no technique has received a score from the participants below 54%. Surprisingly, that includes the grammar-translation method too. This demonstrates the need for using all the techniques considered in the research to teach foreign languages. The project method, brainstorming, and discussion are the top three most effective techniques. The grammar-translation approach and the dilemma method are the least efficient.

Except for previous statements, the effectiveness of interactive learning methods should be noted too. When the issue has previously been discussed in class and students have specific experiences and perspectives earned earlier in the learning process, it can serve as a confirmation of the validity of the provided approaches.

The following advantages of interactive learning should be considered:

- Creating relationships and a friendly environment among participants in communication.
- Giving students the chance to become more independent and self-assured.
- Inspiring students to cooperate.
- Supporting them when they make mistakes.
- Provide a welcoming environment for them to get over their language-related concerns.

In conclusion to this part of the article, three fundamental elements involve the foundation of innovative approaches and methods in foreign language teaching:

- A professional, well-organised framework, the foundation of which is professional competency that satisfies present-day realities using material consisting of various multimedia resources transmitted via current communication channels.
- Implementing creative teaching techniques, which should be designed to help students develop their specialised skills by engaging them in active learning and practical learning activities and encouraging initiative in the classroom.
- Innovative teaching methods, or techniques that consider the needs and goals that drive the creation of new knowledge, are the foundation of innovative educational programs in foreign language teaching.

## **Conclusion**

Learning objectives, educational material, motivation, and teaching resources are some of the most important components of innovation in education. Changes in educational technologies and the implementation of new trends and approaches into the educational process are necessary due to the rapid evolution of society. Educational institutions must be ready for the evolving modern trends. Therefore, it is essential to incorporate a person-centred approach based on the competence-based framework, flexibility, and distance learning technology into education.

Educational processes these days demand not only the use of new technology in teaching a foreign language but also modifications in pedagogical approaches and the teacher's capacity to integrate the most innovative approaches and methods into the process of teaching foreign languages. Higher education institutions should implement active teaching strategies that encourage students' independence, adaptability, and critical thinking. Innovative technologies are the most effective source of the student's cognitive activity, growing their creativity, interests, talents, and other cognitive qualities.

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## **II. POLITOLOGY SECTION**

# **PRIORITIES OF THE SLOVAK REPUBLIC IN THE CONTEXT OF THE MULTIANNUAL FINANCIAL FRAMEWORK 2021-2027**

Mária FUSEKOVÁ

**Abstract:** The long-term budget of the European Union - The Multiannual Financial Framework is a time-limited period of seven years as a rule and, in line with European legislation, is intended to ensure that European Union spending on individual policies is spent systematically and within its own resources, which the annual budget of the European Union must respect, thus laying the cornerstone of the European Union's financial discipline. For the Slovak Republic, the most important chapter in the Multiannual Financial Framework is the cohesion policy, as it is possible to draw European Union funds under the Structural Funds and the Cohesion Fund, which represents a significant part of public expenditure for the Slovak Republic. For this reason, this paper will focus on the priorities and objectives set by the Slovak Republic in preparation for the programming period 2021-2027 under the European Union Cohesion Policy. The main objective of this paper is to analyze the priorities and the form of the Multiannual Financial Framework for 2021-2027 in the context of the priorities of the Slovak Republic for this period.

**Key words:** Multiannual financial framework, EU budget, Cohesion policy, programming period 2021-2027

## **Introduction**

The European Union (EU) is an integration community of 27 countries which, by joining the Community, have committed themselves to the same rights and obligations in implementing a unified foreign and internal policy of sovereign Member States. At the same time, the EU is an economic and political grouping whose main objective is a Europe with sustainable economic growth, a competitive economy and improving environmental quality. An important element of the EU is the common policies for each area. Policy-making is under the umbrella of the EU institutions, in which all Member States are represented and are subsequently obliged to follow these policies within the framework of their national legislation in accordance with EU legislation.

Three main institutions are involved in the legislative process: the European Parliament, which represents the citizens of the Union and is directly elected by them; The Council of the European Union, representing the Member States. The Presidency of the Council shall rotate between



Member States on a rotating basis; The European Commission (Commission), which represents the interests of the EU as a whole. This 'institutional triangle' creates the policies and legislation that apply throughout the EU through the ordinary legislative procedure (formerly known as the co-decision procedure). In principle, the Commission proposes new legislation, but it is adopted by Parliament and the Council. The Commission and the Member States then apply them and at the same time ensure that the legislation is properly applied and implemented (European Union, 2019).

One common feature of the EU is the common budget. The EU budget is intended to finance EU policy, the administrative expenditure of the European institutions and for other purposes. Budget revenues are predominantly levies based on Member States' GDP (73.0%), followed by customs duties and agricultural import levies (11.5%) and share in value added tax (VAT) of Member States (14.4%). Budget expenditure consists of expenditure on agriculture (42.9%), Structural and Cohesion Funds (35.6%), internal policy (7.4%), foreign activities (4.3%), administration (5.2%), reserves (0.4%), pre-accession aid (2.9%) and others (European Union, 2020).

The EU Treaty and the Treaty on the Functioning of the EU (European Union, 2012) define the concept of the EU's long-term budget as a Multiannual Financial Framework (MFF), established for a period of at least five years, to ensure that EU spending is spent systematically and within its own resources; it sets out the provisions that the EU annual budget must respect, thus laying the cornerstone of financial discipline (European Parliament, 2019). The MFF have been five so far. The Lisbon Treaty has transformed the MFF from an inter-institutional agreement to a legally binding act (European Union, 2007). The MFF for the years 2021-2027 is currently being negotiated in the EU, with legislative budget proposals being presented by the Commission as early as 2018.

For the Slovak Republic, the most important chapter in the MFF is cohesion policy, as this chapter can draw EU funds under the Structural Funds and the Cohesion Fund, which represents a significant part of public expenditure for the Slovak Republic. For this reason, this paper will focus on the priorities and objectives set by the Slovak Republic in preparation for the programming period 2021-2027 under the EU Cohesion Policy. The main aim of this paper is to analyse the form of the MFF for the years 2021-2027 in the context of the priorities of the Slovak Republic for this period. In this paper we used methods of analysis, synthesis, induction and deduction to achieve the set goals. Another key method that was used was descriptive statistics and we used a graphical representation of the identified values for better visualization.

## **1. European Union Cohesion Policy**

Cohesion policy is one of the main EU policies in terms of importance or financial scope (Kováčik, 2021). Cohesion policy is a strategy of the European Union (EU) to help and promote the overall harmonious development of Member States and regions. At the same time, cohesion policy is the main source of investment in Europe. The EU Cohesion Policy, enshrined in the TFEU, aims to strengthen economic and social cohesion by reducing disparities in the degree of development between regions. This policy focuses on key areas that will help the EU to meet the current challenges of the 21st century and remain competitive globally.

During the period of its implementation, the attributes of cohesion policy have changed significantly and evolved. In particular, it concerns its objectives and instruments as well as the structure of financial security. This was mainly due to the need to respond flexibly to the dynamic changes that Europe has undergone in recent years.

These changes can be most effectively observed through the adoption of EU strategic documents such as the Lisbon Strategy or the Europe 2020 Strategy (European Commission, 2010).

Based on the defined priorities in these documents, as well as the definition of measures, we can see that the objectives of cohesion policy were no longer defined solely to reduce regional disparities between regions, but under the influence of events such as the global economic and financial crisis have focused on a much wider range of interventions. European structural and regional policy also referred to as EU cohesion policy, resp. it is currently closely linked to the Europe 2020 objectives. The main role of structural policy is to strengthen economic, social and territorial solidarity, referred to as cohesion in the various EU Member States. It pays particular attention to promoting growth and jobs in regions where regional development is lagging behind. These regions are named as structurally weak regions. Cohesion and structural policy is therefore an expression of EU solidarity with its less developed Member States and their regions (Dobřík, Rýsová, 2014). Despite the implementation of regional policy in Slovakia, it is necessary to realize that the current economic development is followed by a constant increase in the differences between regions (Čajka - Ondria, 2015).

Theoretic-methodological anchoring and general issues of regional policy functioning as such dealt in e.g. Gorzelak, Kukliński 1992, Maier, Todtling 1998, Armstrong, Taylor 2000, or Wokoun et al. 2008, in terms of home provenance, e.g. Samson et al. 2001, Rajčáková 2005, Ivanička, Ivaničková 2007 or Buček, Rehák, Tvrdoň 2010. Some of the aforementioned works also examined regional policy developments over a longer period of time (e.g. Samson et al. 2001, Rajčáková 2005, Bachtler, 2018). By assessing the impact of EU regional policy, based

on the use of Structural Funds and examining convergence and divergent processes in the regional structure of the EU Flores 2008 or Busillo et al. The functioning of regional policy in the 1990s in Slovakia, i.e. in the first years of its existence, examined e.g. Búšik, 1998. Fiala, Krutílek, Pitrová 2018 discuss regional and structural EU policy in the context of financing individual EU policies. EU Cohesion Policy reforms, analysis of the policy formulation process and its impact on the multiannual financial framework are addressed by Bachtler, Mendez and Wishlade (2013). With the issue of setting up EU cohesion policy after 2020 deals also e.g. Begg (2018), according to which cohesion will increasingly be associated with wider economic governance within the European Semester, country-specific recommendations and disciplinary mechanisms on fiscal policy and macroeconomic imbalances.

## **2. Main elements of post-2020 cohesion policy**

In its proposal for a general regulation COM (2018) 375 final, published in May 2018, the Commission proposes to modernize cohesion policy under the new programming period 2021-2027 (European Commission, 2019). The aim is to increase economic and social convergence, while helping regions to take full advantage of globalization and to provide them with the right tools for strong and lasting growth. All regions in Europe still based on the following three categories: less developed, transition and more developed regions, remain eligible for cohesion policy funding (European Commission, 2018). The Commission proposal for a modernized cohesion policy has the main elements:

- A. Focus on key investment priorities.
  - B. Cohesion policy for all regions and a more individualized approach to regional development.
  - C. Less numerous, clearer and concise rules.
  - D. Stronger links with the European Semester to improve investment
- A. Focusing on key investment priorities where the EU has much to offer:

The vast majority of investments from the European Regional Development Fund and the Cohesion Fund will go to innovation, support for SMEs, digital technologies and the modernization of industry. They also address the transition to a low-carbon, circular economy and the fight against climate change and the implementation of the Paris Agreement.

B. Cohesion policy for all regions and a more individualized approach to regional development:

- Investing in all regions: Regions that are still lagging behind in terms of growth or income - particularly those in Southern and Eastern Europe that will continue to receive important EU support. Cohesion policy will continue to invest in all regions, as many across Europe face difficulties in achieving industrial transformation, combating unemployment and maintaining a position in a globalized economy, including wealthier Member States.
- A more personalized approach: Cohesion policy recognizes three categories of regions: less developed, transition and more developed regions. In order to reduce disparities and help regions with low incomes and low growth to catch up with others, GDP per capita remains the predominant criterion for allocating funds. New criteria aim to better reflect reality in the field - youth unemployment, low education, climate change and the reception and integration of migrants.
- Local governance: Cohesion policy 2021-2027 represents a Europe that shifts responsibilities to regions by supporting local-led development strategies. Local, urban and territorial authorities will be more involved in the management of EU funds, while increasing the co-financing rate in regions and cities will improve accountability for EU-funded projects.

C. Less numerous, clearer, concise rules and a more flexible framework:

- Simplifying access to finance: Commission proposes to simplify rules, less bureaucracy and less control procedures for businesses and entrepreneurs benefiting from EU support in the next long-term EU budget.
- Single set of rules: One set of rules now includes the seven EU funds implemented in partnership with Member States ('shared management'), which will make life easier for program fund managers. It will also create better scope for synergies, for example between cohesion policy funds and the Asylum and Migration Fund, in developing local strategies for the integration of migrants. The framework also allows for a more efficient link with other funding from the EU Budget Toolbox. For example, Member States may decide to transfer some sources of cohesion policy to the InvestEU program.
- Adapting to needs: The new framework also combines the stability needed for long-term investment planning with an adequate level of flexibility to deal with unforeseen

events. The mid-term review will show whether changes to the programs for the last two years of the funding period are needed and there will be limited transfers of resources under programs supported by EU funds.

**D. Stronger links with the European Semester to improve the investment environment in Europe:**

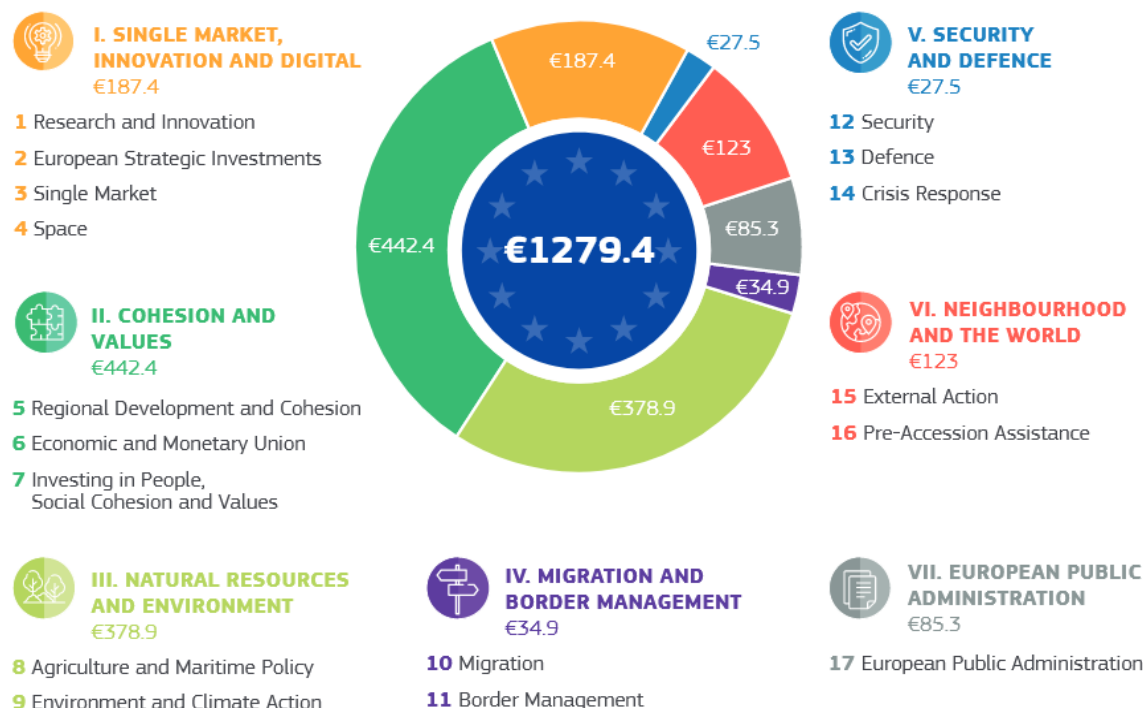
The Commission proposes to strengthen the link between cohesion policy and the European Semester in order to create a favourable environment for growth and entrepreneurship in Europe in order to fully realize the investment potential at EU and Member State level. Such stronger support for structural reforms under cohesion policy will ensure full complementarity and coordination with the new, expanded reform support program (European Commission, 2018).

**3. Draft Multiannual Financial Framework 2021-2027**

On 2 May 2018, the Commission presented the long awaited draft budget - the MFF for 2021-2027. The Commission's proposals will fully align the EU budget with the EU's post-2020 program. The new MFF responds to new challenges such as terrorism, security threats, climate change and migration. In the context of the future long-term budget for 2021-2027, the Commission proposes to modernize cohesion policy, as this modernization is focused on the main investment policy of the EU (Kováčik - Imrovič, 2020). At the same time, however, it should have sufficient resources allocated to traditional instruments such as cohesion policy and the common agricultural policy, which help to strengthen internal cohesion and convergence in the EU. Building on the newly defined EU policy priorities, the new proposal is designed to meet the challenges identified and take advantage of opportunities, to be simpler and more flexible and to improve the transparency of budgetary spending. Future EU policy goals have been defined as a secure Europe, a prosperous and sustainable Europe, a social Europe and Europe as a stronger global player. For the first time ever, this is a budget of EUR 1 279 billion at current prices for the EU27 (after Brexit). In compiling it, the Commission has focused mainly on the 5 principles on which the proposal is based: 1) in line with political priorities, 2) clear and simple, 3) more flexible, 4) realistic and pragmatic, 5) fair and balanced (Office of the Deputy Prime Minister of the Slovak Republic for Investments and Informatisation, 2018). The proposed budget combines new instruments with modernized programs in order to effectively meet the Union's priorities and meet new challenges, bringing

about increased transparency, reduced programs and reduced bureaucracy for final beneficiaries, increased flexibility and greater links with the European Semester.

**Figure 1: Draft Multiannual Financial Framework for 2021-2027**



Source: European Parliament, 2019

In the coming period, the MFF proposal for 2021-2027 will be the subject of discussions between EU Member States and complex negotiations in the Council of the EU, where it is adopted unanimously and will subsequently be the subject of a triilogue between the Commission, the Council and the European Parliament.

As part of its next long-term budget for 2021-2027, the Commission proposes to modernize cohesion policy, the EU's main investment policy and one of its most concrete expressions of solidarity. The EU economy is recovering, but additional investment efforts are needed to address the persistent disparities between Member States. With a budget of EUR 373 billion in commitments for the years 2021-2027, the future cohesion policy has the investment potential to bridge these differences. Resources will continue to be directed to the regions which are most in need of catching up with the rest of the EU. At the same time, it remains a strong and direct link between the EU and its regions.

The Commission's proposal is EUR 1 134 583 million EUR (at 2018 prices) in commitment appropriations, representing 1.11% of EU-27 GNI.

The budget is foreseen, inter alia, for border control, defence, migration, internal and external security, development cooperation and research; cuts are also envisaged in cohesion and agricultural policy. The overall structure needs to be simplified and the seven new headings will comprise a total of 17 political clusters. The number of individual expenditure programs is to be reduced from the current 58 to 37 for the years 2021-2027. In addition, the Commission proposes a set of specific budgetary instruments outside the MFF ceilings to improve flexibility in establishing the EU budget, such as Flexibility Instrument (EUR 1 billion per year) for emergency aid (EUR 600 million per year), European Union Solidarity Fund (EUR 600 million per year), European Globalization Adjustment Fund (EUR 200 million per year), European Peace Facility and European Investment Stabilization Facility (loans of up to EUR 30 billion during MFF period). The European Development Fund (EDF) is to be incorporated into the MFF. In addition, the Commission proposes to modernize the revenue side, including the introduction of several new categories of own resources based on revenues from the EU Emissions Trading Scheme, Member States' contribution by plastic waste and share in the common consolidated corporate tax base (European Parliament, 2019). Subsequently, on 29 May 2018, the Commission published a package of new EU Cohesion Policy legislation for 2021-2027, which lays down the rules for the use of EU funds in the post-2020 programming period, i.e. establishing criteria on the basis of which individual EU Member States will know the amount of the national envelope that they can count on in the new programming period 2021-2027.

The share of EU Cohesion Policy in the total MFF, including EDF, will fall from 33.21% to 29.14%, i.e. around 4%. Decrease in expenditures at 2018 prices represents 12.5%, after taking into account the UK's exit from the EU, this is a 9.9% decrease for the EU-27 and according to current Commission calculations, the decrease is 7%. Cohesion policy is integrated in the proposal 2021-2027 under the second heading, Cohesion and Values, which supports investment in: regional development and cohesion through instruments such as the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF), the Cohesion Fund (CF) and Community Support Turkish Cypriots; Economic and Monetary Union; people, social cohesion and values through the European Social Fund + (ESF +), Erasmus +, the European Solidarity Corps, the Creative Europe Program, Justice, Rights and Values and others.

#### **4. Position of the SR on the MFF and priorities of the SR for the programming period 2021-2027**

In January 2019, the Government of the Slovak Republic approved in the form of a government resolution the document “Framework Position of the Slovak Republic on the EU MFF after 2020”, which responds to the draft MFF. According to this document, the position of the Slovak Republic should also include the requirement to maintain the current co-financing conditions for all categories of regions and to achieve a better balance in defining the general financial conditions. Slovakia's priority should also be to significantly simplify the rules for the implementation of projects co-financed from the EU budget and harmonize the horizontal rules across funds and instruments. According to the material, it is also important for Slovakia to maintain a strong position of cohesion policy and keep its percentage at the highest level on the total EU budget in the MFF after 2020. If the EU27 wants to continue, it will be necessary to increase investment in areas with innovation, digitization and environmental protection.

The common strategic objective of EU Member States after 2020 should be to ensure sustainable economic and social development, to balance economic, social and territorial disparities and to increase the competitiveness of the EU (Government Office, 2019).

An important element of the preparation of the new programming period is the indicated decline in the financial envelope for Slovakia for cohesion policy, as set out in the EU MFF proposal for 2021-2027. According to the published proposal, Slovakia should receive EUR 11.77 billion at constant prices. EUR 13.3 billion in current prices (Government Office, 2018). According to the Commission proposal, the allocation of the Slovak Republic for cohesion policy should decrease by 21.7% at constant prices in 2018. At current prices it should amount to EUR 13.2 billion. However, Slovakia should remain among the countries with the highest rate of aid per capita, EUR 310. Allocation for the EU Cohesion Fund for the period 2021 - 2027 was reduced by 38% compared to the current programming period 2014-2020. For the Slovak Republic, this is a reduction of the allocation for the EU Cohesion Fund from 68.7 billion euros. It is a fund only for those EU Member States that are less than 90% of the gross national income (GNI) of the European average at the level of development. In practice, this would mean a reduction in the overall allocation for transport and environment infrastructure in Slovakia from € 4.168 billion for 2014-2020 to € 2.173 billion for 2021-2027, a reduction of about 48%. The Slovak Republic, as an EU Member State, is obliged to ensure effective management and control systems for its operational programs, as well as tasks to ensure a strategic approach, ability to address synergies and complementarities in order to address specific challenges at sub-regional



and local level (Office of the Deputy Prime Minister of the Slovak Republic for Investments and Informatisation, 2019).

In order to be able to draw finances from the European Union (EU) funds in the Slovak Republic from 1 January 2021, from the start of eligibility of expenditure for the new programming period 2021-2027, the EU needs to adopt the budget and the relevant EU legislation in 2020. Member States are expected to adopt basic strategic and programming documents such as the Partnership Agreement and operational programs. In order to ensure timely implementation of the new programming period, it would be optimal for the first quarter of 2020 to submit the first draft of the Partnership Agreement of the Slovak Republic for the years 2021 - 2027 for consideration by the Commission. At the same time, the process of assessing the environmental impact of this strategy paper should start. In the second half of 2020, according to the optimum scenario, the Government's approval of the draft Partnership Agreement of the Slovak Republic and the operational programs should be discussed, and subsequently these documents submitted for approval to the Commission. At the same time, all relevant basic conditions at national level which are necessary for the use of future EU funds must be met by 31 December 2020 at the latest.

The main objective Slovakia as a member group of 17 countries within the EU so called 'Friends of cohesion' is to keep the level of budget expenditure earmarked for cohesion policy at least at the same level as in the current programming period in the MFF negotiations. Another very important position of the SR in the negotiations is to keep the n+3 rule regarding the timeline of the EU funds drawing, as the Commission proposal includes changing the rules to n+2 due to ambition to speed up the EU funds implementation in the Member states.

In October 2019, the Council of the Government of the Slovak Republic for Cohesion Policy 2021 - 2027 approved the Initial Draft Priorities of the Slovak Republic Cohesion Policy Priorities for the next programming period. The proposed range of priorities takes into account the breakdown by the five objectives of the EU Cohesion Policy: A Smarter Europe - Innovative and Intelligent Economic Transformation, A Greener, Low Carbon Europe, Interconnected Europe - ICT mobility and regional connectivity, A Social Europe - Implementing the European Pillar of Social Rights - sustainable and integrated development of urban, rural and coastal areas through local initiatives.

***Table 1: Priorities of the Slovak Republic within the Cohesion Policy for 2021-2027***

## **1. A SMARTER EUROPE - an innovative and intelligent transformation of the economy**

- 1.1 Expanding research and innovation capacities and using advanced technologies
  - 1.1.1 Promoting cooperation between academia and businesses*
  - 1.1.2 Supporting human resources development in research and development*
  - 1.1.3 Supporting the building and modernization of central infrastructure for research and development*
  - 1.1.4 Support of participation of Slovak entities in the European Research Area*
- 1.2 Taking advantage of digitalisation for citizens, businesses and governments
  - 1.2.1 Promoting a digital economy based on data and modern technologies for digital transformation*
  - 1.2.2 Supporting the building of smart cities and regions*
  - 1.2.3 Supporting the development of artificial intelligence and cyber security*
  - 1.2.4 Modernization of the provision of public services*
- 1.3 Strengthening the growth and competitiveness of SMEs, including productive investments
  - 1.3.1 Support for small and medium-sized enterprises*
  - 1.3.2 Internationalization of Small and Medium Enterprises*
  - 1.3.3 Support for business networking*
- 1.4 Skills Development for Smart Specialization, Industrial Transformation and Entrepreneurship – Human Resources for Innovative Slovakia and the EU
  - 1.4.1 Promoting the quality of labour market oriented tertiary education*
  - 1.4.2 Support for continuing education in the context of the Industrial Revolution 4.0 and smart specialization*
  - 1.4.3 Promoting vocational education and training in the context of the Industrial Revolution 4.0. and smart specialization*
  - 1.4.4 Digital and business skills*

## **2. A MORE ENVIRONMENTALLY FRIENDLY LOW CARBON EUROPE - environmentally sustainable and low carbon Slovakia**

- 2.1 Increasing energy efficiency, promoting RES and reducing greenhouse gas emissions
  - 2.1.1 Increasing energy efficiency and renewable energy use in companies and reducing the energy performance of buildings*
  - 2.1.2 Promotion of renewable energy sources and efficient district heating systems (CHS) in the areas of heat and cold supply and smart energy systems, energy storage*
  - 2.1.3 Promoting sustainable mobility by increasing the share of alternative greener transport drives*
- 2.2 Adaptation to climate change, risk prevention and disaster resilience
  - 2.2.1 Water management and retention capacity of landscape and settlement environment*
  - 2.2.2 Preventive measures to protect against emergencies linked to climate change*
  - 2.2.3 Reducing disaster risk by increasing capacity, preparedness and response*
  - 2.2.4 Supporting the adaptation process through improving data availability, supporting the creation of strategic documents*
- 2.3 The transition to a circular economy, resource efficiency and improved air quality
  - 2.3.1 A comprehensive approach to preventing the generation, re-use and recovery of waste*
  - 2.3.2 Investing in improving air quality*
  - 2.3.3 Promoting the transition to a circular economy and resource efficiency*
  - 2.3.4 Promoting sustainable multimodal urban mobility*
- 2.4 Improving water quality and conservation status, biodiversity and landscape

<p><i>2.4.1 Improving water quality and condition in water supply and waste water treatment</i></p> <p><i>2.4.2 Investments in nature conservation, biodiversity and ecosystem quality and ecosystem services</i></p>
<p><b>3. A MOST CONNECTED EUROPE - ICT mobility and regional connectivity</b></p> <p>3.1. Developing a sustainable, smart, secure and intermodal climate-proof TEN-T network</p> <p><i>3.1.1 Completion of the TEN-T motorway connections</i></p> <p><i>3.1.2 Construction of expressways</i></p> <p><i>3.1.3 Modernization of the TEN-T railway infrastructure, including nodes</i></p> <p><i>3.1.4 Modernization of water transport</i></p> <p>3.2 Developing and promoting sustainable, smart and intermodal climate-resilient national, regional and local mobility, including improved access to TEN-T and cross-border mobility</p> <p><i>3.2.1 Modernization and construction of class I roads</i></p> <p><i>3.2.2 Support for regional rail transport</i></p> <p><i>3.2.3 Improving regional transport services, including infrastructure</i></p> <p><i>3.2.4 Development of cycle transport and its infrastructure</i></p> <p>3.3 Digital connectivity support</p>
<p><b>4. A SOCIAL EUROPE - Implementing the European pillar of social rights</b></p> <p>4.1 Improving access to employment for all job-seekers, in particular young people and the long-term unemployed and disadvantaged groups in the labour market, as well as inactive persons, and promoting self-employment and the social economy</p> <p>4.2 Modernizing labour market institutions and services to assess and anticipate skills needs and ensure timely and targeted assistance and support to align supply with labour market needs, as well as in transitions between employment and mobility</p> <p>4.3 Promoting a better work-life balance, including access to care for children and dependents in relation to gender-balanced labour market participation</p> <p>4.4 Improving the quality and effectiveness of education and training systems as well as their relevance to the labour market in order to promote the acquisition of key competences, in particular digital skills</p> <p>4.5 Improving access to inclusive and quality education, training and lifelong learning services</p> <p><i>10.5.1. Equal access to quality and inclusive education</i></p> <p><i>10.5.2. Promoting lifelong learning - adaptability of human resources for 21st century skills</i></p> <p>4.6 Promoting active inclusion to promote equal opportunities and active participation and improve employability</p> <p>4.7 Promoting the socio-economic integration of marginalized Roma communities (MRC)</p> <p>4.8 Ensuring equal access to healthcare, including primary care, by developing infrastructure</p> <p>4.9 Promoting the social integration of people at risk of poverty or social exclusion, including the most deprived and children</p> <p>4.10 Solution of material deprivation</p>

## **5. EUROPE CLOSER TO CITIZENS - Sustainable and integrated development of urban, rural and coastal areas through local initiatives**

### **5.1 Regional development, local development and security**

*5.1.1 Building administrative and analytical-strategic capacities of local and regional authorities*

*5.1.2 Supporting partnerships of local and regional actors and intergenerational and interregional cooperation*

*5.1.3 Increasing the security of citizens and better securing public services*

*5.1.4 Integrated community development of the population*

### **5.2 Complex support of development of all forms of tourism based on support of development of specificities and endogenous potential of regions of Slovakia**

*5.2.1 Management and services supporting sustainable tourism*

*5.2.2 Protection and restoration of national cultural monuments and monuments*

*5.2.3 Renewal and development of cultural infrastructure*

*5.2.4 Natural heritage*

### **5.3 Regions with specific needs**

*5.3.1 Supporting the development of lagging regions*

*Source: Own elaboration on the basis of the document "Initial proposal of priorities of the Slovak Republic for cohesion policy for the next programming period", Office of the Deputy Prime Minister of the Slovak Republic for Investments and Informatisation, 2019.*

## **Conclusion**

Slovakia belongs to a group of 17 countries within the EU, so called 'Friends of cohesion'. The main aim of this group is to keep the expenditure earmarked through the long-term cohesion budget to remain high, at least to date. Strong cooperation between these countries has proven itself in the past in the negotiations on the EU's MFF for 2014-2020. The situation in the EU with regard to the preparation of the new programming period 2021-2027 under cohesion policy is currently very complicated. Negotiations were entered by several new factors that cause friction areas and make it difficult to negotiate on the final form of the MFF, in particular its size and the breakdown by policy. So far, the most important issue remains the very size of the budget, which will be the basis for other discussions on the budget chapters. An essential new element in the creation of the MFF is also the fact that many new policies have been added in the EU which is seeking a significant share of the resources from the new budget. These are in particular areas related to migration, border protection, security and the creation of new tools such as: European Stability Fund or Reform Support Program. The departure of the United Kingdom from the Community in 2020 - Brexit caused a significant loss of resources as it was the second largest net beneficiary (in 7 years it was around EUR 84 billion). The Commission proposes to compensate this lack of resources in part by channelling Member States more than hitherto into the common budget. Among other measures, the Commission also proposes reducing some of the traditional European policies, such as: the common agricultural or cohesion policy. This reduction would consequently mean that some countries will have fewer

resources for cohesion policy than in the current programming period, which is also the case of Slovakia under the 2018 MFF proposal. The amount of the chapter on cohesion policy under the MFF as well as the amount of the EU contribution to the SR from the Structural Funds and the Cohesion Fund will be crucial in achieving the set objectives within the individual priorities. If this position does not change and the Slovak representatives fail to negotiate more financial resources, this will mean a crucial turning point for the area of priorities for financing from the next programming period, when we will have to considerably reduce the number of priority areas that will subsequently through individual operational programs. This prioritization, related to the need to reduce areas of support, should be carried out in the optimum scenario on the basis of thorough expert analyses and, if possible, not only on the basis of political decisions. These analyses should take into account the results of the implementation of the last two programming periods, as some of the supported areas have proved to be ineffective, resp. projects funded by them cannot be considered to be value added, sustainable and sometimes meaningful, not to mention many cases of overpricing.

The way of professional and meaningful prioritization of areas that will be financed under the Cohesion Policy in Slovakia seems to be the only possible ambition to achieve higher added value, support of the economy and competitiveness and sustainability through the implementation of these funds. At the same time, it is necessary to realize in this context that, together with the gradually rising standard of living in the Slovak Republic, we are getting closer to the position of net payers within the framework of the creation of the EU common budget, i.e. we will be paying more money to the EU budget than we will be able to draw from it through various mechanisms.

It cannot be ruled out that the programming period 2021-2027 will be the last for the SR, where the SR will be in the positive balance in terms of the balance of income and payments to the EU common budget. This is one of the reasons why we can consider the resources that we will draw under the MFF 2021-2027 unique and unrepeatable, which at the same time puts some pressure on all institutions in Slovakia responsible for their implementation to ensure responsible and meaningful priority prioritization as well as effective, transparent and cost-effective absorption of EU funds in 2021-2027.

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# **BUREAUCRATIC OBSTACLES AFFECTING THE BUSINESS ENVIRONMENT IN SLOVAKIA**

Róbert GULIŠ

**ABSTRACT:** In the present article, the author focuses on bureaucratic conditions and obstacles on the part of public administration that the business sector "struggles" with during its existence. The paper points out several elements of state policy in introducing, evaluating and trying to reform bureaucratic burdens in the current period in relation to their consequences.

**Keywords:** *public administration, bureaucracy, conditions, business environment*

## **1. Introduction to the issue.**

Bureaucracy can be characterized as a system of organized rules established through public administration to implement the promotion of the interests of government goals in society. Rules that are subject to the structure of legal norms, procedures and their hierarchy, representing the conditions for the forced behavior of subjects in the need to achieve their needs. Thus, we note the existence of a bureaucratic system which is essentially intended to impose general binding and predetermined conditions in the regime of relations between public administration (as an instrument of executive public authority and public policy) and persons (natural and legal), or between public administration institutions. The fundamental principles that accompany bureaucracy are hierarchy and centralization of decision-making. These constitute the main and important principles for its functionality, complemented by the division of labor and the specialization of workers involved in direct performance and control of compliance with bureaucratic conditions.

The bureaucratic system, in its extensive size, is dynamically evolving in direct proportion to the interests and needs of the government's public and political power. Perhaps the most significant dynamics of the development of the system in question and the relationships conditioning the fulfilment of bureaucratic conditions for achieving the objectives of the business environment appears.

The development of relations in the area of bureaucratic burden of the business environment by the concerned state institutions across companies is a mirror of the behaviour of competent persons who directly or indirectly intervene in the creation of conditions for doing business in Slovakia. The role of public policy is to respond to the needs of the business environment,

which plays a significant role in shaping important economic and social conditions in society. By creating, implementing and reflecting on the needs of conditions in the assessed environment, the misleading apparatus should continuously assist selected entities so that by fulfilling the conditions of bureaucratic burden, it creates favorable conditions and not vice versa. In practice, this means that the burden in question should help the entities concerned, the fulfilment of the conditions should comply with the principles of clarity, clarity and, last but not least, predictability in proceedings. Anticipating the development and fulfilment of bureaucratic conditions in the business environment ultimately also affects the financial resilience of enterprises, the creation of development business activities, job creation and social development in society. They predetermine and represent the basic conditions of state (public) administration in a given regime and represent a mirror of their suitability, sufficiency, or their unreasonableness and disproportionate burden.

The social sphere is also a measure of how the business environment benefits in society, and this is in terms of coping with bureaucratic burdens by meeting the established bureaucratic obstacles.

## **2. Cross-section of the development of bureaucracy in the conditions of Slovakia's independence**

The Slovak Republic, resp. its representatives, during its establishment and subsequent development, had to deal with the needs of introducing rules for the performance of public administration for the needs of the whole society. Rules that transparently predetermine the conditions of conduct of subjects in ongoing emerging situations and conditions. By creating conditions for the behaviour of public administration and persons, as the main actors in social relations, it was necessary to deal with it as soon as possible.

The truth is that many of the conditions that conditioned the relations in question were temporarily taken over from the previous conditions in force in the territory of the then Czechoslovak arrangement. Achieving independence has created the need for Slovakia to deal with the new situation so that they are implemented immediately and smoothly. Time and need, combined with each other in introducing new conditions, play an important role, which is a mirror of their quality. Initial quality, which creates prerequisites for the further development of the introduction of bureaucratic conditions. In plain language, "only the high-quality foundations of the creation of a bureaucratic system give a prerequisite for further qualitative

development, which is a reflection of the competent for the needs of society, public administration and public policy for the benefit of society".

The development of bureaucracy in the conditions of independent Slovakia can be divided into an approximate development over decades, just as government forces alternated in connection with the development of Slovakia in the "European area".

The first stage, which can also be called the "nineties", was the accompanying adaptation of state independence, independence of state apparatus and the apparatus of the entire public administration of modern independent Slovakia. At the same time, the process of preparing Slovakia's integration into European structures was started. The creation of new rules with these situations in mind has resulted in the introduction of not only positive changes, but also a lot of nonsense in a regime of bureaucratic obstacles. The question may be whether the errors in the introduction of bureaucracy were the result of the rapid pace of their introduction, a sufficient level of maturity of the competent authorities, or the temperament of a new political culture. The analysis of these factors seems to be an endless controversy at a time when it was and is necessary to deal with the current reality first, or to use the analysis of the history in question as a basis for useful conclusions in the context of future prudence.

The subsequent second stage, which can be dated as the first decade of the new century, was significantly marked by intensive accession processes to European structures, fulfilment of their criteria, preparation for the common European currency and not forgetting the preparation of Slovakia's accession to membership in the North Atlantic military alliance NATO. The dynamics of the period also predetermined the dynamics in the introduction of bureaucratic "novelties" in the Slovak public environment. In speed and dynamics, it did not differ from those in the nineties, with the difference that these did not start from "zero" when reflecting on emerging needs, but foreign influences significantly interfered in their creation. The advantages, disadvantages, suitability, or unsuitability for Slovak society can be evaluated as fundamental today, also with regard to further procedures of bureaucracy development on the territory of Slovakia already as a member state of the European Union and the North Atlantic Treaty of NATO.

The next stage, which influenced the development of bureaucracy in Slovakia, was accompanied by a turbulent period, first with the consequences of the financial crisis after 2008, then since 2012 on Slovakia's economic prosperity in managing it. This stage, which basically lasts until the present period, was and is also marked by transformational changes in the field

of reflection on the creation of bureaucratic conditions. These can also be seen in the political sphere and, last but not least, in the assertion of government power in modern conditions through the introduction of sophisticated forms of bureaucratic measures, observed especially in the period after the 2020 parliamentary elections.

### **3. Roadmap for simplifying bureaucracy after the 2020 parliamentary elections**

The year 2020 brought our society a government that has no comparison in Slovak conditions. A government coalition was formed by bringing together entities that can be characterized as inexperienced in the process of creating constructive and socially beneficial measures, managing public administration with respect for the voter and, last but not least, qualitative management of transformation procedures enforced by the covid period.

The government's manifesto adopted and agreed after the 2020 parliamentary elections (modified in April 2021) in a broad but vague form, gave perspective to the planned changes and, among other political changes, also in the regime of the declared constructive reduction of the bureaucratic burden on the subjects concerned.

The April version of the Government Programme Declaration 2021 states, inter alia, cit.: ... *succeeded in bringing about systemic changes in the judiciary, social spheres and improving the business environment. EU funds have mobilised €1.1 billion to fight the COVID-19 pandemic, supporting job retention (kurzarbeit), supporting small and medium-sized enterprises, financing the healthcare system and the integrated rescue system. At the same time, we have introduced a number of measures aimed at simplifying and accelerating the absorption of EU funds by reducing the administrative burden and complexity of the implementation processes set, through several legislative changes, simplifying management documentation...*"(PVVSR 2021-2024). From the above, it can be observed that during the most difficult period of the first year of the introduction of covid anti-pandemic measures, the inexperienced government allegedly took up its task so successfully that it itself highlighted its interim results in the year-on-year assessment. Not only that, according to the submitted document and their own statement, they managed to get acquainted with the tasks arising from the governing competences, duties and responsibilities immediately after the 2020 parliamentary elections, but the document states (in the past tense) the successful management of significant demanding processes related to systemic changes. Systemic changes which, under standard conditions, require lengthy but justified legislative procedures, accompanied by constructive and necessary consultation of procedures with experts and social partners. The new

ruling coalition group dealt with these by taking full advantage of the situation accompanying the declared covid emergency and adopting operational procedures within the framework of accelerated legislative procedures (note: in the state of emergency under the accelerated legislative procedure, the correct government proposes and adopts measures directly related only to the threat in question). It proposed, approved and adopted "all" new measures so quickly that it could hardly cope with the elimination of the accompanying bureaucratic burden that burdened all stakeholders, both on the side of public administration, on the part of citizens and, last but not least, on the business environment.

The business environment and its actors were drawn into restrictive situations by introducing modern bureaucratic measures and conditions, for which they were not given the opportunity to react, defend and evaluate under accelerated procedures. They were introduced into situations where they were restricted from the right to free enterprise, the right to create social values in the form of new wages, the right to make a profit (from which tax and levy obligations arise for the benefit of the state treasury), the right to participate in the growth of economic prosperity of society. Instead, they had to deal with a barrage of bureaucratic procedures resulting from so-called aid to the business environment. Although the competent authorities partially managed to do so, it can be concluded that the aid to the business environment was not proportionate to the damage caused by bureaucratic constraints, and to say otherwise would be presumptuous to say the least.

Although many of the new bureaucratic conditions introduced were temporary and partially disappeared with the lifting of anti-pandemic measures, damages and other accompanying bureaucratic burdens not conducive to the business environment remained in place (e.g. changes in the indirect tax burden regime). The next subsequent turbulent period is the trv stage. energy crisis, which has lasted since spring 2022. In managing its consequences on the economic (business) environment, the situation is repeated, which can be safely called "alibistic behavior of the competent in the operational implementation of measures and elimination of economic damage".

The future and the evaluation of the "quality of work while breaking down bureaucratic barriers" with hindsight will hopefully form the basic pillars in a constructive approach to solving the bureaucratic burden of the business environment. An environment that actively participates in the creation of social, economic and social values of Slovak society.

#### 4. Hunger of the soil environment for the simplicity of conditions

Entrepreneurs in Slovak conditions throughout development have dealt with many obstacles. These can be divided into internal (issues related directly to business plans and activities) and external (issues related to the system of conditional and enforced bureaucratic burden).

Internal ones are characterized by the fact that they form a direct motivation for which subjects (persons) have decided to take the path of development of chosen business activities. However, this inherently includes the second category, i.e. **external obstacles**, which can be characterized as **bureaucratic**.

Meeting bureaucratic initial and subsequent conditions is and was necessary for the persons concerned to be able to implement their business plans. However, bureaucratic obstacles in the business environment remain, and are getting bigger and bigger with the rise and development of a successful entrepreneur.

At the same time, it is also necessary to note the partial effort of the public administration in noticing the bureaucratic burden in the given environment, as well as the effort to reduce it, this cannot be denied. However, by adopting measures which, on the one hand, reduce the bureaucratic burden (e.g. documenting publicly available documents or preventing repeated submission of identical documents), on the other hand, the measures in question will burden the business environment with other bureaucratic obligations. It is therefore appropriate to state that the adoption of measures against excessive bureaucracy should be accompanied by greater vigilance on the part of the competent authorities, so that their efforts do not have to be judged false by the operators concerned.

Although bright activities are the adoption of Act No. 177/2018 Coll. (Act on Certain Measures for Reducing the Administrative Burden by Using Public Administration Information Systems and on Amendments to Certain Acts - Anti-Bureaucracy Act), introduction of the <https://stopbyrokracii.sk/> portal in an effort to be constructively active in solving unnecessary bureaucratic burdens, but the performance of reducing excessive bureaucratic burden in real conditions. It is progressing less dynamically, also to the benefit or disadvantage of the business environment. The Recovery Plan, on which the current ruling political power often relies (by statements), also seems to be a major challenge. Although it concerns fundamentally transformative processes of public administration, it is public administration that is the executor of bureaucratic conditions, through which they give us all a view of their existence in relation to the general subordination of society to the centralization of public power.

Hopefully, the competent will become more and more aware and I admit the reality that the business environment in Slovakia is the most important part for economic, economic and social

prosperity. Especially the domestic, Slovak entrepreneur who makes efforts primarily for domestic development, unlike foreign entrepreneurs whose motivation is different...

## **Conclusion**

In conclusion, reducing excessive bureaucratic burdens and simplifying them requires efforts by all parties involved. And not only on the side of their application impacts, but also on the part of those competent in their implementation. Perhaps more aptly stated in cit. from: Bureaucracy vs. post-bureaucracy in the conditions of public organizations – theoretical and methodological discourse I. Eva Bolfíková, UPJŠ in Košice, Faculty of Public Administration, Department of Social Sciences, cit. *"The post-bureaucratic organization is confronted with the challenge of changing control methods. In the absence of formal bureaucratic control and coordination, members of the organization have at their disposal extensive opportunities to pursue various goals. Employees need to understand the main objectives to such an extent that their activities can be intelligently coordinated (Bolfíková, 2006)".*

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<https://stopbyrokracii.sk/pre-obcanov/>  
[http://sapa.fhpb.unipo.sk/images/files/82\\_2126130777\\_33\\_Bolfikova.pdf](http://sapa.fhpb.unipo.sk/images/files/82_2126130777_33_Bolfikova.pdf)  
<https://www.slov-lex.sk/pravne-predpisy/SK/ZZ/2018/177/>

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# TOOLS OF PUBLIC POLICY

Maroš VINCE

**Abstract:** The aim of the paper is to present the main tools in public policy that this scientific discipline uses to solve the problems that have arisen. It is very important to know the tools in public policy, because it is important to know how to correctly choose the appropriate tool that can solve the existing problem. The paper is descriptive in nature and is a clear simulation of tools for students of public policy and public administration.

**Key words:** *public policy, economic tools, administrative tools, legal tools, information tools, power tools*

## Introduction

Public policy is a significant part of our environment and affects us all. It is a young scientific discipline that arose in the 1960s from political science, economics, and sociology in order to solve social problems. For the first time this term was used by H. Laswell and he claims that public policy should fulfill the public interest. The subject of public policy research is often seen as the subject of politics as such. But there are differences between politics and public policy. When public policy focuses more on the public interest, politics emphasizes concepts and terminology such as power, dominion, and others. The subject of public policy research is the area of government and governance, similar to political science. Every policy must be public. Public policy will focus on the public interest, which must be recognized by the public. The public is a part of society that is united by the solution of a common problem. The content of public policy is the specific outputs of government policy in certain defined areas, i.e. various sectoral policies – energy, security, agrarian, educational, cultural, health and other policies. Public policy can be defined as a social practice.

Public policies are those goals and implementation by which the government and its offices usually affect a significant number of people. Růžička states “*that public policy, as a relatively new scientific field, wants to encompass society as a whole and to know practically everything possible about it. It wants to present these findings to the public and the state administration in an understandable way, while moving towards analyzes and forecasts of the processes of formation and application of public interests, it is interested in the socio-political*

*process that leads to the satisfaction of specific, differentiated needs of members of the community, the satisfaction of which cannot be fully mediated by the private sector“* (Králík, Kováčová, 2017, p.9-10). Public policy most often uses concepts such as the already mentioned public interest, or the public, public sector, actors of public policy, tools in public policy and others.

It is important to study public policy in order to know, for example, how the health system works not only in our country but also in other countries, why we have to pay for retirement, how the education systems of other countries work, how problems can be solved, etc. Because there are problems in public policy, it is important to know the tools that can be used to solve the problems that have arisen. Tools are considered as *"means by which the holder of power tries to put his concepts, strategies and intentions into practice so that they actually work and achieve a predetermined goal"* (Beblavý 2002, p. 77). The goal in the implementation of public policy is also the selection of such tools, or a set of tools, that can best help in solving the goals and the given problem in society. The choice of a suitable tool or combination of tools is key and decisive for achieving the goals of public policy in solving problems in society. We will present the tools of public policy in the following section.

## **1. Economics tools of public policy**

Economic tools are usually a supplement or combination of legal tools. Therefore, their effectiveness is largely influenced by the functionality of the legislative environment in society and the functionality of power tools. Economic tools in relation to public policy include income and expenditure of the state, changes in forms of ownership, fiscal and monetary policy.

*State revenues* are mainly made up of:

- tax revenues of the state budget
- non-tax revenues of the state budget (fees, fines, duties, penalties...)
- regular revenues of the state budget (income tax)
- irregular revenues of the state budget (fines, fees)

The main source of income are taxes collected by the state on the basis of democratic decision-making mechanisms from legal and natural persons who live, work or do business on the territory of the state.

M. Potůček considers the state budget to be the most important public-political tools of state administration (Potůček, 2016, p. 73). The state budget is the centralized monetary fund of the state, which represents the state's income and expenditure balance. State funds are created, distributed and used through the state budget.

*State expenditures* in the public interest are shown in the system of public budgets (state budget, budgets of municipalities and cities, and others). Expenses are realized through transfers, in the form of payment, subsidy, grant, contribution, loan and others.

Among the main expenses of the state budget we recommend:

- development of the national economy
- social consumption
- for mnagement, defense

In *fiscal policy*, the dominant role is played by the state, which tries to stimulate and stabilize public demand, and therefore taxes and public expenditures play a decisive role in it. Taxes, their introduction, cancellation, changes for natural persons and legal entities have a significant role in public policy. Fiscal policy is the activity of the state connected with the state budget from the government to the local level, which is aimed at the immediate stabilization of the economy and the realization of public interests implemented by the government (Stiglitz, 1997).

*Monetary policy* can also be defined as a system of principles and measures in the area of monetary circulation and credit that aim to support public policy and accept the public interest. Monetary policy is carried out in the public interest in order to ensure price stability, which is an important prerequisite for economic growth and prosperity of all citizens of the state.

An important element of the economic tools in public policy are mainly *taxes*. Taxes are primarily intended as a financial resource used to finance public sector expenditures. Any public policy and any public policy goal cannot be achieved without financial means, and the same applies to all the instruments that are used to implement a certain policy. In public policy, taxes can fundamentally influence the final behavior of an individual – a natural person or a legal entity. For example, increasing the tax on tobacco products - increasing the price of tobacco can discourage people from smoking person and the result of public policy is in savings for health care. With the same goal in relation to public policy, tax credits are also used, for example. Tax credits are a certain form of remission or postponement of the payment of tax in order to support a change in the behavior of the private sector, for example, when locating or modernizing production in a region of the country.

## **2. Administrative tools of public policy**

Administrative tools in relation to public policy include: *services* and *system creation public administration*. Services can be provided by the public or mixed sector in various areas such as education, social security, employment, health care, culture, security, public transport, sports, information and others. To mobilize human and material resources in the realization of public interest in services, public policy actors establish a hierarchically organized system of public administration (Adamcová Klus, 2006).

The goal of public administration is the provision of services and goods to citizens in the public interest. Administrative tools represent an important part of public policy tools and their main purpose is to provide services. In public policy for the provision of services, important decisions are made which services in the public interest will be provided, who will provide the services, who will provide them, what the sources of financing will be, who will pay for the service and to what extent. Decisions about whether the service will be provided by the local government or the central state administration are also important. When deciding on the provision of a service, the company's requirement for quality, scope of service and prices play an important role. They are the basic economic criteria for the provision of services. Some of the services are provided and provided by providers from the public sector and therefore these services are often referred to as public services ( Králík, Kováčová, 2017).

Public services may include all services that are financed or provided by a public entity, even if they are not bindingly defined by a legal norm, but it is authorized to make such decisions. For example, at the level of local self-government, the council decides on expenses and thus can give an annual subsidy for the activities of a sports club, cultural association and the like, even if this is not required by law. Such a decision in the "public interest" is made possible by the legal structure of the state on the system of public budgets, which is the same in most countries where the principle of representative democracy is applied. This state reflects the social consensus of the country or the territorial self-government of the city, which services should be provided or subsidized.

## **3. Power tools, legal tools and information tools of public policy**

Among the *tools of power* in relation to public policy is the system of compliance with democratically adopted legal norms. The state monitors and enforces compliance with the laws

through democratically constituted and designated state administration bodies both internally and externally:

- state prosecutor's office
- customs Administration
- financial report
- courts prison service
- army

*Legal tools* in relation to public policy include the making of laws. The state forms legislation as: (Klus, 2007)

- laws, as a certain legal framework of a set of norms such as criminal law, civil law, commercial law, administrative law and others, which are approved by the democratically elected parliament

- regulations issued by the state administration in accordance with legal standards • permissions and prohibitions

- government regulations
- decrees of the territorial self-government
- conventions
- code of ethics

The content of the use of legal instruments in public policy can also be influenced by informal norms. As a rule, these are not part of the legislation, but are social customs and traditions or moral rules, which may in some cases have a higher force than formal law. Traditions and moral standards, such as the tradition of Christianity and its attitudes towards abortion and euthanasia, can significantly influence compliance or non-compliance with legislation in public policy.

We can include the main *information tools* in public policy:

- propaganda,
- indoctrination,
- lobbying
- activities of public relations departments,
- awareness campaigns

- political education as well as public debates

We can say that these tools of education and informing the public, including various forms of news and advice, have a general informational character. Information tools are intended to influence the behavior of people and certain communities in the perception and solution of individual problems of society. Voluntary behavior change is considered one of the effective solutions for the implementation of public policy objectives. Information is considered an important source of knowledge in public policy, and therefore, as Malíková states, every government uses a range of information tools. The nature of these tools can be formal or informal. Formal instruments include mandatory disclosure of information, provision of information by public relations units, mandatory education and awareness. Informal tools are persuasion using informational means (Malíková, 2003).

## Conclusion

Public policy is a relatively young scientific discipline whose actors use various tools. Public policy tools are the means by which the holder of power tries to put his concepts, strategies and intentions into practice so that they really work and achieve the set goal. The basic prerequisite for the creation of public policy at any level is the selection of appropriate tools for achieving program goals. Public policy tools are technical means for achieving goals. In order to know how to solve the problems that have arisen in society, it is important to know the tools of public policy, which was the goal of the paper.

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### **III. SECTION OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS**



# IDENTITY AS CAUSE OF INTERSTATE CONFLICT: RETHINKING THE WAY WE VIEW TERRITORIAL DISPUTES

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**ABSTRACT:** The causes of international conflicts have been among the leading interests for international relations theory since its inception. Main theories focused on looking for rational or profit motives as being the driving forces of conflict. However, with critical approaches becoming more prominent in international relations scholarship, these assumptions are also open to being questioned. Through questioning the base assumptions of classical theory we can highlight motives which in classical theory go unnoticed: behavior motivated by morality, justice, revenge, ideology or identity. Through looking at specific cases we can see identity can turn into a motivating force for behavior that would within classical or game-theory analysis seem irrational. Conflicts that cause material damage, loss of international prestige, isolation and loss of human life can be explained through employing an identitarian approach. This paper tries to use the presented cases to provide an identitarian view for territorial conflict. It does so through defining homeland and putting more emphasis on the identity group rather than the state. The relation between the group and the territory it defines as its homeland creates a moral drive to secure said territory. Where two groups claim homeland status for the same territory a potential for a particularly dangerous type of conflict may erupt. Prevention of such conflicts involves spreading concepts of homeland with non-overlapping territorial claims.

**Keywords:** *identity, territory, homeland, conflict, claim*

## Introduction

Conflict is one of the main focuses of international relations theory. Much energy goes into analyzing the causes of conflict and the means to prevent it. One could say the prevention of outright war is what is behind the main split in international relations theory. What international arrangement is the most effective at preventing war? Power balancing or mutual benefit? The answer to that question to a large extent dictates which school of IR the replier subscribes to. However, it is when we look at actual causes of conflict, we can get the impression that some motives are simply not represented in the main IR theory.

Critical theory such as Marxist, postcolonial, English school or feminist approaches to IR serve to highlight these blind spots. But going further to post-modern critics we are left to question even the fundamentals of our conception of international relations. Are states as self-interested as we're led to believe? Is it feasible to have international relations without the state altogether? Postmodern approaches have been quick to question the existing assumption even the concept of a possible theory of international relations altogether - citing their idea that theories do not exist in a vacuum. They're formed from existing knowledge which in turn has its basis in previously existing power structures.

This approach however has the side effect of deconstructing the existing theory of IR but leaving us without a basis with which to proceed with future analysis. But it is productive in highlighting the necessity to look for alternate approaches and question even the most basic assumptions of accepted theory. In the case of this text, the primacy of the state as a unit of analysis was put to question. The following text attempts to envision a model of international relations without the abstract assumptions classical theories ascribe to it - that it is a singular self-interested unit, whose interaction with its peers results in the creation of an international system. Instead, it views state as a tool of political forces that wield it for their own goals - which may but don't have to be driven by direct cost-analysis. It attempts to try to find a different basis through which to view the state, one standing on political and group psychology - through the concept of identity and identity groups. It uses cases of identity-motivated conflicts to highlight how the state takes the role of a tool rather than being an agent of its own and the real interest pursued is one of the identity groups. In its last part it tries to propose a model that pulls these cases together. Admittedly it is an attempt reliant on the current form of state built upon the ideas of nationalism, national self-determination, sovereignty, and national homeland. Ideas that are to a large extent critical for the model to be functional.

Thus, its applicability is limited in cases where one or more of these elements are missing. It still serves to highlight one fact - perhaps when it comes to IR theory, we're overlooking something. We see human behavior as driven by a multitude of motives rather than simple material interests. Yet when we abstract human behaviors into states, we tend to limit our analysis to cost-benefit analysis - at least as far as classical international relations theory is concerned. Especially in context of the ongoing Russia-Ukraine war we've been witnessing behavior that seems to go against materially defined self-interest. Could it be that there's something important we're leaving out?

## 1 Territorial conflict as identitarian conflict

Classical International Relations theory views states as an essential component for any coherent international relations theory. Whether we look to a realist, liberal or other schools, we always stumble upon the state as foundation. Questions of conflict, identity, even to an extent the entire distinction of international and domestic politics is formed upon the assumption that states are an essential component. One question that might pop up then, is to what extent is this presumption of the role of state in IR theory justified? Can we make sense of IR and construct models if we were to attempt to reconceptualize the role of state in it?

An overview of states, proto-states and state-like constructs provide us with a spectrum of political arrangements that in some way fall into the definition of state, however their exact functions institutions and methods of governance will vary. This can be evident if we contrast earlier and modern states and thus see, that the state itself has gone through a transformation. The features of the modern state as centralized governance, fixed borders and sovereignty have come about gradually to an extent allowing us to question to what extent the lens of 'interstate relations' is even applicable to former societies.

Critical theories have also been instrumental in pointing out how concepts that we take for granted in international relations as for instance the state can limit our ability to analyze and construct models. The distinction of us and them, also phrased as outside vs inside is a necessary component to the concept of the state: a construct that is defined by its borders and thus requires an inside and outside to define it. This inside and outside can be understood not just by physical borders but also in terms of individuals that are part or outside a given set of institutions.

Likewise, a focus on states tends to overlook interstate and non-state actors in international politics, as well as forces that transcend the state itself. Accordingly, as Richard Devetak puts it: *"...a more comprehensive account of contemporary world politics must also include an analysis of those transversal actors and movements that operate outside and across state boundaries."* (Devetak, 2005, p. 187) Institutions operating across state borders, international organizations and multinational corporations seem to be included, however there are also forces that seem to influence the interests and behavior of states while at the same time being less tangible than an international organization. As history has shown in cases of ideology, ideas even if more abstract, contain within them the force to alter the international system. A state-focused international relations approach is thus at a danger of overlooking important forces that we may have to account for if we are to construct reliable models.

A closer look at ideas that lead to the construction of the international system could provide us with a more complete picture. While classical views such as realism and liberalism can provide explanations for state behavior, they tend to overlook motivating factors like ideology and identity. Yet such ideas have an understated effect on how states behave within the international system. For example, what constitutes Serbia will vary greatly based on whether we pose such question to a Serbian nationalist still not fully over the loss of Kosovo, or a Kosovar Albanian<sup>1</sup> and (perhaps even more importantly) we will likewise get a different answer from outside spectators. This difference can be reduced as being formed by personal interests and persuasion, but the fact that states attempt to engage in this persuasion at all indicates even to the realist, that these arguments do have actual weight in how the international system is ordered.

Similarly other conflicts seem to increasingly rely on the identitarian element as a justification for hostile state action. We can see evidence of ethnic violence all over the post-colonial world, whether we look at the history of decolonized African countries where departure of colonial authority ended up in creating a state that forced together hostile tribal or religious groups<sup>2</sup>... In other cases, even seemingly stable states like Burma and China<sup>3</sup> have been willing to turn towards means which we could in the modern times describe as ethnic cleansing.

Just from a brief look at these conflicts, one could be persuaded to think there is a distinct rapid rise in identity-based violence. However, while there may be a recent upward trend, identity and otherization have been a fundamental component of the human social psychology. We can observe its elements throughout history, whether its referring to native populations as savages by colonizing peoples, the references to ‘pagans’ and ‘heathens’ in the Middle Ages (often attributing to the pagan or heathen plenty of unflattering stereotypes and practices) and

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<sup>1</sup> One way we can see the importance of ingraining an idea is the Kosovo flag. The fact the choice was made to put the shape of the state on the national flag is an attempt to engrave its borders into the consciousness of those seeing it, thus making their further alteration less likely. It is both a statement and a persuasion attempt with a real-world impact on institutional borders.

<sup>2</sup> There are numerous cases of ethnically or religiously motivated conflicts. However, both can be put under the umbrella term as being identitarian, as it is the difference of identities, coupled with group behavior and prejudices, as well as generalizations of guilt and retribution that lead to such conflicts. Examples can include Rwandan genocide, South Sudan and both its war for independence and the subsequent civil war and both the Nigerian and Somali civil wars. (Five Major African Conflicts of the Twentieth Century, 2023)

<sup>3</sup> In the case of China, we are talking about the reeducation facilities and strict measures imposed on the Uyghur people in Xinjiang. In Burma, the Rohingya genocide is a case of ethnically caused genocide.

going further back: the references to barbarians among the ancient Greeks, Romans and their contemporaries.

In this sense with the rise of nationalism, the state has taken up a role of building a boundary between one's group and the rest of humanity. The modern state is after all justified as a manifestation of the will and desire for sovereignty by a certain people and (often) tied to an ethnic or cultural identity. According to **Bernard Yack** in *Nationalism and the Moral Philosophy of the Community* states base their legitimacy on some form of nationalism: civic, ethnic, or cultural. Even in the case of states that base their identity on civic rather than ethnic nationalism, there is a degree of belief in the uniqueness of the history and virtue to which the group subscribes. The importance of the group identity nationalism provides can be found when we observe how it strengthens the unity of the state through support of its legitimacy and provides tools to rally the populace in case of conflict. According to Yack: "*No doubt, nationalism is a powerful weapon for the strong, waiting to be exploited by political entrepreneurs and fanatics alike. But because it is much less costly than most other forms of political mobilization, it is also one of the favorite weapons of the weak*" (Yack, 2012, s. 299)

Nationalism thus is a tangible force in both domestic and international politics. Even the common state-centric view recognizes a state in the current international system is only capable of being formed and maintained through the populace's passionate investment into the concept of the nation-state. The continued existence of these nation-states owes to their subsequent ability to convince the established nation-states to respect their sovereignty. And what is nationalism based on if not a common identity? The desire for one's group to have a state as its legitimate representation on the political field also legitimizes other nation-groups in their own claims to statehood. Yack and other theorists recognize the power of nationalism; and by extension the power of a shared identity in shaping the political reality of international politics.

But it is not just state formation and maintenance that are the results of nationalism, interstate conflict can spring through identitarian conflicts as well. A national identity doesn't enter the consciousness of the populace isolated from all history, but on the contrary, it arrives as part of a wider set of stories and myths the people in question share and agree on. The story forms a shared experience to which the concerned people can relate and find common grounds in. And often, it is also connected to ideas such as a shared homeland, culture, language, customs, and religion and often even friendly or hostile relations with other groups.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> These stories have similar structure as all other human stories: they require conflict (usually war, armed or political conflict or independence struggle), include a main character/protagonist (a collective in the form of the

Classic international relations theory tends to overlook this identitarian aspect politics, focusing on talking about state interests and strategies how they pursue these interests: conflicts in classical IR theory have been explained as features of the international system: conflicts of state interests, security dilemmas, zero-sum games, or failure to democratize (and thus the state becoming subservient to the narrow interest of its ruling class).

Post-modern approaches have attempted to criticize this state focus (Devetak, 2005, p. 171-181) however they have done so through targeting the us-them distinction inherent in the state itself. Empirical science such as research done by Konrad Lorenz and Henri Tajfel<sup>5</sup> on this subject indicate that there is something inherent in human psychology that leads us to sort individuals into groups as well as assign them generalized traits. There seems to be empirical evidence that we cannot simply ignore away the us-them distinction any more than other inherent aspects of the way our minds function. However, we can moderate the urge to otherize through reflection and morality. In this sense the postmodernists were likely going too far in attempting to combat an inherent psychological trait of the human mind the us-them distinction. However, their work serves to highlight a necessity to reevaluate our assumptions about the functioning of the international environment. One way we can do this is through attempting to look for a different way of viewing international relations outside classical theory. And that would be through an identitarian lens.

## **2 Political and Identitarian borders**

If we look at a political map, we see states with clearly delineated borders. Except for some disputed regions the landmass of Earth appears to be neatly divided between the territories

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nation) and a villain/antagonist (another collective, group or elite that form an obstacle to the nation-forming process). This narrativization of a political process has the positive of being easily transmittable through storytelling, propagating itself better than more complex historical analysis could. However, it comes with the downsides that it can bring about a sort of black and white thinking and turn political conflicts into further manifestations of past historical grievances. The Balkan wars are one example of this, as Muslims in the Balkans suffered from attacks for their perceived association with past Ottoman rule.

<sup>5</sup> Tajfel's experiments have shown that even a meaningless and externally imposed distinction can lead to the beginnings of this kind of tribal mentality. Even people assigned arbitrary groups for the purposes of his experiment were prone to making generalized judgements of the out-group while being more charitable towards their in-group. (Islam, 2014, p. 1781-1783)

of states and thus (in the sense of the modern view of the state) also areas that are generally viewed as sovereign territories of specific peoples. But this delineation is often a product of political history rather than a clear identification of a certain people with a certain land. Yes, a people can grow to identify with a given territory over time, but in many cases, it is not going to be a neat fit.

The easiest way to see a mismatch between political and “identitarian” borders is to look towards populations that have in their national consciousness been forced to accept a reduction of their political borders. It is not an uncommon sight to see nationalists in such states outright stating a desire on the return of their home country to its former ‘greater’ form. In the notable cases where this desire for expansion becomes more commonplace it leads to tension and even armed conflict. Examples of such mismatch seem commonplace all over recent European history, most notable being Serbian nationalism and its push for a ‘Greater Serbia’ and to a lesser extent the irredentism in Hungary following the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian empire.

In these cases, the usual interpretation of this sort of revanchism is that the idea of the ‘greater’ state is placed in contrast to its current form for political purposes. A comparison of such sort is meant to evoke a feeling of national humiliation that will transform into a desire to rewrite the current borders. However, one can also interpret this sort of revanchism as a mismatch between the identity and political de facto state.

The revanchist nationalist is emotionally and morally invested. He carries in himself the idea of what his state should look like on the map a certain territory that is there to ‘naturally’ be the homeland of his people. Were he given the option to draw his desired political map, he would create one overlapping the territories of existing neighboring states - a Greater Serbia including Bosnia, Kosovo and Montenegro, or a Greater Hungary including territories of the former Kingdom of Hungary like Transylvania or Slovakia. This of course clashes with the map the inhabitants of for instance Romania or Kosovo would draw. Theoretically if we were to overlay such identitarian maps we could then identify corresponding areas where we could find disputed territories - either as product of past unresolved conflicts or areas with a conflict waiting to erupt.

Of course, not all individuals have the same notion of identity. Not all Hungarians are irredentists and not all Serbians dream of Greater Serbia. The idea of revanchism like any other identitarian idea spreads through persuasion and can become politically dominant or sidelined as any other. We should however be on the lookout for when such ideas make their way into the mainstream of political discourse. This can manifest through comments and symbols disputing the undesired political reality all the way to outright denying the legality of past

agreements. Because as William Gibson discovered (Gibson, 2006, p. 7), identity invokes feelings of morality and the necessity of protecting one's own group<sup>6</sup>. Therefore conflicts based on identity have the potential of being particularly destructive as both sides are going to be driven by a sense of moral righteousness and feel the other is aggressing on their territory, taking away their homeland and their people. The more such conflicts become moralized, the less likely a compromise is to be found as any compromise of one's moral obligation to their people is likely to be viewed as a moral failing by one's compatriots. Seemingly paradoxical situations can arise such as the case of Kosovo, which inhabited mainly by Kosovar Albanians is still viewed by Serbs as an important part of their historical homeland.

Identitarian conflicts are fueled by a feeling of threat to one's group, the aggressive behavior towards another group gets reinterpreted as defensive in the context of defending one's own group, values or territory. Territory that is rightfully the homeland of the in-group and where the out-group is a trespasser. The Kosovo case shows the territorial version of this conflict, where one group identifies a territory as its homeland which is being inhabited by another, in this case Kosovar Albanians. This a case of conflicting claims for the land as both groups identify with it. If we were to attempt to make an identitarian map for Kosovo, the map would have two overlapping identities on the same territory. The result is a conflict, who's destructive nature is owed to the moral imperative of both groups to protect their homeland. Even with the status of Kosovo, it seems the conflict will remain for as long as the two views remain in conflict. The obvious solution seems to be to propagate an identitarian view of Serbia that doesn't conflict with the view of its neighbors; however, this is made complicated by how easy it is to exploit the lingering resentment among the Serbian population. Recent events with border disputes, provocative military movements and seemingly small license plate disputes indicate that this conflict will linger for a longer time.<sup>7</sup>

Even generational change might not be enough to resolve such lingering conflicts because past identitarian views can be socialized into a new generation as we can see in the case of the Palestine conflict. And in the case of Palestine, we once again encounter a similar

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<sup>6</sup> Davis in *Negative Liberty* on the topic of societal (sociotropic) threat mentions: "*One of the most important predictors of civil liberties trade-offs is sociotropic threat. As TMT predicts, a heightened sense of sociotropic threat from attacks led respondents to trade civil liberties for greater personal security.*" (Davis, 2009, p. 77) A threat perceived to be affecting one's entire society can motivate to compromise one's willingness to tolerate political opponents. This matches Discoveries on the same topic by William Gibson.

<sup>7</sup> Serbia-Kosovo relations remain troubled to this day. Such disputes lead to actual outcomes such as the closing of Kosovo's border with Serbia in December 2022. (Bytyci, 2022)



case of two groups claiming a single territory. The dispute again moralized by the view that this territory forms the homeland for each of the groups. And the fact it has been lasting for generations is proof that there is a process of socialization underway within each group, which embeds these (conflicting) identities into the next generations of Israelis and Palestinians. A two-state solution seems like it would resolve the matter, but even if imposed from the outside, the two identities would still clash and promote further violence even with a physical border separating the two groups.<sup>8</sup> If we are to view identitarian conflict as the main cause of violence in Palestine, the solution would require a two-sided effort to socialize the populace to remove the identitarian conflict. This however is only possible to achieve if the current government consciously resigns on using the existing conflict as a means of gaining political capital.

Hungary seems like a case dissimilar to the Serbian. After all Hungary has managed to integrate with the European institutions to a greater extent than Serbia and has thus higher stakes in preserving the status quo. The similarity lies in the lingering identity of Greater Hungarian territories that are propagated by the nation's far-right, which has also been courted by the ruling government<sup>9</sup>. Orbán has found a way of generating political capital in subtly playing to the feelings of the proponents of Greater Hungary, doing so for instance by handing out Hungarian citizenship to members of the Hungarian minority in the surrounding states. This is an attempt to claim the ethnic minorities as part of the state. Identity plays a large role, and it is not by accident most of these minorities also live in the lands that used to belong the former Kingdom of Hungary. While the attempt may be limited to gaining political support, in practice it puts the lands of these minorities gradually into dispute.<sup>10</sup>

Orbán may not necessarily have an intention of aggressively annexing these lands and the whole project may simply be an attempt of using political technology to gain domestic support. Thus, the reinforcement of the Greater Hungarian identity among the populace might end up being a side effect. Simply put, the Hungarian claim on these territories will become as popular as the identity of the Hungarians in general who will come to view them as part of the 'Hungarian homeland' similarly to the Serb case. It remains to be seen how far this matter will

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<sup>8</sup> According to Pinker attempts to find a practical solution fail because of the moral nature of the conflict: both sides see their claim on the territory as a value that cannot be traded for a practical reason and in fact find suggestions for such a trade to be offensive. His view is that a resolution is possible if the moral nature of the conflict can be taken into account - symbolic declarations of both sides relinquishing their claims to parts of the territory would according to Pinker go a long way to reconciling the conflict. (Pinker, 2011, p. 487-488)

<sup>9</sup> According to research published on Statista, Hungary is the country with the largest proportion of populace laying claim on territories of neighboring countries. The number goes up to 67% who consider Hungarian territory to be within the borders of their neighbors. This is the largest such number in Europe. (McCarthy, 2020)

<sup>10</sup> Dual citizenship has been one such attempt to claim the Hungarian minorities. (Stockmans, 2023)

be pushed, but there is a growing potential for conflict the more Hungary's government promotes the idea of 'Hungary beyond the borders of the Hungarian state'. A solution to prevent a conflict would require pushing through policies recognizing the neighboring states as having sovereign rule over the Hungarian minorities living there, as well as pushing for positive relations and attempting to stamp out irredentist thought in the domestic space. As in the Serbian case, this seems politically infeasible due to the political capital to be gained and the fact that the Hungarian government seems intent on exploiting this source of political support.<sup>11</sup>

### **3 Identity manifested within states**

The Sudanese civil wars and the subsequent South Sudan civil war show another way how a mismatch between identity can lead to territorial changes. The 1985 civil war that led to the creation of South Sudan had its roots in an attempt to impose Sharia law on the mostly Christian southern regions of the country (Fahmi, 2012). The resulting split and creation of South Sudan in 2011 had not however lead to the cessation of violence. South Sudan would in 2013 fall into another civil war mainly along tribal lines, as the period of civil war has left the south armed but with the open question of how to balance the interests of each tribal group which naturally already had a history of hostilities with one another. The ensuing civil war was triggered by a political dispute between the president and vice president, each belonging to a different ethnic group. The military would end up likewise split along tribal lines and the result was a civil war officially lasting to 2020.

While there is a case to be made that the roots of this civil war were political, having conflicting ethnic groups forced into one territory with a single government is what created the grounds for the civil war. One group will feel endangered when another takes control of the shared government. An identitarian view of South Sudan will show us the country is split between a multitude of ethnicities: Dinka, Nuer, Shilluk, Azande, Bari, Kakwa, Kuku, Murle, Mandari, Didinga, Ndogo, Bviri, Lndi, Anuak, Bongo, Lango, Dungotona, Acholi, Baka, Fertit (Garcia, 2020). Their history of conflict prior to the civil war would likewise indicate a danger should they put into an unstable situation such as a common centralized state<sup>12</sup>. Thus, it can't

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<sup>11</sup> One example how Orbán has signaled to his voters is the time he wore the scarf with a depiction of Greater Hungary (Viktor Orbán 'Greater Hungary' scarf angers Romania and Ukraine, 2022)

<sup>12</sup> There existed already prior hostilities between South Sudanese subnational groups. For instance, through the tradition of cattle raiding. (Wild, 2018)

be a surprise when the president Salva Kiir attempted to centralize, he ended up in dispute with the vice president Riek Machar, as both were from different tribal groups.

Given the mentioned identitarian issues, a centralized state is likely not an effective way of conflict prevention. That is unless the population can be socialized into identifying with the state. Until this can be achieved an identitarian view would suggest a different approach might be more effective. Granting a degree of autonomy over tribal territories would allow each identitarian group a more equal footing. Meanwhile forcing hostile ethnic groups into a shared state is a recipe for disaster if it is not followed by a policy that will lead them to reconcile their historical claims and disputes. An identitarian look at the pre-conflict situation would reveal to us that the territory is split on the onset and allow us to predict that there are ingredients present for the start of another civil conflict.

For examples on how identitarian conflict can manifest within a modern state we can look to multinational states. In the case of Spain, the Catalan-Castilian conflict centers around identity. Spain as a country was created through the unity of kingdoms and former Muslim states in the southern portion of the country, of which Castille was the dominant. The result was groups like the Basques and Catalans have been integrated into a united Spanish state. According to Kymlicka Castilian Spanish identity tends to be equated with Spanish identity overall due to their superior influence over the state as a whole (Kymlicka, 2011, p. 292). Whereas Catalan identity is confined to a region and is allowed to have its own language and cultural rights. This setup is at risk of creating a territorial-identitarian conflict similar to the interstate examples, however in this case taking place within a state. As both the Castilian and Catalan people are of the view that Catalonia is their homeland (or part of their homeland), political conflicts over the status of Catalonia are bound to have a moral element to it. We can see this manifested in the independence movement, referendum of 2017 and subsequent response by the Spanish state (Catalonia independence declaration signed and suspended, 2017). While Catalonia has a degree of autonomy, there is a risk of another independence movement should Catalans feel themselves to be marginalized compared to the Castilian-identifying majority which also holds majority influence in the (presumably) multinational state.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> The rise in importance of this identitarian conflict can be seen also in how the word 'nation' was used in protests, for instance in the slogan "We are a nation. We decide". Usages of such terms are an attempt to appeal to the sense we have for the rights for national self-determination. That there are slowly growing identitarian tensions can be evident in how the Catalan parliament refers to Catalonia as a nation in the preamble to the Statute of Autonomy of Catalonia.

Similarly to previous cases, a solution would require taking these identitarian conflicts and the territories they span over into consideration. Autonomy, however is insufficient in this case. This is because in every relation to the central Spanish government the Catalans are outmatched in terms of influence. This will likely lead to further feelings of alienation and marginalization followed by a buildup of further independence movements to rectify this perceived imbalance. Further devolution of central state power might be needed up to a status more akin to a federal state. Of course, bringing the reality of state borders to match the identitarian sentiment of the affected groups is difficult in cases like this, where both groups have strong feelings on where the borders should be. The Castilian government naturally defended the integrity of its state while the Catalan one pushed for self-determination. Devolution or an outright split seem the obvious solutions but not without risk for each side. Ultimately it is on the central government to appease the nationalistic ambitions of the Catalans if it is to preserve the unity of its state.

Switzerland on the other hand shows a more positive example on how a multinational state can function despite the identitarian split. It is through the mentioned devolution of powers that all the subnational identity groups can find an even ground. That and the fact the proportions of territory and representation are much closer to equal than in the Spanish case. Switzerland recognizes the need to keep its subnational identity groups appeased through giving them a voice in their own affairs while keeping the state relatively neutral. This of course can come with drawbacks such as the issue of immigration that according to Kymlicka threatens to disturb the balance: *“I suspect, with immigrants who say that they are neither Catalan or Castilian but simply ‘Spanish’ – they are de facto integrating into the language, institutions and expectations of the dominant group.”* (Kymlicka, 2011, p. 292)<sup>14</sup>. But stability is achieved through a combination of balancing representation, relative equal influence among subnational groups and relatively neutral state institutions.

#### **4 An identitarian view**

What we can surmise from these and other similar cases is that identity plays a significant role in international politics. Classical international relations theory tends to give

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<sup>14</sup> Cases like this serve to indicate even attempts to keep the state neutral can gradually lead to an imbalance. Immigration will gradually shift the populace towards the majority group. It is through specific political arrangements and balancing size and autonomous that long-term stability can be preserved.

precedence to a state-centric view. One focused on state interests, relative and absolute gains. This view risks overlooking a crucial element in state behavior: states are constructs that can serve as tools for the pursuit of individual or collective ambition. And that they can be wielded in such ways that defy the common cost-benefit analysis. Post-modern approaches to international relations have pointed out, that we ought to question our assumptions about the classical views on international relations. It is possible that an overly focused look on the state leaves out too much of other forces involved in shaping the international space.

In this text we've seen the connection between identity and territory. That it is possible to utilize this connection politically. The ruling elite can thus promise territory to which their electorate carries a strong attachment. Or independence outside of the territory of an existing nation-state. Neither of these are possible without the territory promised having some kind of significant emotional value to the populace. This value can be so strong through emotional bonds, that failing to achieve the desired territory can be construed as a moral failure. The failure to secure the homeland becomes a question of securing the future of one's people, culture and values. And as such a collective threat to their future existence. This way of construing territorial disputes makes the population even more willing to sacrifice and endure hardship to gain land for their state. On the other hand, it also makes compromise less likely, as the territory carries with itself a moral value which is thus indivisible and unquantifiable. And what cannot be divided, cannot be compromised on. Such morally charged conflicts are harder to resolve as plain material or power disputes because compromises are viewed as moral failures and the conflict becomes an emotional zero-sum struggle. Either one side gets the territory or the other. A split would leave both dissatisfied as both will experience resentment over the "loss of their homeland". It is this reason that makes such conflicts so long-lasting, prone to be reignited and cross-generational. And what is also troubling, they are politically expedient to pursue. The government can build up political support through pushing the point of recovery the nation's homeland. Even the very existence of the lengthy conflict itself can simply be blamed on the other party. It is easy to see why this path would be tempting for nationalist-populist government and lead to seemingly senseless destructive conflicts.

Looking at the previous cases, we can attempt to construct a model that would take into consideration identity as a motivating force in international relation. A proposal for an identity-centered model could be as follows:

- Instead of the state the identity group becomes the basic unit of analysis (e.g., nationalities, ethnicities, tribal identity or other). These identity groups should for the most part be mutually exclusive.
- Each group has a territory it considers a “homeland”. This territory is considered to be morally important for the group in question. Its loss is viewed as a threat to the group’s existence, its recovery a good that cannot be converted to a material cost.
- The territory viewed as “homeland” for the identity group can expand or contract depending on which view of the group’s “homeland” becomes widespread.
- If the group identifies with a state, the state will serve as a tool in pursuit of its political goals. If the group lacks a state it identifies with it will attempt to obtain one through independence movements, separatism or gaining additional power within an existing state.
- If there is a mismatch between state and “homeland”, the identity group will attempt to revise state borders to bring the “homeland” within borders of its own or associated state.

The model perhaps simplifies motivation, but it does account for identity-motivated state behavior that often gets overlooked. A destructive war with for territorial reasons ought to gradually become a thing of the past. Territory after all produces less of an advantage than it did in the past and it is likewise harder to justify territorial expansion. We see this in the drop in the number of territorial conflicts, except for the ones motivated through a struggle for identity. It is this idea of “defending the homeland” that has in the age of nationalism become a new reason for territorial conflicts.

When a nation’s borders don’t reflect what the population views as its homeland, the mismatch produces a claim on the missing part of the territory. This can be utilized by nationalistically minded politicians to gain support but heightens the risk of a territorial war breaking out, no matter whether the political elites in question wish to pursue the conflict or not. We can see such developments in countries like Hungary or Serbia where a sizable portion of their populace identifies with territory greater than one controlled by the state. Even in the cases of the territorial conflict being latent, as long as the claim to the land exists it can be utilized later. Only when the majority of the population accepts a model of their “homeland” that doesn’t overlap with other claims can the dispute be laid to rest for good. This can be achieved through responsible politics promoting reconciliation and socializing both populations to a territorial model without overlapping territorial claims.

## Conclusion

Identity-driven conflicts have existed for a while. Classical IR theory has however overlooked identity as a driving force, usually sorting it under political persuasion if identity is considered to be a factor at all. Conflict in classical theory has been driven by material demands, power balance or other goals. This owed partially to the fact that it is easier to quantify hard power gains. But we should be cautious that we do not overlook other motivating factors. After all, human behavior is not driven merely by the pursuit of security and the material means to attain it. When we observe human behavior we can see a multitude of motives, many of which go against the immediate material interests. Things like morality, ideology, religion and so on can become driving forces of behavior on their own. We can observe this behavior in everyday lives, see people give away their own material means for a moral or ideological cause. Yet in the realm of state behavior we tend to overlook these motives for those that are easier to quantify: material gain or relative power as is the case in classical IR theory.

It is through questioning the underlying assumptions of IR that we can expose new ways of looking at interstate interactions and conflict. The postmodern approach of deconstructing international relations theory has its advantages in exposing these assumptions, however it tends to also perhaps go too far in neglecting what is empirically observable. In our case the state as separator between the in-group and out-group. The postmodern approach would be to deconstruct the separation itself, yet political psychology seems to indicate the in-group out-group distinction is not socialized into us. It is in fact a characteristic of our psyche no less than the other ways we “naturally” behave. We could perhaps construct a new approach to conflict if we take the in-group and out-group distinction as the basis of our analysis. The state serves a role as well but as a secondary tool to be used by the identity-group, rather than an entity on its own. Perhaps this approach has the potential to shine a light on the areas of international relations that have remained neglected in the past.

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# THE BAN OF CHATBOT GPT IN ITALY: A LEGAL OVERVIEW AND OUTLOOK

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**Abstract:** On March 25, 2023, the Italian data protection authority (Garante per la protezione dei dati personali) issued a ban on the use of the chatbot GPT (Generative Pre-trained Transformer). This decision was made due to concerns regarding the use of personal data and user privacy.

The measure was taken following a data breach suffered by ChatGPT on March 20, 2023. User conversations and payment information of subscribers to the service were leaked. However, the problem goes much deeper. Currently, there is no legal basis that justifies the mass collection and storage of personal data for the purpose of "training" the algorithms underlying the platform's operation. Additionally, the Italian authority argues that a functional age filter that keeps minors under the age of 13 off the platform is completely absent. It is therefore concluded that minors are exposed to responses that are completely unsuitable for their level of development and self-confidence.

The operating company OpenAI now has 20 days to explain how it intends to address the problem. Otherwise, a fine of up to 20 million euros could be imposed.

**Keywords:** *Data Protection Regulation (GDPR), Personal Data, Privacy, Data Protection, Protection of Personal Data, Consent of the Data Subject, Right to Access, Right to Erasure, Right to Restriction of Processing, Right to Data Portability, Processing of Personal Data, Online Tracking, Big Data, Artificial Intelligence (AI), Chatbot GPT, European Data Protection Authorities.*

## What is Chatbot GPT?

Chatbot GPT is an artificial intelligence (AI) based chatbot developed by the company OpenAI. GPT stands for "Generative Pre-trained Transformer 3" and is a specific type of chatbot based on OpenAI's GPT-3 technology.

GPT-3 is a text generation model based on machine learning algorithms and is capable of generating human-like texts. It can understand natural language and respond to questions or

requests that are presented to it. It can write texts that sound human-like and perform more complex tasks such as translations or article writing.

Chatbot GPT is a special chatbot based on the GPT-3 technology and is able to interact with users using human-like language. It can be used in various fields such as customer service, sales, or education to answer questions or provide support.

### **Where does Italy see the problem exactly, and what are the implications?**

The decision of the Italian data protection authority is based on several concerns. In the past, various studies have shown that chatbots can collect and store personal data from users. This can lead to privacy violations since users are not always informed about what data is being collected and how it will be used.

Another problem with the use of chatbots is the potential for discriminatory responses. Since chatbots learn based on training data, they can pick up certain biases and reflect them in their responses. This can lead to discriminatory or offensive responses that may hurt or discriminate against users.

Although the decision of the Italian data protection authority may seem restrictive at first glance, it can help to strengthen user confidence in the use of chatbots in the long term. By prohibiting the use of GPT, the data protection authority demonstrates that it cares about the protection of privacy and personal data. If other countries follow this example, it could help make the use of chatbots safer and more trustworthy.

Overall, the decision of the Italian data protection authority shows that data protection is an important aspect of the use of artificial intelligence and chatbots.

It is important that companies and governments take user concerns seriously and take measures to ensure the protection of privacy and personal data. Only then can user confidence in the use of chatbots be strengthened, and the potential of this technology can be fully realized.

### **How do other tech representatives view this?**

In early April 2023, various high-ranking tech experts such as Tesla CEO Elon Musk and Apple co-founder Steve Wozniak called for a pause in the rapid expansion of AI technology for other reasons. This development stop is intended to give the industry time to establish safety standards for the development of AI and to prevent possible damage caused by the riskiest AI technologies. If companies do not agree on this, governments would have to intervene and impose a moratorium. The six months would be used, among other things, to develop security protocols.

In the manifesto, they warn of the dangers of so-called Generative AI, as implemented by text robot ChatGPT or image generator DALL-E from OpenAI. These AI tools can simulate human interaction and create texts or images based on a few keywords.

### **What exactly does the GDPR regulate?**

The General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR) is a regulation of the European Union that came into force on May 25, 2018. It replaced the Data Protection Directive of 1995 and aims to strengthen the protection of personal data in the EU and regulate the handling of such data by companies and organizations.

The GDPR is directly applicable in all member states of the European Union and regulates the protection of personal data in connection with processing by automated means or in manual files. It contains provisions on the processing of personal data, the consent of the data subject, the security and protection of personal data, the right to be forgotten and data portability.

The GDPR applies to all companies and organizations that are based in the EU or process personal data of individuals in the EU. Violations of the GDPR can be punished with high fines, which can amount to up to 4% of the worldwide annual turnover or up to 20 million euros, whichever is higher.

The GDPR is an important protection mechanism for the privacy and personal data of users in the EU and sets clear rules for handling such data. Companies and organizations must ensure that they comply with the provisions of the GDPR to ensure the protection of personal data and avoid violations.

According to the General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR) of the European Union, personal data means any information relating to an identified or identifiable natural person. An

identifiable person is one who can be directly or indirectly identified, in particular by reference to an identifier such as a name, an identification number, location data, an online identifier, or one or more specific factors that make up the physical, physiological, genetic, mental, economic, cultural or social identity of that natural person.

Personal data is defined in Article 4 of the General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR) of the European Union. According to Article 4(1) GDPR, personal data means "any information relating to an identified or identifiable natural person ('data subject')".

An "identifiable natural person" is one who can be directly or indirectly identified, in particular by reference to an identifier such as a name, an identification number, location data, an online identifier, or one or more specific factors that make up the physical, physiological, genetic, mental, economic, cultural or social identity of that natural person.

The GDPR also includes specific provisions for the protection of personal data. Article 5 of the GDPR sets out six principles for the processing of personal data that must be complied with. These principles are:

- Lawfulness, fairness, and transparency
- Purpose limitation
- Data minimization
- Accuracy
- Storage limitation
- Integrity and confidentiality

In addition, the GDPR includes provisions on the consent of the data subject, the right to access and rectify personal data, the right to erasure (right to be forgotten), the right to restriction of processing, the right to data portability, protection against automated decision-making, and the right to object to processing.

Overall, the GDPR is a comprehensive framework for the protection of personal data in the European Union and sets out clear rules for the processing of personal data. Companies and

organizations must ensure that they comply with the provisions of the GDPR in order to ensure the protection of personal data and avoid violations.

### **What does Italy's actions mean for the EU and its members?**

The European consumer organization BEUC has already called for all authorities to investigate chatbots.

Ursula Pahl, Deputy Director-General of BEUC, said that consumers are not yet ready for this technology. People do not yet realize how manipulative, how deceptive it can be. They do not realize that the information may be inaccurate. The incident is a wake-up call for the European Union. Although work is underway on an AI law, it will only apply in four years.

The European Commission is currently debating the world's first legislation on artificial intelligence, the AI law.

According to the Vice President of the European Commission and Commissioner for Digital, Margrethe Vestager, the EU is not ready to ban artificial intelligence systems. She said on Twitter, "Whatever technology we use, we need to advance our freedoms and protect our rights. That's why we don't regulate AI technologies, we regulate the use of AI. Let's not throw away in a few years what took decades to build."

According to the BBC, the Irish Data Protection Commission and the UK data regulator have also announced plans to scrutinize AI chatbots, particularly with regard to data protection.

The Italian supervisory authority said that the company behind ChatGPT has 20 days to address the privacy issues or face a fine of up to 20 million euros.

### **It is theoretically possible that other countries in the EU, such as Germany or Slovakia, could follow Italy's example and issue a similar ban on Chatbot GPT?**

The data protection authorities there, similar to the data protection authority in Italy, are responsible for monitoring compliance with the General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR) and taking appropriate action in case of violations.

If the German or Slovak data protection authorities have concerns about the protection of personal data and privacy of users in connection with the use of Chatbot GPT, they could take similar measures as the Italian data protection authority and issue a ban on the use of GPT.

However, there are different data protection authorities in Germany, Slovakia, and other EU countries, and it is possible that they may come to different conclusions and take different measures.

Therefore, it cannot be predicted whether a ban on Chatbot GPT will be imposed in Germany or Slovakia or not. It depends on the specific circumstances and concerns identified by the German data protection authorities regarding the use of GPT.

### **How would this look in Switzerland?**

At present, there is no discussion of a ban on Chatbot GPT in Switzerland. Switzerland is not a member state of the European Union and therefore is not directly subject to the General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR). Instead, Switzerland has its own data protection law (DSG) that regulates the protection of personal data in Switzerland.

The DSG is structured similarly to the GDPR and is based on the same principles of data protection. It contains provisions on the processing of personal data, consent of the data subject, security and protection of personal data, the right to information, and data portability.

The Swiss data protection authority, the Federal Data Protection and Information Commissioner (FDPIC), is responsible for monitoring compliance with the DSG in Switzerland and taking appropriate measures in the event of violations of the law.

However, it is possible that the FDPIC, not least due to the geographical proximity to Italy, may have similar concerns as the Italian data protection authority regarding the protection of personal data and privacy of users in connection with the use of Chatbot GPT. If this is the case, the FDPIC could take similar measures to the Italian data protection authority and restrict or ban the use of Chatbot GPT.

However, it is important to note that the decisions of the FDPIC are made independently of other data protection authorities and depend on the specific circumstances and concerns identified in Switzerland, which have not yet been expressed.

## **How does it work in the US?**

In the US, there is no unified federal data protection legislation that regulates the protection of personal data. Instead, there are various federal laws that cover specific aspects of data protection, such as the Health Insurance Portability and Accountability Act (HIPAA) or the Children's Online Privacy Protection Act (COPPA).

In addition, some states in the US have enacted their own data protection laws, such as the California Consumer Privacy Act (CCPA) in California or the New York Privacy Act (NYPA) in New York. These laws regulate the protection of personal data and require companies to take certain protection measures to safeguard personal data.

However, it is important to note that data protection in the US is generally less comprehensive than in the European Union. There are no uniform provisions for the processing of personal data, and the protection of personal data primarily depends on individual federal laws and states.

However, in recent years, a debate about data protection and the protection of personal data has developed in the US. Various federal proposals have been introduced to strengthen the protection of personal data and create uniform provisions that would apply to all states. It remains to be seen whether such a law will be enacted in the future and how data protection in the US will continue to develop.

## **Can the EU lift the ban imposed by Italy?**

The European Union cannot lift the ban on Chatbot GPT imposed by Italy. Each member state of the EU has its own data protection authorities responsible for monitoring compliance with data protection laws. In this case, the Italian data protection authority (Garante per la protezione dei dati personali) is the competent authority.

The ban on Chatbot GPT in Italy was imposed by the Italian data protection authority due to concerns about the protection of personal data and the privacy of users. It is therefore up to the Italian data protection authority to decide whether and when to lift the ban, depending on the assessment of the specific concerns that led to the imposition of the ban.

However, the European Union can take measures within its competence at the European level to improve the protection of personal data throughout the EU and ensure that data protection



laws are uniformly applied in all member states. This is done, for example, by adopting the General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR), which is applicable in all EU member states.

The European Commission will have to intervene to solve the problem at the EU level.

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