

# วารสารวิชาการผลประโยชน์แห่งชาติ

## NATIONAL INTEREST

YEAR 2 NO.10 : NOVEMBER- JANUARY 2022

ISSN : 2730-2393





พ.ศ. 2563  
พ.ศ. 2563

# วารสารวิชาการผลประโยชน์แห่งชาติ National Interest

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เก่า 2022 เข้าสู่ปีใหม่ 2023 ท่ามกลางสถานการณ์ของเหตุหนาวในภูมิรัฐศาสตร์โลก ที่เจ้าโลก  
สหรัฐอเมริกาในฐานะเจ้าของยูเครนต้องการพักรบ และแข่งแข่งพรมแดนความขัดแย้งกับรัสเซีย ใน  
ฐานะผู้อ้างสิทธิของตนในยูเครนเพื่อทำการรุกรานใหญ่ในฤดูใบไม้ผลิ เนื่องจากขาดแคลนสรรพ  
กำลัง และอาวุธยุทธโศปกรณ์ให้แก่ยูเครน ถึงตอนนี้ นาโต้ยังไม่สามารถจัดหาอาวุธหนักเพื่อประกัน  
การโต้ตอบรัสเซียได้ และยูเครนกำลังประสบปัญหาไม่สามารถระดมกำลังได้อีกต่อไปในขณะที่รัสเซีย  
ได้ปลดปล่อยดินแดนที่ประชาชนได้ทำประชามติตามแคว้นต่าง ๆ จากกองทัพนาโต้ด้วยการสนับสนุน  
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เศ ร ษ ฐ ธิ ก ิ จ รัส เซีย

สำหรับเป้าหมายของวารสารวิชาการผลประโยชน์แห่งชาติในฉบับนี้เป็นผลงานของ  
นักวิชาการระหว่างประเทศ ที่นำเสนอผลงานที่เป็นรูปธรรมของการส่งเสริมดำเนินนโยบายประชาธิปไตยที่  
ก่อให้เกิดความมั่นคงทางสังคม ซึ่งเป็นปัญหาของลัทธิเสรีนิยม โดยนักวิชาการมาซิโดเนียเหนือ ผ่าน  
กระบวนการแปลงสินทรัพย์เป็นหลักทรัพย์ การบังคับใช้วิธีการเตือนภัยล่วงหน้าเพื่อมุ่งเน้นไปที่  
ผลประโยชน์ของชาติ ซึ่งเป็นกระบวนการที่แตกต่างจากการอธิบายที่ผ่านมา พร้อมทั้งค้นหาวีธีที่  
เหมาะสมในการทำทำความเข้าใจความท้าทายทางสังคมด้านความมั่นคง และการแบ่งส่วนของ  
ประชาชน โดยมีจุดมุ่งหมายในการเป็นตัวแทนที่โปร่งใส และบรรลุผลสำเร็จในสิ่งที่เรียกว่า “แนวคิด  
สาธารณะขนาดเล็ก” เพื่อความเข้าใจที่แท้จริง และมีประสิทธิภาพในลำดับความสำคัญ ซึ่งเป็น  
ผลงานการวิจัยในภาคสนามที่ไม่เคยมีมาก่อน

อีกบทความหนึ่งศึกษาโดยนักศึกษาระดับปริญญาเอกจากเซอร์เบีย เกี่ยวกับการศึกษา  
แบบจำลองการอพยพของฝรั่งเศส และเยอรมนี ที่เสมือนเป็นผู้นำในสองแนวทางที่แตกต่างกัน  
ฝรั่งเศสเป็นประเทศแรกในยุโรปที่เปิดรับการอพยพจำนวนมาก และเยอรมนีมีปริมาณจำนวนมากใน  
แง่ของจำนวนชาวต่างชาติ ทำให้เกิดรูปแบบการดำรงอยู่ร่วมกันระหว่างชุมชน และผู้อพยพในช่วง  
เปลี่ยนผ่านที่แตกต่างจากเดิม เป็นบทความที่น่าสนใจอย่างมากเนื่องจากรูปแบบคลาสสิกที่เคยใช้  
อธิบายไม่สามารถอธิบายได้อีกต่อไป

บทความอีกบทความหนึ่งของนักวิชาการชาวอาร์มีเนียจาก Center for Political and  
Economic Strategic Studies เกี่ยวข้องมุมมองของกระบวนการยุติธรรมขัดแย้งกรณี “นาโกรโน ดา  
ราบัต” หลังการเปลี่ยนแปลงเมื่อเดือนกันยายน 2022 ซึ่งเป็นผลทำให้อาเซอร์ไบจานได้เปิดตัวกล  
ยุทธ์ทางการทูตแบบบีบบังคับ โดยใช้การยกระดับทางทหารเป็นเครื่องมือหลักในการบังคับให้  
อาร์มีเนียยอมรับวิสัยทัศน์ของอาเซอร์ไบจาน และอนาคตของ “นาโกรโน ดาราบัต” และ



ความสัมพันธ์ทวิภาคี ในขณะเดียวกัน การเริ่มต้นของสงครามในยูเครนในเดือนกุมภาพันธ์ 2022 ส่งผลให้ตำแหน่งของรัสเซียในภูมิภาคอ่อนแอลง ซึ่งเริ่มสูญเสียการผูกขาดในกระบวนการยุติความขัดแย้ง ปัจจุบัน การเจรจาระหว่างอาร์เมเนีย-อาเซอร์ไบจานกำลังดำเนินการในสามเวที ได้แก่ มอสโก บรัสเซลส์ และวอชิงตัน ซึ่งเพิ่มความซับซ้อนให้กับสถานการณ์ เนื่องจากความขัดแย้งใน “นาโกรโน คาราบัค” กลายเป็นส่วนหนึ่งของการเผชิญหน้าระหว่างรัสเซีย-ตะวันตกประวัติศาสตร์ของรัสเซีย ดำเนินทางสังคม และวิบุรุษของชาติ ที่มีต่อเสรีนิยมตะวันตก ในฐานะที่ตรงกันข้ามกับอารยธรรมรัสเซีย

และบทความของนักวิชาการจากสหราชอาณาจักรเกี่ยวกับปัจจัยที่กำหนดระดับกิจกรรมเชิงกลยุทธ์ของรัฐ ซึ่งเป็นผลมาจากการศึกษาพฤติกรรมของรัฐ และแรงผลักดันที่มีอิทธิพลอยู่เบื้องหลังการกระทำของรัฐ โดยผู้เขียนได้นำเสนอผ่านการวิเคราะห์แนวคิดของการแบ่งขั้วความขัดแย้งอำนาจของพฤติกรรมเชิงกลยุทธ์ และรูปแบบความเป็นจริงของความสัมพันธ์ระหว่างประเทศ โดยการก่อตัวระเบียบโลกใหม่ที่พัฒนาไปอย่างรวดเร็วพร้อมกับการคุกคามของการฟื้นคืนชีพของสงครามเย็น

ดังนั้นบทความฉบับที่ 10 ที่มีจำนวนทั้งสิ้น 5 เรื่อง จึงเป็นบทความวิชาการ 4 เรื่อง และบทความวิจัย 1 เรื่อง โดยได้รับความร่วมมือจากนักวิชาการ มาเซโดเนีย เหนือ เซอร์เบีย อาร์เมเนีย สหราชอาณาจักร และไทย จะเห็นได้ว่า วารสารวิชาการผลประโยชน์แห่งชาติ ได้คัดสรรนำเสนอผ่านความร่วมมือจากหลากหลายนักวิชาการผู้มีประสบการณ์

บรรณาธิการขอแจ้งให้ผู้อ่านรับทราบว่าบัดนี้วารสารวิชาการผลประโยชน์แห่งชาติได้ผ่านการประเมินเข้าสู่ฐานข้อมูล TCI สำหรับผู้อ่าน และผู้เขียนที่สนใจที่จะถ่ายทอดผลงานวิชาการ และผลงานวิจัยเกี่ยวกับภูมิรัฐศาสตร์ ภูมิเศรษฐศาสตร์ นวัตกรรม และเทคโนโลยี สามารถที่จะศึกษาดำเนินการในการเขียนได้ในท้ายวารสาร ซึ่งทางเรายินดียิ่งที่จะพิจารณาผลงานด้านนี้เนื่องจากเป็นแนวทางวิชาการที่มีความต้องการอย่างมาก และที่สำคัญมีการพัฒนาอย่างรวดเร็วจนทำให้แวดวงวิชาการต้องปรับตัวอย่างมากในกระแสนการเปลี่ยนแปลง โดยเฉพาะอย่างยิ่งในสถานการณ์การทหาร เศรษฐกิจแบบใหม่ อุดมการณ์ใหม่ เทคโนโลยีใหม่ที่กำลังอยู่ในช่วงของการเผชิญหน้ากันระหว่างหมู่คณะตะวันตก และรัสเซีย กับจีน ในภูมิรัฐศาสตร์ใหม่ เพื่อให้เกิดการถกเถียงในทางวิชาการอย่างสร้างสรรค์ และใช้ฐานข้อมูลทางวิชาการของนักวิชาการจากยุโรปตะวันออก และตะวันตกโดยตรงในมุมมองที่แตกต่างกัน

รองศาสตราจารย์ ดร.ชินศักดิ์ สุวรรณอัจฉริย  
บรรณาธิการวารสารวิชาการผลประโยชน์แห่งชาติ

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**The complexity of integrating democratic values and societal security through the process of timely intervention: empirical analysis and projection of North Macedonia**

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## **The complexity of integrating democratic values and societal security through the process of timely intervention: empirical analysis and projection of North Macedonia**

**Assoc. prof. Katerina Veljanovska Blazhevskaja, PhD**

*veljanovska\_katerina@yahoo.com*

*MIT University – Skopje, Faculty of Security Science (North Macedonia)*

### **ABSTRACT**

The promotion of democratic values, societal security through the actualization of the securitization process, is inevitable through the applicability of early warning methods. All of this is particularly evident when the focus is on national interests, as opposed to state capacities.

The building of a stable and democratic state is correlated with establishing cooperation between the local and state authorities, and more specifically, finding an appropriate way to understand security social challenges and segmentation of the public with the aim of transparent representation and achieving the realization of the so-called “mini publics” concept.

Within the framework of this scientific paper, an empirical framework of quantitative research has been implemented in order to perform a relevant presentation of the situation in the Republic of North Macedonia, from the perspective of: (1) implementation of programs for involving the public at the local level in the so-called mini publics; (2) the existence of a strategy between the local and state authorities for targeting the challenges of the domestic societal framework; with the aim of a real and effective insight into the priorities and needs of the societal security. In addition, a method of descriptive analysis is used to interpret the obtained data.

**KEYWORDS:** democracy, societal, security, local, state, “mini-public”

Received: 09/12/2022

Revised : Correction/revision is not required

Accepted: 28/12/2022



**Introduction.** The last two decades have been marked by radical and various changes in all spheres of social life. During this period, in-depth changes were conceived that now have a decisive impact on the economic, social, political and security configuration of the world community, and the first consequences of those changes are already being felt. Among other things, the list of security challenges, risks and threats has been changed and expanded, and parallel to this, their nature, content, appearance forms and their reach are also changing. Some new threats to individual, regional and global security have also entered the scene, to which no society can remain immune.

The huge impact of globalization processes is also reflected on all types and ways of governance around the world. To this, relations are set for precise assessments and analyzes in relation to the developments in connection with the borders, on a local, regional and global level. Even the world's biggest actors and donors in politics, those who create and support world politics, international financial institutions, the European Union, the World Bank, base their decision-making on key decisions regarding political and social reforms in states and interest in their development process.

The national security of a state, especially the societal security, has a complex design and structure aimed at guaranteeing national peace and security as part of regional and global security. The goals of the societal security in the area of national security derive from the key strategic policies and acts of the governmental institutions and all the other institutional capacity that is involved.

The purpose of this paper is to give a clear overview of the aspects of societal security, based on practical implications on the local and national concept of understanding the needs of the public and segmenting them in order to establish a strategic approach to action. In the paper, through the application of non-quantitative empirical analysis and the method of descriptive analysis, the set hypotheses, which refer to the Macedonian society, are analyzed and interpreted. They provide a clear roadmap for new challenges and perspectives in the domain of the problem frame.

## **Theoretical concept**

### **Understanding of democratic values and concept**

The democratic values of a society are a key factor for the successful functioning of social institutions. Their credibility and integrity, if based on democratic capacity, can lead to Europeanization of the overall social and normative order and respect for human freedoms and rights.

The basic postulates for the democratic character of the social institutions within which the security institutions have a special place and role derive from the constitutional norms and international rules that have been ratified in one legal system.

The processes of globalization "recomposition", redefinition of the classical sovereignty of nation states are taking place in the conditions of increasingly intense political globalization in the world, which, generally speaking, represents the process of creating a global political system, and which, in turn, initially exists in parallel with the existing system of nation states. Political globalization is treated as a global political evolution of the world system. More specifically, it is a multidimensional process, not only economic, more specifically, historical (in millennial proportions) and transformative (in changing planetary institutional structures) (Davies, 2008).

The great transformation of sovereignty does not take place in one, but in several completely different directions, it creates new types of sovereignty. Initially, the world political scene is flooded with the emergence of new, weak states, which are characterized by the pre-modern, almost exclusively formal aspect of sovereignty, short autonomy and excess of dependence, interventionism in their internal life. Secondly, the states of classical, modern sovereignty found it on two sides. On the one hand, they retain a significant measure of sovereignty – an undisputed monopoly of power on their territory and a series of key economic and social functions, they have a certain measure of influence on the management of regional affairs (Graham, Poky, 2000). But at the same time, a part of the sovereignty is being emptied. The decisions of supranational actors – transnational corporations, the Group "G-7", the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, NATO, become decisive for many economic, social and security measures of the nation states. The birth of the postmodern, "common", "divided", "participatory sovereignty" is a completely opposite trend – the power that is lost at the national level is compensated by participation in decision-making at a higher, regional level.

From a contemporary perspective, democracy lies between globalization and national sovereignty. Namely, they coexist together, since globalization will not destroy sovereignty, but, nevertheless, it must have frameworks for movement in the international field, otherwise it can lead to disproportionate economic and political changes, different from national, state perceptions (Clarke, 1972).

In addition to the above, interests are the driver of the development of democracy in transitional societies, as well as everywhere in the world. Interests become politically relevant by the fact that they seek their realization by political means with the help of the state or more broadly, speaking with the help of the historically determined mechanism of allocation of values and regulation of relations between social groups. The distinction of interests is difficult, primarily because they are a concomitant part of a moral, religious, political, social aspect of action.

The transition period has been a dominant process in Macedonian society for more than two decades. It is the period in which many things are not in accordance with the normally ordered and organized life, which leads to the disruption of the normal functioning of individuals and groups, causing an unbalanced situation that makes it impossible to control and direct the social conditions and changes,

which is reflected at the security and societal level. In fact, the transition period is an expression of, in a certain domain, a negative current situation in society, that is, it expresses a serious social crisis. Namely, the stratification of internal relations takes place in the direction of creating a privileged few "elite" and against it a mass of socially threatened and frustrated citizens. The imbalanced state of stratified groups creates an unequal adjustment of persons and groups, institutions and standards in which they change. At the same time, the predominance of destructive forces over the forces of balance and order are manifested through forms of cultural, economic, ethnic, ideological, political and other conflicts (Hansen, 2000).

The development of democracy in transitional societies, such as the Macedonian one, is especially current in terms of the achieved results, but also negative repercussions in certain periods of this development. At the same time, it is indisputable that there is a different level of democratic development, a different level of rule of law, a different level of respect for human freedoms and rights.

Certain elements of resistance to democracy arise from certain weaknesses, and above all from the imperfection of democracy itself. All of that also refers to aspects of the public's understanding of democracy, that is, the established order and its characteristics. At the same time, the priority is the understanding and analysis of the established social system, moral-ethical and value system, etc. In addition, the party system is analyzed and interpreted, which is closely related to the understanding of democracy and democratic values, as well as the acquired level of political culture.

According to Grodach and Silver, political culture is understood as a set of values on which the political system relies. In addition, political culture is important for bringing order to political life and the public sphere (Grodach, Silver, 2013). However, it can also be a generator of promoting fake news, which is also harmful to democracy and democratic processes, and to society as a whole.

### **Securitization – conceptual framework, challenges and perspectives**

Securitization theory analyzes the construction and deconstruction of threats as a social reality by using speech acts, images, tools and practices. Assuming that social reality is intersubjectively constructed; thus, can be changed by human agency, this perspective rejects the realist conceptualization of security that is argued to be fixed and given by geopolitical realities. It considers security as a 'speech act', which is not given but constructed through a discursive process. As an explanation, a speech act is a security utterance that frames the issue in conflictual terms that it becomes represented and recognized as a threat. The Copenhagen School considers traditional approaches insufficient to understand post-Cold War security challenges including civil strife, illegal migration, refugee crisis, environmental degradation, climate change, transnational terrorism, and health epidemics. It has thus widened the scope



of security to other spheres other than military including economic, environmental, societal, and political sectors (Aradau, 2004).

According with the above, securitization examines how political elite moves issues like migration, environmental degradation or religion into the realm of security through speech acts. Moreover, the sectors of securitization help us better analyse which referent objects are framed as being subject to an existential threat. Bigo identify states, sovereignty or the ideology of states, national companies, collective identities such as nations and religions, and individual species and climate as the possible referent objects in the military, political, economic, societal and environmental sectors, respectively (Bigo, 2002).

Conceptualizing security in broader terms, the Copenhagen school is composed of three pillars: (1) Securitization; (2) Sectors of securitization, and (3) Regional Security Complex Theory. Considering proximity as an important factor in security studies, Regional Security Complex Theory focuses on subsystems or regions defined as units having specific characteristics that differentiate them from other units within the international system. Furthermore, according to Regional Security Complex Theory, unlike the anarchical nature of the international system that is fixed, the structures of subsystems can change due to significant shifts in major components of the security complex such as the distribution of power among major units and the patterns of friendship and enmity among the units (Walsh, 2020).

The securitization pillar has put forward that a certain issue is securitized when identified as a threat to a referent object; requiring extraordinary measures. According to the Copenhagen School, deciding on which issues to securitize as a threat is a political choice. The politically decided and socially constructed securitization process is analyzed through three levels of analysis: (1) agents; (2) acts; and (3) context. The agents level of analysis deals with revealing the actors that are engaged in securitizing issues and the actors that resist such securitizing initiatives. While securitizing a particular issue, the securitizing actor, including political leaders, bureaucracies, governments, lobby and pressure groups, labels a particular issue as a national security threat by using certain words, phrases and actions in order to justify a certain policy tool to be implemented (Guzzini, 2011).

Hansen has suggested that by framing a specific issue as an eminent threat, the political elite claims a right to take extraordinary measures to combat it (Hansen, 2012). Although it is the securitizing actor that frames a certain issue as an immediate threat through speech acts, the audience must accept that there is an existential threat that requires extraordinary measures. Issues become securitized based on an intersubjective interaction between the securitizing actor and the audience that gives consent to the securitization discourse. It is thus necessary to persuade the audience to internalize the threat claims of the securitizing actor. Moreover, Hanesen, also emphasises the need for the securitization actor to use the right language, body gestures, and ideas to convince the public for the urgency of a specific security threat. While the agent level of analysis focuses on the discursive practices of securitization actors during

the securitization process, the context level of analysis is concerned with studying the context in which securitization process occurs. It deals with the social and historical construction of the structure on which common interpretations regarding what constitutes a threat and how that particular threat might be abolished is grounded. Criticizing the Copenhagen School's overemphasis on the role of textual analysis while ignoring contextual analysis, the sociological approach to the securitization theory (Paris School) focuses on both the context in which securitization discourses are embedded and the practices of the institutions on a given security issue. The Paris School insists on the examination of the broader context in which securitization process occurs, rather than focusing narrowly on political elites and their speech acts. Knudsen, similarly highlights the need to examine the role of the context in securitization theory to understand why particular securitization claims have repercussions on a particular audience. The acts level of analysis examines the outcomes of policy instruments and tools that are used by securitizing actors to overcome threats in the securitization process. It deals with the impact of the constructed social reality on security concerns. Instead of focusing on the securitizing actors and the nature of their discourse, the Paris School examines the outcomes and effects of security discourses in real life conditions. It empirically examines the outcomes of a particular securitization instrument and tool in the construction and consolidation of a security threat (Knudsen, 2001).

### **Timely intervention to ensure societal security**

In Timely warning as a mechanism, by which the society will recognize the coming threat, was created with the intention of obtaining an effective strategy for dealing with modern threats from different domains. The largest number of states and international institutions direct their attention to preventive action in relation to the protection of their security. The complexity of the security problem and the dynamism of modern threats to societal security impose a need for a timely assessment of risks and a warning about their dynamics and escalation. In fact, this is done in order to take an appropriate strategy for dealing with, that is, managing the possible conflicts and risks from a different domain (Allen, Diego, 2019).

Timely warning is often placed in the context of crisis management, considering it as part of the crisis management system. In doing so, in the context of the established tasks of crisis management, aimed at societal security, the following directions are taken into account (Ahmed, et al., 1998):

- Effective crisis management towards societal security and domestic securitization, as well as prevention of opportunities to transform the crisis and their further escalation into threatening conflicts;
- Timely and appropriate response in case of violation of societal security and domestic securitization. First of all, it must be kept in mind that for the successful management of crises after societal security and prevention of escalation into deepening threatening conflicts, it is

necessary to have a system for prevention and deliberate warning of upcoming risks and threats, which have been previously detected. In addition, the process of activating the mechanisms for handling and crisis management has its own preliminary procedure in the assessment, analysis and intended warning.

Preventive action and timely detection of possible disturbances after societal security, is presented in different directions in daily practice. Namely, in theory, the represented models for the timely prevention of threats to societal security, depending on the goals and methodology, have a different approach, whereby there are (Adelman, 1998):

- Models that are designed for a specific problem (conflicts, ethno-political conflicts, state stability, refugee crises and others);
- Models that can provide short-term or long-term warning, depending on the stages of crisis escalation;
- Models that use empirical methodology, isolating the factors that contribute to the escalation of crises, the structural processes in the states, the processes that determine the instigators of societal crises.
- Models that use structural information from society to enable long-term prediction. Each model of timely warning of a breach of societal security is mainly based on the empirical knowledge acquired by society in its history of dealing with risks from a different domain.

The specifics that characterize the construction of a possible warning in the event of a breach of societal security, goals, interests from a different domain, are a prerequisite for successful prevention and compatibility with analysis, planning, the decision-making process, implementation and evaluation of information.

The timely prevention of societal security is directly related to the collective understanding of societal security, both by the institutions and by the affected public. At the same time, this process is characterized by the need for systematic collection and analysis of information coming from all aspects that could disrupt societal security.



## Methodological framework

Within this scientific paper, quantitative empirical research is analysed and interpreted. The research was conducted in the time period of 11.10. – 23.10.2022 with direct distribution of questionnaires. The research includes a target group of academics, experts, analysts, as well as public administration officials in local self-government and central institutions, which in their domain include work with the challenge of security, societal security and respect for democratic principles of population equality, with special reference to the right of representation at the local and national level.

The empirical research framework is based on the data obtained by the survey questionnaire. The basic methodological idea is aimed at the analysis and interpretation of the special hypotheses based on the analysis and comments of which the general hypothesis is finally analysed and interpreted.

A group of 50 respondents was included in the research. The data have been sublimated based on the received responses from the research and they have been selected in the direction of proving the special and general hypothesis within the framework of the research.

The survey questionnaire that is applied within the framework of the empirical research in this paper (its legitimacy for application in a given situation and the framework of perception of a certain ratio of the attitudes of the respondents to the research questions), is obtained on the basis of the theoretical aspects that are applied in this paper, and the practical implications that have been explored, based on certain existing real conditions in the country, from the aspect of understanding and functioning of the societal security.

The attitudes related to this research, which are presented in a survey questionnaire, are indicated to be placed on a Likert scale, in order to see the gradation of the attitude of the respondents. The data are statistically processed and graphically displayed. In addition, a descriptive method is used for analysis and interpretation of the data obtained.

The questionnaire was administered individually to each respondent, taking into account the ethical dimension of the questions, as well as the protection of personal data in relation to public presentation of the same, without damaging the credibility of both the respondents themselves and the organization itself from which that they originate.

## Results and discussion

In terms of demographic, the following data were obtained in relation to the target group (%) within this research:

### 1) Gender

Male	Female
53	47

### 2) Age

from 18-29 years	from 30-49 years	50 years and more
11	42	47

### 3) Ethnicity

Macedonian	Albanian	Turkish	Others
61	21	3	15

### 4) Level of education

Elementary	High-School	Faculty	MA/PhD
/	4	61	35

### 5) Working Experience

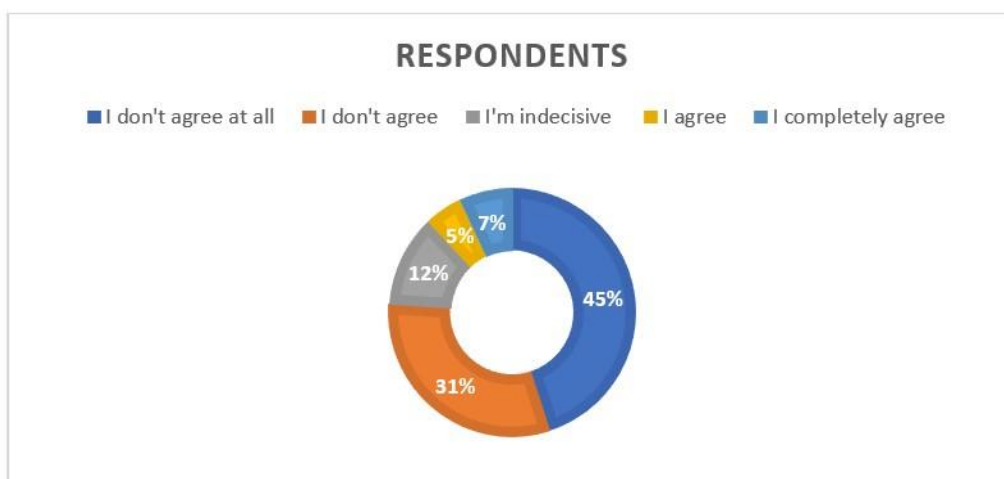
Up to 5 years	from 5-10 years	from 11-20 years	More than 20 years
12	26	45	18

### ***Analysis and interpretation of a hypothesis 1***

The first special hypothesis in this paper is the following: "If Macedonian society practices programs for involving the public at the local level in the so-called mini-publics, in that case a better familiarization with their priorities in the domain of societal security is expected."

The most appropriate choice for displaying the analysis of hypothesis 1 is through sublimated responses (shown in Graph 1).

**Graph 1:** *At the local level there is a model of segmenting the public into "mini-publics", for a better understanding of their societal security needs*



*Noted.* Author's own research

On the basis of the obtained data within the Graph 1, it can be seen the denial of the question/statement by the respondents, that is, with a high 76% (category: "I don't agree at all" and "I don't agree"), the respondents do not agree with the statement. Therefore, the concept of "mini publics" needs to be included in the framework of local self-government, as a key for the appropriate segmentation of the public in order to have a realistic insight into all needs, with special reference to societal security, which occupies different dimensions in different social frameworks.

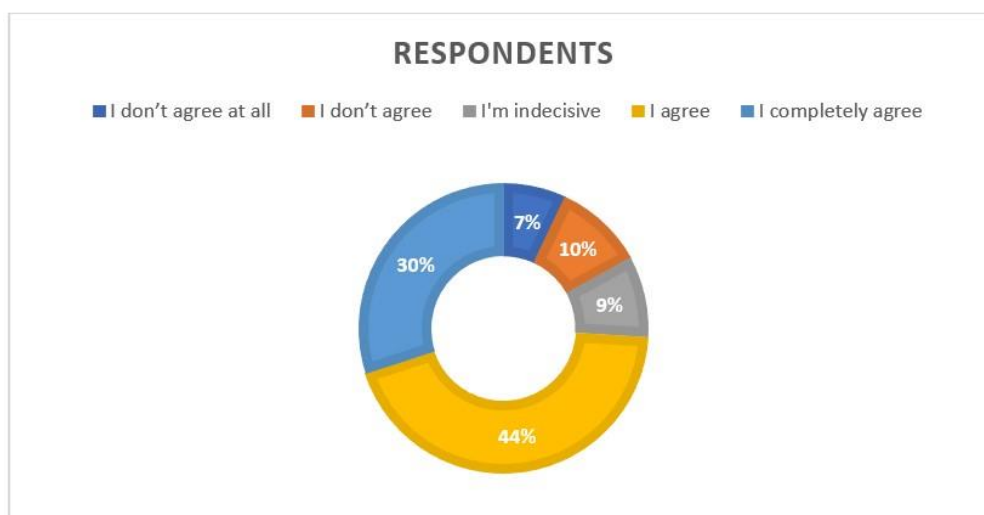


### ***Analysis and interpretation of a hypothesis 2***

The second special hypothesis in this paper is the following: "If effective cooperation between the local and national authorities is established, in connection with setting specific steps and a strategic plan for localizing the most common challenges in the domain of social security, in that case an improvement of the social security of the public is expected".

The most appropriate choice for displaying the analysis of hypothesis 2 is through sublimated responses (shown in Graph 2).

**Graph 2:** *There is a real need for a cooperation plan between local and national authorities to detect challenges related to societal security*



*Noted.* Author's own research

According to the obtained data shown in Graph 2, the high percentage of responses justify the claim (74%), that is, the respondents show a clear attitude regarding the need for a cooperation plan between local and national authorities to detect challenges related to societal security. Only in this way real benefits can be expected.

### ***Analysis of a general hypothesis***

Based on the obtained data within Graph 1 and Graph 2, the analyzed and interpreted general hypothesis is confirmed, that is:

"If social security is set as a priority by the local and national authorities within the Macedonian society, in that case it is expected to set up and implement an effective strategic approach to eliminate the revealed challenges in the domain of social security."

In addition, the application of the concept of "mini publics" in order to regularly detect challenges in the domain of social security for the population in a certain local government, as well as the establishment of a plan for cooperation between the local and national authorities, to detect challenges from the aspect of societal security, will greatly help to effectively deal with the challenges in the domain of societal security. Only in such a way can one acts strategically and expect efficient and effective measures and results.

**Conclusion** .Respect for democratic values, and social security as well as securitization in social frameworks are closely related. It is about a phenomena whose explanation presupposes a broad approach, multifactorial, an approach that connects them in a common social structure. However, this process of mutual action is not fixed, it is constantly subject to changes, reforms, which arise as a result of the dynamics and changes of the global social structure. Some of these changes take place in the long term and are focused on all aspects of societal security, and some arise from current environmental needs. However, what is important to highlight is the constant need for transformation and change.

The relationship between changes in social frameworks and securitization is in great dependence and proportionality with the social structure, radical changes, but also the form of governance and established relationship between the representation of the public, at the local and national level.

Credibility and integrity gained by the public is equally important both locally and nationally. In the context of the above, in order to enable a high level of societal security and securitization, it is necessary to regularly and promptly monitor the needs of the segmented public. A segmented public means that, starting from the local level, all the way to the national level, all the problems and challenges faced by the population in a certain framework of action will be known. The best way to achieve this is through the creation of a model of "mini publics" at the local level, which will greatly improve the representativeness of the population in a certain place of residence, and thus improve their societal security. In addition, the establishment of an efficient strategic plan for the exchange of experiences and models of behaviour between the local and national authorities, will set up an effective system of timely warning for certain societal changes and an appropriate timely, that is, preventive reaction to them.

Within the framework of this paper, empirical research was conducted on a target group of 50 respondents, academics, experts, analysts, as well as public administration officials in local self-government and central institutions, which in their domain include work with the challenge of security, societal security and respect for democratic principles of population equality, with special reference to the right of representation at the local and national level. Moreover, according to the obtained results, the hypotheses set in this paper have been confirmed, that is:

- If the Macedonian society practices programs for involving the public at the local level in the so-called mini publics, in that case a better acquaintance with their priorities is expected.
- If effective cooperation between the local and national authorities is established, in connection with setting specific steps and a strategic plan for localizing the most common challenges in the domain of social security, in that case an improvement of the social security of the public is expected.
- If social security is set as a priority by the local and national authorities within the Macedonian society, in that case it is expected to set up and implement an efficient strategic approach to eliminate the revealed challenges in the domain of social security.

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## Two Models of Integration of Immigrants: Germany and France

**Ljiljana Čabrilo Blagojević**

*ljiljanacabiloblagojevic@yahoo.fr*

*PhD student at European Center for Peace  
and Development (ECPD) (Belgrade,  
Serbia)*

*<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-0932-5085>*

### ABSTRACT

Since the second half of the twentieth century, the immigration of foreign populations has reached a significant volume in most Western countries. Massive and continuous, it led to a process of deep transformation of the nature and composition of the population in numerous countries of the Northern Hemisphere. While migration flows in earlier periods were primarily directed towards countries of the traditional immigration type, such as the USA, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and in Europe France, they gradually expanded to all developed countries, so we can no longer speak of classic south-north migration movements.

In relation to other European countries, France and Germany will lead in two different ways: France as the first European country to open up to mass immigration, and Germany in terms of the number of foreigners. Their models of integration of foreigners are, however, significantly different.

**KEYWORDS:** immigration, integration, Germany, France

Received: 12/12/2022

Revised : 28/12/2022

Accepted: 29/12/2022



**Introductory considerations.** France reached out to foreign labour already in the second half of the 19th century, so some researchers (Noiriel, 1992) think that constant immigration over more than a century has changed the composition of the French population more than it was the case in the USA and that process is far from finished. Ogden and White (1989) note three migration periods in France: at the turn of the century, between the two world wars and after 1945. They show similarities but also differences. Each immigration was significantly more numerous than the previous one, and each subsequent one brought workers from greater geographical and cultural distances than the previous one. Germany, for its part, gathers the largest number of immigrants in Europe.

France and Germany are two countries of immigration that throughout history have built two very different systems – first of all in the very concept of the nation, with all the consequences that this can have in relation to immigrants. The French model refers to universalism and the enlightenment mission. On the other side, the German ethnic model of the nation refers to biological and ancestral ties in order to determine who is German. The French adopted *jus soli* (with certain limitations), and the Germans *jus sanguinis* as a concept for acquiring citizenship.

At the same time, with the increase in the number of migrants and the diversity of their countries of origin, the structure of immigration also changed substantially. Thus, the OECD (1987) states that modern migrations in Europe were first economic migrations of men who came alone in the 50s and 60s of the last century. Then there was a phase of family reunions in the 70s and 80s, leading to the transformation from temporary labour migration to permanent settlement, or sedentarization, as Silverman (1992) called it). Weil's analysis shows that, in the case of France, this evolution was probably decided and orchestrated by the state authorities in order to assimilate and definitively settle immigration (Weil, 1991).

It is clear that movements of such a scale had very significant consequences in the cultural, social and economic life of the receiving countries and that immigration issues were often discussed with an excess of emotion and passion, due to the connection they have with the personal and collective identity of both migrants and their hosts. .

Pierre Tap (Tap, 1999) believes that immigrants, faced with a depressed Western society, devoid of energy, with an identity deficit, will undoubtedly affirm their cultural identity in it, through various individual and collective strategies. Classic theories, which see the receiving society as static, into which immigrants integrate or not, are being changed in the sense that now more attention is being paid to the interaction between the society of the receiving country and the immigrants. The prevailing concept is the one that represents the majority (society of the receiving country) as static and immobile, against which stand the (immigration) minorities, who are forced to fit in, or, on the contrary, to be the bearers of revolt (delinquency, return to the previous identity model, etc.) . However, extensive research has shown that minorities can change the opinions, beliefs, norms and attitudes of the majority (Mugny et Perez, 1987).

In such a perspective, mass immigration is considered one of the strongest causes of cultural anomie in the societies of the receiving countries. Immigrants generally have, thanks to stronger friendship and family networks and help within their migrant communities, greater internal cohesion than is the case with members of the majority (the society of the host country), which is mainly characterized by individualism, loneliness and micro-family models.

Todd (1994) says that the French, according to the Jacobin model, accept as French all those who have adopted, in addition to the French language, several values that define a common base. But this social contract, which is based on the common minimum, introduces social relations that are of weak intensity, with minimal convergence of opinions, attitudes and common values.

Hall and Hall (1990) noted that the French were not very open to mixing. They concluded that it takes much more time to create and maintain relationships in France than in countries such as Germany or the USA. The French live in closed circles, difficult to enter, and their society, more than in other countries, functions with class divisions.

Weinberg (Weinberg, 1961) believes that for the mental health of immigrants, as well as for society as a whole, educating natives is just as important as educating immigrants.

Of course, immigrants also undergo disintegration under the influence of the cultural model of the receiving country. Thus, Todd (1994) says that the expression "disintegration in the French way" would correspond more to the process of adaptation of the population arriving from Algeria to France, than integration.

### **French and German models of integration of foreigners – historical basis**

Analyzing the differences between the French and German models of integration of foreigners, Demorgon (1999) believes that the roots of these differences come from the fact that throughout history France was more under the influence of Rome and the Catholic Church, that is, external and centralized authorities, than was the case with Germany states, often in opposition to Rome. Differences regarding the creation of social ties in their areas arose from this. While in France they are created in the shadow of Catholicism, with a pretension towards universalization, in Germany these connections are created relying more on local specificities and local communities. At the threshold of the first millennium, there are two main cultural currents: in the south, the Roman Empire, surrounded by walls, and in the north, societies of communities that create leagues by association. These communities were not Romanized and were not converted to Christianity, and this type of organization will play a significant role in the genesis of German culture, unlike the French one.

These different orientations – on the one hand, maintaining the diversity of numerous smaller societal units, and on the other, unifying the population and territories will have significant cultural consequences.

In Germany, the closeness of social partners, including those who have the main roles in decision-making, closeness to the surrounding nature, will influence the regulation of society, laws and government

organized between social actors who are close and known to each other. There will be a certain overlap between the self and the group to which one belongs: authority based on relationships between familiar and close circles is more easily internalized.

In France, however, the Roman and then the Catholic administration was implanted early on, after which the modes of government alternated, all of which have the same essence – they are external, vertical, centralized, and remoted. The solidarity of the group will be more tested due to the constant division between, on the one hand, the feeling of loyalty to that external authority and the feeling of belonging to a close group, which may also have its own specific interests, different from the interests of the central, external and distant authority.

After the acceptance of Christianity in the territories of Germany, a noticeable contradiction was established between, on the one hand, the diversity of smaller communities and, on the other, belonging to Catholicism. The reform introduces a real cultural revolution while strengthening the already existing community diversity. The fundamental difference compared to Catholicism is that all activities: religious, political and economic were given equal importance and respect, so, on the territory of future Germany, the political, economic and religious segments were jointly organized into one practical and relatively coherent system, which maintained the diversity of social individuals. At certain moments, the political unification of all those entities was sought in the periphery – in Austria or Prussia – societies that had strongly expressed components of royalist and imperial culture (Demorgen, 1999).

The situation in France seemed simpler: to the extent that the creation and future of the nation were controlled by central, unifying authorities, royal and then republican, their power extended over all territories and inhabitants. During the kingdom, the central government was supported by the church, i.e. Catholicism. Church authority was not allowed to be in contradiction with the royal authority – it was not allowed for the French church to turn to the pope against the king.

This control of the church became stronger with the Republic, to the extent that there was a separation of the church from the state and the introduction of the principle of laicity. In the concept of laicity, one should also see the intention of the state to control the population. The school, through teachers who oppose the priests, is a place where children learn “standardized” France, in the French language, and no longer in the dialects of their regions. The French bourgeois revolution was preceded by a process of national assimilation that was carried out by the monarchy for several centuries. The revolution ended this process, destroying local and territorial governments, to make the civil union of the nation. From the moment when the people through elections become the basic factor of political life, uniformity was necessary. Likewise, the introduction of general military service was a way for the state to introduce national values and respect for law and order. In such a context, what could be called the “French model of immigration” began to develop (Noiriel, 1992).

All this represents a set of elements that create new social bonds, which are increasingly moving away from the influence of communal culture, which they try to replace with the kingdom, the nation, human rights, and laicity. This type of centralized control also applies to the economy, both in the kingdom

and in the republic, because there is a fear that economic activities, if not controlled by the centre, can follow their own logic and stray from national plans.

As far as Germany is concerned, despite the later historical changes that led to national unification, the existing organization of social relations, which was based on biological connections, did not lose its importance. Hence, it is difficult to accept the possibility that foreigners, who do not share that basic, biological connection, can be part of the German nation.

### **Immigration as a tool of state policies in France**

Immigration, above all, contributes to the increase in the number of the population of the country of immigration, that is, to the regulation of demographic issues. Thus, Le Bras (1999), speaking about the state ideologies that determined the demographic policy in France, shows that, depending on the historical circumstances, they oscillate between populism and nativism, and it is sometimes difficult to distinguish between one and the other. The state's interest in "its" population starts from the period of absolute monarchy and leads to Colbertism and its expression of "political arithmetic" (Jean-Baptiste Colbert, State Secretary during the reign of Louis XIV in the 17<sup>th</sup> century). Dealing with the demographic issue becomes especially relevant after the defeat of France in the war with the German states, led by Prussia, in 1870. The defeat, instead of being explained by insufficiently developed military techniques and the incompetence of the supreme staff, was justified by differences in the birth rate.

The fear of depopulation led in that period to nativism, i.e. a policy according to which all births were welcome, whether they were children of marriage or illegitimacy. The connection between the birth rate and the nation is especially established with the republican regime: for many French people, who were deprived of the living symbol of their country, in the form of the king and emperor, "the French population became the representation of France" (Le Bras, 1987). The health of the population is taken into account, as once the health of the monarch, so the royal health bulletins were replaced by the demographic situation since the fertility of the population was considered an expression of health.

"From 1870 to 1940, demography became the favourite explanation for all our shortcomings, the number imposed itself as the only criterion of power" (Le Bras, 1991). To fill the barracks and later the factories, it was deemed necessary to have a large number of people at their disposal, whose salaries do not cost much and who obey orders.

Historians who have studied the causes of the demographic explosion in most European countries in the 19<sup>th</sup> century have highlighted the role of the industrial revolution in this phenomenon: the severing of relations with the countryside of rural populations moving to cities, leaving behind traditional ties and abandoning themselves, with ubiquitous misery, oblivion in the present, resistance to considering projects concerning the future, which is also manifested through the absence of birth control. (Noiriel, 1992). The isolated case of France, which from the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> to the middle of the 20<sup>th</sup> century had a decline in the birth rate and population, unlike most other European countries, was explained by the historian Mark Bloch (Bloch, 1931) as a consequence of the existence of small rural estates and the characteristics of the inheritance system, which, again, in their basis have a historical alliance between the

absolute monarchy and the peasantry, against the feudal lords. So it can be said that state power was at the root of this declining birth rate and demographic decline in France. The existing system affected voluntary restrictions on the number of births and influenced the fact that there was no mass exodus from the countryside to the city in the era of the industrial revolution. This, again, led to an unequal distribution of the labour force and to a lack of workers needed for industrial production.

Although employers, then and in later periods, followed economic reasons for hiring immigrants, they are still inspired by reasons of political demography, according to which France needs people to remain, or become again, a great power. Thus, they worked to bring in young families, of reproductive age, whose children will be raised in French society and according to its model (Weil, 1991). In this regard, debates have arisen about whether immigration should be limited by a quota system, as the Americans did, or leave the possibility of a global inflow of immigrants. This second model, under the guise of "republican egalitarianism", won. Thus, France, not limiting itself to targeted immigration, opened the door to mass immigration from its former colonies and low-wage countries. The Gaullist tradition of strong relations with African countries, especially with Algeria, also played a significant role in "filling" France with immigrants from the South.

In the seventies of the 20th century, the policy of permanent settlement and assimilation led to a large number of migrant families' reunions. When in 1979 the President of the Republic tried to activate the policy of returning immigrants, there was spectacular opposition which led to the abandonment of this project.

Weil (1988) concluded that for one century the French authorities favoured an integration policy that granted the right to a long-term residence. The same applies to acquiring French citizenship – according to Weil, naturalization was easily achievable (Weil, 1991), and Todd (Todd, 1994) believes that it was almost automatic.

France also determined its immigration policy in relation to its "best enemies". The awareness of one's own identity develops in relation to the Other, and for France, the relation to Germany and Algeria was of particular importance in the construction of national identity. From the beginning of the 19th century, France and Germany affirmed their identities through opposition to each other. However, the nationalisms of the two countries have worn out over time, and thanks to significant mutual work on getting to know each other and getting closer, instead of opposition, they turned to joint projects, which underline the complementarity of the two national identities, instead of their antagonism. Their role as founders of the European Union contributed to the creation of the myth of reconciliation, which represents one of the few examples of a complete transformation of relations on the international scene.

On the other hand, in the same period, there was another entity according to which France built its national identity – Algeria. Modern France was also built in relation to this complementary enemy, so that some of its values, including "national-universalism", were constructed and sharpened in relation to a society that was colonized and subjugated, experienced at the same time as geographically close, but



very different in terms of customs, habits and mentalities, treated sometimes as irreparably different, and sometimes as suitable for modernization, civilizing and assimilation (Henry, 1982; Henry, 1994).

With the colonization of Tunisia and Morocco, this vision encompassed the whole of North Africa but was somewhat less intense than when it came to Franco-Algerian relations. France's relations with its Algerian colony influenced the creation of an image of itself and the other, as well as the stereotypes attached to both sides (Henry, 1999). Thus, the doctrine of assimilation, which is claimed to still be the basis of the French immigration model, directly emerged from the vocabulary and experience of French-Algerian colonial relations. This colonial compromise represents a legal "bridging" of the disagreement between the principle of the natural equality of all people, inherited from the French bourgeois revolution, and the factual inequality of the colonized population. Assimilation, namely, provides the possibility for future equality: it transforms the principle of equality into a process of identification. Arab natives, in whatever country they are, are under French protection. But full enjoyment of the rights of a French citizen is incompatible with keeping the Muslim faith.

However, it was necessary to fill the ranks of the French army, opposite the German enemy, by bringing in soldiers from Africa. A new interpretation of colonization appeared: it represented a meeting, a meeting of civilizations, the ideal of which is symbiosis: African, but French at the same time (Delavignette, 1931).

Since the First World War, the population of the colonial metropolis witnessed the appearance of more massive military migrations of men from the South. Their appearance was not perceived as a threat to French society. However, the tone changes when, from the 1920s onwards, economic immigration from North Africa is progressively formed. The new influx of these immigrants was initiated by the state. In that period, immigration originating from the colonies still seems more reliable than certain European immigrations, which are treated as a "Trojan horse" of Germany, or as "foreign". Unlike them, immigration from North Africa remains close and easier to manage, because it is controlled: return to the colony is guaranteed in most cases.

The Second World War again brings a large number of immigrants from the colonies, who are again looked at through positive optics. The Vichy government avoids racist discourses aimed at them, and De Gaulle hopes that they will bring France back into the war.

Only after the Second World War, the issue of immigration from North Africa acquired a new dimension: on the one hand, it developed and became known and close, but on the other hand, the ties between France and its former colonies weakened and broke. Immediately after liberation, De Gaulle attributed the troubles of France during the war to demography, so the decrees from 1945 favoured the permanent settlement of foreigners, regardless of ethnic origin. Thus, an increasing number of low-skilled immigrants is developing, assigned to work in factories in unskilled jobs (Weil, 1991).

The problem was intensified by the active participation in the national liberation anti-colonial movements of immigrants from North Africa who lived on the soil of France, especially in the case of the

war in Algeria. In the end, this problem will reach its peak with the declaration of independence and the massive return to the metropolis of European migrants who settled in North Africa in the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

In this new, negative representation of migrants, classic elements meet and intertwine: fear of massive immigration, the threat of "French chromosomes", the relationship between the ageing population and the young and fertile population, economic competition with previously settled migrants and others. But what is the dominant reason for such a bad image is the feeling of the illegitimacy of the presence of workers from North Africa on the territory of the former metropolis, once they sought and received secession from France. This negative attitude affects Algerians above all: they are increasingly reduced to the identity of "Arabs", although, at the same time, there is a continuous process of their integration into French society.

Another reason for the drastic change in attitude towards emigration from North Africa is the successful and continuous process of construction of Franco-German relations. Since they ceased to be a necessary support for France in its rivalry with Germany, the North Africans were returned to the identity of "citizens outside the EU". Thus, at the same time as the process of decolonization, the process of building the European Union progressively deepened the gap between the two countries (Henry, 1999).

### **French assimilationism and German marginalism**

Immigration is, above all others, a demographic category that leads to an increase in the number of inhabitants of a given country. However, of course, it is not only about quantitative changes, because each of these movements also brings a series of qualitative changes, both for the local population and for migrants.

For a long time, the French observed the immigration process, without taking any special measures to regulate it, neither quantitatively nor qualitatively. The native French, following republican politics and official discourses, could live from the monumental conception of their society (Bastienier, 1999). They experienced their country as an admirable monument, imposing, complete and almost unchanging. In others, this monument could only cause admiration and the desire to belong to it, to fit into it, without changing it. Because of this attitude, the thinking did not go in the direction of possible changes in society and the socio-cultural model of France that immigration could cause. Conversely, immigration acted as a confirmation of the special qualities of the French model and its appeal. Of course, there were problems and conflicts in that process, but they were considered only as second-rate outbursts, accidental and transitory, of a social system that would, in the end, establish its balance.

In such a perspective of the existing social model as built and without the need for change, integration was reduced to assimilation. The French machine, already highly standardizing for the domestic population, had no reason not to do the same for immigrants.

This concept, however, has become problematic on many levels. Economic and cultural transnationalism, which is changing all national societies in the process of globalization, has shaken the

stability and immutability of French cultural postulates. Immigrants are no longer perceived as a number that will fit into a perfect social model but as a danger to the survival of that same model. Certainly, the problem of adapting to new conditions does not apply only to immigrants but implies the reintegration of the entire society into new transnational relations. Immigrants are now even more perceived as new rivals in the constantly changing economic space. And as far as the cultural sphere is concerned, they are just one more element of the growing confusion that reigns in connection with national identity. The presence of immigrants is experienced as an invasion of the poor South on the North, which was once rich and powerful, but today is no longer able to even control its borders. A new type of chauvinism is being born, which Habermas (Pourtois, 1992) calls welfare chauvinism, which implies that people will love their country and be loyal to it only if it provides them with more than the minimum that cannot be refused to anyone. To reconstruct the affected identity, many countries turn to neo-nationalism, adopting a series of protectionist measures that exclude foreigners from the privileges granted to domestic citizens (Noiriel, 1992).

"The French Republic is paradoxical. Since the Revolution, she has placed the equality of citizens' rights at the heart of her values. It has, for more than a century, a unique experience with immigration in Europe. However, in spite of that, faced with cultural differences, it first tries to forget, even to violate its own principles, before deciding to apply them, but under the worst conditions" (Weil, 2005).

Due to the repulsive attitude of the majority who felt threatened, certain minorities turned to gather in their ethnic communities, and even to religious fundamentalism. The French model, which for centuries was based on a strong, centralized nation-state, began to lose its lustre. Parallel to the process of globalization, there is talk of the end of national societies and the nation-state. The difference between socio-economic and socio-cultural belonging to a society is underlined. There were periods in France in which these two aspects overlapped to such an extent that it was almost impossible to distinguish them, but today this is no longer the case (Bastienier, 1999).

On the other hand, the German model of nationality, which is based on the "right of blood", and which introduced immigration after France, showed good capacities for absorbing immigrants.

In both countries, intercultural differences originate from the domain of the unconscious in social relations and are linked to problems in the economy and education. Human groups that were geographically and culturally distant in earlier periods are now in direct contact, interact with each other and influence each other and create, to a certain extent, a new intercultural space.

According to Kordes (Kordes, 1999), French assimilationism is a priori inclusive, but at the same time, it is also exclusionary, because it is based on latent intolerance, since it accepts only its identity core and rejects all other cultures as marginal.

Conversely, German marginalism seems a priori exclusionary, because it does not allow migrants to acquire German citizenship, but, on the other hand, it is relatively tolerant, because it allows members of other cultures to differ from the majority model and to organize according to their own.

**Conclusion.** The French system of integration of foreigners can be characterised as a state-organized assimilationism, and the German one as a multicultural coexistence of local communities.

An important question that arises is whether it is the state's job to shape the cultural identity of "its" society or does society itself has the freedom to define its own identity. The German and French models provide different answers to the appearance.

The transformations underway in several countries are challenging the idea of models representing a rigid mould in which integration policies are defined. But despite these respective developments, integration methods continue to vary depending on the State.

Countries of immigration must find a consensus that goes beyond the ethnic-centralist model and enables integration for those who want it. Their population and authorities must get used to the presence of foreigners from different parts of the world, to changes in cultural identity; they must develop a tolerant approach towards different habits and lifestyles and enable the integration of different elements, which European countries of immigration have been applying in recent decades. Thus, the transformation and ultimately the disappearance of the ethnocultural communities of the receiving countries are irreversibly inscribed in pro-migration programs (Thränhardt, 1996).

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**Perspectives of Nagorno Karabakh conflict settlement process  
after the September 2022**

**Benyamin Poghosyan**

*bpoghosyan@gmail.com*

*Chairman, Center for political and economic strategic studies (Yerevan, Armenia)*

*Orcid ID - 0000-0001-6201-7172*

**ABSTRACT**

The article analyzes the current stage of the Nagorno Karabakh conflict after the September 2022 attack of Azerbaijan against Armenia. It argues that after the 2020 Nagorno Karabakh war, which ended with the trilateral Russia – Armenia – Azerbaijan statement of November 10, 2020, Azerbaijan launched a coercive diplomacy strategy, using the military escalation as the main tool for force Armenia to accept Azerbaijani vision of the future of Nagorno Karabakh and bilateral relations. Meanwhile, the start of the war in Ukraine in February 2022 resulted in weakening of Russian positions in the region, which started to lose the monopoly over the conflict settlement process. Currently Armenia – Azerbaijan negotiations are underway in three platforms, Moscow, Brussels, and Washington, which brings additional complexity to the situation, as Nagorno Karabakh conflict becomes a part of the greater Russia – West confrontation.

**KEYWORDS:** Nagorno Karabakh, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Russia, United States, European Union, Turkey, Iran

Received : 26/12/2022

Revised : 4/01/2023

Accepted: 5/01/2023

**Introduction.** Nagorno Karabakh conflict is one of the long-lasting conflicts in the post-Soviet space. The attempts of finding an efficient and fair settlement to this conflict were undertaken by various international organizations and states. This conflict has been in the center of attention of the UN Security Council (UN SC resolutions: 822 (April 30, 1993), 853 (June 29, 1993), 874 (October 14, 1993), 884 (November 12, 1993)).

Several books have been published about the conflict, including Thomas de Waal “Black Garden: Armenia and Azerbaijan through Peace and War” (de Waal, 2013), Anna Ohanyan, editor, “Russia Abroad: Driving Regional Fracture in Post-Communist Eurasia and Beyond” (Ohanyan, 2018), and Laurence Broers “Armenia and Azerbaijan: Anatomy of a Rivalry” (Broers, 2019). There are also academic publications containing some elements of cultural and national political bias (Hakan, M. Yavuz, & Gunter M., 2022; Makili-Aliyev, 2007).

### **Prospects of Nagorno Karabakh conflict settlement**

On September 13, 2022, Azerbaijan launched a new attack against Armenia in multiple directions, shelling military and civilian infrastructure and seeking to advance into the Syunik, Vayots Dzor, and Gegharkunik regions. Everyone following the developments in Armenia – Azerbaijan relations expected the escalation; however, the scope of hostilities was unprecedented and went beyond that of the April 2016 four-day war. After two days of active hostilities, Armenia and Azerbaijan reached a ceasefire on September 14, 2022.

Armenia applied to Russia, the US, France, the UN Security Council, and the Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO). The UN Security Council held two meetings on the issue with both closed and open debates (Amid Fighting, 2022), while the CSTO sent a special mission to Armenia to assess the situation and prepare a special report for the heads of CSTO member states (The CSTO, 2022). As a result of this new attack, Armenia confirmed more than 200 deaths among its soldiers, while 16 soldiers remain missing. There were casualties among the civilian population too. Azerbaijan confirmed more than 80 deaths among its armed forces.

What was the reason behind the Azerbaijani decision to start a new war against Armenia? Just two weeks before this latest offensive, Armenian and Azerbaijani leaders met in Brussels to discuss how to move forward toward the signature of a peace treaty between Armenia and Azerbaijan (Press statement, 2022). On August 30, the Armenia-Azerbaijan border delimitation and demarcation commission met in Moscow. Apparently, Azerbaijan was not satisfied with the results of the meeting and decided to punish Armenia and force it to take some steps.

Azerbaijan has two main demands from Armenia – to accept the Azerbaijani position that no Nagorno Karabakh exists anymore and to provide a corridor via the Syunik region to reach Nakhijevan from Azerbaijan proper. Azerbaijan views the realization of the first demand through the signing of the Armenia–Azerbaijan peace treaty with no mention of Nagorno Karabakh. Thus, Azerbaijan does not demand Armenia drop any discussion about the independence of Nagorno Karabakh. Baku wants Armenia to explicitly state that there is no territorial administrative unit named Nagorno Karabakh.

The Kremlin understands the potential dangers of an Armenia–Azerbaijan peace treaty not mentioning Nagorno Karabakh. It will provide Azerbaijan an opportunity not to extend the deployment of Russian peacekeepers in Nagorno Karabakh after November 2025. As a possible solution, Russia proposed the inclusion of a special article on Nagorno Karabakh in the Armenia–Azerbaijan peace treaty, which will declare that this issue is not solved. It will note that it shall be solved during future negotiations without providing a concrete timeframe and modalities. Azerbaijan rejects this approach and demands a peace treaty without mentioning Nagorno Karabakh at all.

The second demand of Azerbaijan is the establishment of a corridor via the Syunik region to Nakhijevan with no Armenian control. Theoretically, Azerbaijan may agree to Russian control over the routes, making routes via Syunik similar to the Lachin corridor which connects Armenia with Nagorno Karabakh. Armenia rejects this demand and insists that Armenia should implement border and customs control according to national laws.

Russia is interested in opening of these routes as an additional connection with Turkey via Azerbaijan and Armenia. However, Russia does not want to see these routes as an alternative China – Europe connection circumventing Russia. Thus, Russia calls for the restoration of communications and wants to have control over them, meanwhile rejecting any idea of extraterritorial corridor (Russia Signals, 2022). An Azerbaijan – Turkey corridor without Russian control is detrimental to Russian interests.

Armenia launched a wave of diplomatic activities after the latest Azerbaijani aggression. Prime Minister Nikol Pashinyan visited New York and Paris (France demands, 2022); the Armenian foreign minister met with his Azerbaijani counterpart in New York through the mediation of the US Secretary of State; the Secretary of Armenia's Security Council Armen Grigoryan spent an entire week in Washington, where he met with President Aliyev's top foreign policy aide Hikmet Hajiev (Armenia's Security, 2022) and held discussions with several American state institutions, including a surprise visit to CIA headquarters. During these hectic movements, Pashinyan put forward the idea of deploying international observers along the Armenia–Azerbaijan border and indirectly criticized Russia for breaching signed contracts for weapons sales for which Armenia had paid. Grigoryan welcomed the US involvement in the South Caucasus, arguing for its positive effect and additional security guarantees.

On September 29, 2022, a Russian foreign ministry spokeswoman claimed that several extra-regional players sought to bring instability to the South Caucasus region (Moscow sees, 2022). Answering a question

about Pashinyan's idea to deploy international observers along the Armenia–Azerbaijan borders, she stated that Russia stood for the full and unconditional implementation of the agreements reached by the three countries to ensure a settlement of the conflict, adding that there was a general rule not to replace what was working with something illusory. On September 30, 2022, Russian Foreign Minister Lavrov stated that discussions are underway to use CSTO observers to create favorable conditions for the realization of trilateral Armenia–Russia–Azerbaijan agreements, particularly for the delimitation and demarcation of borders (As Lavrov, 2022).

Russia is concerned about the possibility of deploying international observers along the Armenia–Azerbaijan border. As the Russia–West war continues, Russia perceives the presence of Western observers as a direct step to increase their influence in the South Caucasus and weaken Russia's position. Meanwhile, Russia understands that if the Kremlin does nothing to stop future Azerbaijani attacks, Armenia will be forced to find other solutions. Russia cannot afford direct military intervention against Azerbaijan, which may quickly transform into a Russia–Turkey military clash, opening a second front for Russia. In this context, deploying CSTO observers may create obstacles to further Azerbaijani attacks and simultaneously prevent the emergence of additional Western presence in the South Caucasus.

As several actors are involved in active diplomatic efforts after the recent Azerbaijani aggression against Armenia, and Armenia–Azerbaijan relations are slowly becoming another battlefield in the Russia–West war, the negotiations between Yerevan and Baku on the elaboration of a future peace treaty loom on the horizon. During his interview with Public TV on September 30, 2022, PM Pashinyan stated that Armenian and Azerbaijani foreign ministers would start the detailed discussion of the peace agreement (Prime Minister, 2022).

On October 6, 2022, within the framework of the first meeting of the European Political Community in Prague, Prime Minister of Armenia Nikol Pashinyan and President of Azerbaijan Ilham Aliyev held a meeting at the initiative of the president of France and the president of the European Council. After an hours-long discussion, they adopted a joint statement, according to which Armenia and Azerbaijan confirmed their commitment to the UN Charter and the Alma–Ata Declaration of 1991, through which both sides recognized each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty. They confirmed that this would serve as the basis for the work of the commissions on delimitation. Armenia agreed to facilitate the deployment of the European Union (EU) civilian mission along the border with Azerbaijan (Statement, 2022).

The implications of this statement should be divided into two parts — implications for the self-proclaimed Nagorno Karabakh (Artsakh) Republic and implications for Armenia. The reference to the Alma–Ata declaration of 1991 sent a clear message to all external players involved in South Caucasus geopolitics that the Armenian government is ready to recognize Nagorno Karabakh as part of Azerbaijan.

The recognition by Armenia of Nagorno Karabakh as part of Azerbaijan provides Baku with opportunities to reject any notion of independent Nagorno Karabakh. When Pashinyan hinted in April 2022

that Armenia was ready to discuss autonomy for Nagorno Karabakh within Azerbaijan, he hoped that President Aliyev would abandon his claim that no Nagorno Karabakh existed after the second Karabakh war. However, Azerbaijan continued in its claims that there was no Nagorno Karabakh, and it was not going to discuss that issue with anyone.

Recently, the Armenian government has spoken about the necessity of Azerbaijan – Nagorno Karabakh or Baku – Stepanakert talks within some special international mechanisms. However, if the Armenia – Azerbaijan peace treaty does not mention Nagorno Karabakh, it is implausible that Azerbaijan will agree to talk with Nagorno Karabakh as a political entity.

Many in Nagorno Karabakh believe that an Armenia – Azerbaijan peace treaty will have no concrete implications for Nagorno Karabakh. The Nagorno Karabakh Republic authorities will state that regardless of what the Armenian government thinks about the status or existence of Nagorno Karabakh, they will never be a part of Azerbaijan and will never take Azerbaijani passports. According to this narrative, as long as Russian peacekeepers are deployed in Karabakh, Azerbaijan will not have the capacity to invade Karabakh by force or use troops to force Karabakh Armenians to accept Azerbaijani passports or to leave. This logic has some right to exist. However, it might not function by the end of 2025. After a Armenia – Azerbaijan peace treaty with no mention of Nagorno Karabakh, it will be difficult for Russians to justify their presence in Karabakh after November 2025.

The deployment of EU civilian mission in border regions of Armenia will decrease the likelihood of another large-scale attack by Azerbaijan (Q&A, 2022). However, the EU mission will not be able to prevent minor incidents. The EU deployed a civilian monitoring mission in Georgia in October 2008. However, during its 14 years of activities, the mission could not prevent incidents along Georgia – Abkhazia or Georgia – South Ossetia line of control. The mission's duration is fixed for two months until the end of 2022. Probably, Azerbaijan will use this short timeframe as another tool to press Armenia to sign a peace treaty and agree on principles of border delimitation and demarcation until the end of 2022; otherwise, it will threaten Armenia with a new large-scale attack after the departure of the mission.

Meanwhile, there was absolutely nothing in the statement about restoring communications. During his speeches in parliament on September 14 and during the 2022 UN General Assembly, the Armenian prime minister emphasized the importance of securing the internationally recognized territories of Armenia within its 29,800 square km. He hinted that he was ready to make painful decisions to secure Armenia. Many understood these statements as a willingness to make significant concessions on Nagorno Karabakh to secure Armenia and make Azerbaijan drop its demands for the “Zangezur corridor.”

However, after the Prague summit, Pashinyan stated that Aliyev again rejected his offer to open communications based on the concept of each state's complete control over routes in its territory. In his turn, Aliyev, after the summit, again accused Armenia of not providing a route to Nakhichevan and for breaching its obligations under the November 10, 2020, trilateral statement. Thus, while Armenia de facto accepted the Azerbaijani demand to recognize Nagorno Karabakh as part of Azerbaijan and may do it again if it signs a peace treaty with Azerbaijan with no mentions of Nagorno Karabakh, Azerbaijan continues to demand the establishment of the "Zangezur corridor."

The recent events in and around Armenia – Azerbaijan relations raised alarm bells in the Kremlin. On October 24, 2022, the Russian foreign ministry spokeswoman issued a lengthy statement arguing that the West put unprecedented pressure on Armenia to change its foreign policy vector while the NGOs funded by the West actively spread anti-Russian sentiments in Armenia (Russia Decries, 2022). According to Moscow, the West's suggestions for normalization of Armenia – Azerbaijan relations were unbalanced, while the primary goal of the West was to push Russia out of the region. Russia argued that the Western efforts would break the fragile balance in the region established by the November 10, 2020, trilateral statement.

In parallel with harsh criticism against the West, Russia decided to reengage in the Armenia – Azerbaijan negotiation process actively. Answering a question from the representative of Armenia at the Valdai Forum on October 27, 2022, Russian President Vladimir Putin hinted that the Russian version of the Armenian–Azerbaijani conflict resolution does not mean recognition of Azerbaijan's sovereignty over the part of Karabakh where Russian peacekeepers are temporarily stationed. Putin also made an important clarification: "Let Armenia itself decide with whom to resolve the conflict – with the West or Russia." According to him, the American or Washington version of potential peace treaty assumes that Karabakh will remain part of Azerbaijan (U.S. Favors, 2022). On the initiative of President Putin, a new trilateral Armenia – Russia – Azerbaijan summit took place in Sochi on October 31, 2022 (Trilateral talks, 2022).

Russia is satisfied with the current volatile status quo when Nagorno Karabakh is de jure part of Azerbaijan but de facto is controlled by Russia, and Baku has no influence and leverage. The best-case scenario for Russia is to extend this situation until 2025, which will ensure the extension of the deployment of Russian peacekeepers for at least another five years. This approach is in line with Armenian interests. The continuation of the current status quo is not ideal for Armenia and Nagorno Karabakh, but after the defeat in the 2020 Karabakh war, there are no ideal solutions for Armenia. Armenia faces a choice between two scenarios: to lose Karabakh immediately or to keep the current status quo.

Thus, Armenia – Azerbaijan normalization process slowly starts to become part of the Russia – West confrontation, which may negatively impact Armenia and Azerbaijan. Another feature of the ongoing regional geopolitical chess game is the growing Iranian involvement. Tehran is unhappy to see increased Azerbaijan – Israel defense cooperation, and Israel's indirect presence along the Azerbaijan – Iran border. The ongoing



Azerbaijani and Turkish claims on the “Zangezur corridor” to connect Azerbaijan with Turkey via the Syunik region of Armenia are another concern for Iran.

In late October 2022 the Islamic Revolutionary Guards Corps launched large-scale military drills along Iran – Nakhijevan and Iran – Azerbaijan borders. The Iranian foreign minister visited Armenia and opened an Iranian consulate in the Syunik region (Consulate, 2022). Russia is objectively focused on the war in Ukraine and cannot provide significant attention to the South Caucasus. Meanwhile, given the growing Russia – Iran strategic cooperation, the Kremlin may ask Iran to increase its involvement in the South Caucasus to balance the US and Turkey.

Against this very complicated geopolitical background, Armenia should avoid any steps which may be interpreted or perceived as a U-turn in Armenia’s foreign and security policies. A clear message should be sent to all external actors — Russia, Iran, the EU and the US. Armenian efforts to bring international observers into Armenia have nothing to do with Russia–West war or US–Iran confrontation. The only thing of interest to Armenia is to prevent new Azerbaijani aggression against Armenia and to not allow ethnic cleansing in Nagorno Karabakh, which is inevitable without the international military presence and agreed and guaranteed status for Nagorno Karabakh.

Armenia and Azerbaijan should take all necessary steps to avoid being trapped in Russia – West confrontation. The ongoing war in Ukraine proved that this scenario might have catastrophic implications for both states. It does not mean that negotiations should be stopped. However, the hectic moves to sign a US or EU-prepared agreement, which Russia may view as an attempt to kick it out from South Caucasus, may destabilize the situation and bring new war instead of peace. In this context, the possible option to not lose the momentum could be a signature of a document that will envisage the principles of the future peace agreement while providing more time to carefully draft a peace treaty based on the balance of interests of Armenia, Azerbaijan, and other actors.

On December 12, 2022, Azerbaijan blocked the Lachin corridor, the only route which connects Nagorno Karabakh and its 120000 population with Armenia and outside world, causing acute humanitarian crisis. Using the pretext of alleged ecological problems in Nagorno Karabakh to justify the closure of Lachin corridor, Azerbaijan continues its policy to put pressure on Nagorno Karabakh Armenians, seeking to push as many Armenians from the region as possible. As blockade entered its third week on December 26, 2022, it hampered the already volatile peace process, and if continued, would destroy any chances of peace agreement to be signed in 2023.

**Conclusion.** Nagorno Karabakh conflict remains among the most protracted conflicts in the Post-Soviet space. Azerbaijan sought to solve the conflict by military means, launching the large-scale war against Nagorno Karabakh in September 2020. However, despite Azerbaijani military victory, Azerbaijan failed to push all Armenians out of Nagorno Karabakh. Currently, 120000 Armenians of Nagorno Karabakh continue their struggle to resist Azerbaijani pressure and protect their right to live on their homeland, while Armenia and Azerbaijan have been involved in difficult circles of negotiations seeking to sign a peace agreement. Despite some positive momentum in negotiations in late September – early October 2022, situation remains volatile, while ongoing Russia – West confrontation puts its mark on the process. In current situation the key task for the international community is to prevent a new attack by Azerbaijan against Armenia and Nagorno Karabakh, which will completely ruin the peace process and make any breakthrough unlikely.

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## Factors determining the states' level of strategic activity

**Sanjay Pooran**

MD, FRCPI , MSc.

s.pooran@gcsp.ch

*Fellow, Geneva Centre for Security Policy (Geneva, Switzerland),  
Governor University College London Hospital/NHS Trust (London, UK)*

### ABSTRACT

This article is focused on the behaviours of states and what are the driving influences behind their actions. Analysing the concept of a power idea dichotomy in shaping a global agenda that forces strategic behaviours to rise above constructivism, liberalism, and realism models of international relations. It uses China as the perfect backdrop from which to shape this argument around a new global order that is fast evolving with the ever present threat of cold-war resurrection.

**KEYWORDS:** Constructivism, liberalism, and realism , hegemony, Foreign Direct Investment (FDI).

Received: 19/12/2022

Revised : 17/01/2023

Accepted: 18/01/2023

**Introduction.** In this paper, an attempt is to answer a fundamental question regarding the strategic behaviours of nations. Specifically, as to whether power or ideas are more influential in the decision-making process. The building of a grand plan with the goals of securing access to resources, creating a market for goods, and achieving general security, which may include regional hegemony, is an example of strategic behaviours. This is a wide definition of strategic behaviours (Sloan, 2010, p. 5). It is argued that power is the primary determinant in the strategic behaviours of states, and that this assertion is supported by the theory of offensive realism, which serves as the framework for the discussion that follows. A brief overview of the scholarly literature on the various theories of international politics is analysed. It then uses a case study of China to demonstrate that offensive realism is the best theory to demonstrate how power is the primary factor in strategic behaviours, at least in the case of China.

**Conceptual basis.** When it comes to international politics, there are a lot of different theories that try to explain the strategic behaviours of different states. Constructivism, liberalism, and realism are the three that appear to be present in the body of published work the most frequently. It is a widely held belief within the constructivist school of thought that the behaviour of states can be influenced by non-material elements such as norms, identities, and ideas (Lantis, 2014: 166).

In general, liberalism emphasizes a firm conviction in international cooperation, which may also be accomplished through applicable institutions; yet it does not place an explicit emphasis on the connection between domestic and international affairs. Both constructivism and liberalism have emerged as the preeminent ideas in more contemporary writing to explain the strategic behaviours of certain nations (Iverson, 2002, p. 4). They believe that this is the case due to the fact that ideational elements are more important than systemic factors (Iverson, 2002, pp. 4-5). In Asia-Pacific research, publications that advocate for the use of these theories generally contend that countries, such as China, are able to increase their territorial expansion because other countries deem them to be 'peaceful rising powers' (i.e., from the constructivist perspective) or that they prefer a stable environment for economic prosperity (i.e., from the liberalist perspective). These arguments have value, and publications that advocate for the use of these theories in Asia-Pacific research generally argue that countries, such as China, are (Lantis, 2014, p. 167). Realist theory, and more specifically offensive realist theory, is the one that best describes the strategic behaviours of some states, such as China, despite the fact that these other theories do have some merit.

The concept of offensive realism was first proposed by John Mearsheimer as a reaction to the concept of defensive realism. Offensive realism contends that the international system is primarily to blame for the rise in the number of aggressive state behaviours that can be found within the realm of international politics. Realism is a school of thinking that belongs to the neorealist school of thought. It is distinct from constructivism and liberalism in that it places an emphasis on the structural effect that material power has on the behaviour of states (Snyder, 2002, p. 151).

Offensive realism can be broken down into five primary principles. These are the following:

1. There is always a degree of uncertainty regarding what other states will do.
2. Survival is the primary goal of all states.

3. States are rational actors, which means that they will make decisions to maximize their chances of survival.
4. The international system is anarchical, and the great powers comprise the main actors in world politics.
5. Offensive military capability exists in all states, to some extent.
6. There is always a degree of uncertainty regarding what other states will do.
7. There is always a degree of uncertainty regarding what other states will do (Mearsheimer, 2007).

Although it is generally accepted that there is a connection between offensive and defensive realism, an examination of the specific case of China (see below) demonstrates that offensive realism is the superior choice. This is because offensive realism places an emphasis on the growth of power that is necessary for a state to ensure its citizens' safety. Because it emphasizes the risk that exists as a result of state efforts to preserve the maximum possible level of safety, offensive realism adopts a perspective that is somewhat pessimistic with regard to the status of world affairs. This battle between states to maintain security has the potential to escalate to conflict and war, which suggests that strategic behaviour originates from the requirement for security.

**Case Study.** The constructivist and liberalist theories both give traditional explanations of state behaviour; nevertheless, neither theory provides the most convincing explanation about China's strategic behaviour. When analyzing China's strategic behaviour, it is vital to take into account the country's hegemonic position in the region. Over the course of the last few decades, China has significantly increased the amount of money it spends on its military, and this is consistent with the realist view that China is seeking relative power (Noguchi, 2011, p. 63). What is essential to keep in mind in this situation, in terms of offensive realism, is the possibility that China may not always prioritize military force over economic power. This is a characteristic of offensive realism, and it is crucial to keep this in mind. This demonstrates that while this essay argues that offensive realism is the most appropriate explanation for this case, it does not suggest that China exclusively fits within the 'box' of offensive realism. This is demonstrated by the fact that while this essay argues that offensive realism is the most appropriate explanation for this case, it does not suggest that offensive realism. Instead, the presumption is that countries like China may convert their riches into military strength in situations where other countries are unable to match such a move. This is the case when other nations are unable to match such a move. On the basis of this, China would have a tremendous incentive to increase their military expenditure and sacrifice part of their economic wealth if it became necessary to do so.

Yet constructivists and liberals agree that China does not satisfy this condition since the country places a higher priority on spending money on the military than it does on addressing economic problems. Although China has a sizable military, the majority of it is stationed inside the country's borders, and since the conclusion of the Cold War, China has not carried out any major military operations against the countries that are located in its immediate neighbourhood. In addition, China has not strengthened its military defences in preparation for the possibility of a nuclear buildup. Constructivists contend that if



the realism theory were applied to China, there would not be as large of a gap between the nuclear military capability of the United States and that of China. This would be the case if the realist theory were applied to China. Finally, constructivists and liberalists believe that when China does battle militarily with other nations, China takes steps to avoid an escalation of the conflict. This argument is supported by the fact that China has a history of doing so (Noguchi, 2011, p. 65). Scholars say that realism cannot be used to describe the case study of China, particularly with regard to China's military strategy, due to the aforementioned factors. It is imperative to take into consideration the five tenets of realism and to portray them in a way that applies specifically to China in order to demonstrate that realism is actually the theory that is best able to explain the strategic behaviour of China. This is necessary in order to show that realism is actually the theory that is best able to explain the strategic behaviour of China.

When taken together, the first and second tenets of offensive realism are able to provide an adequate explanation for the strategic behaviour of a country (Shiping, 2015). This combination can be characterized in a general sense as the manner that states will design a grand strategy in an effort to establish regional hegemony by increasing the amount of resources that are allocated to the military. Hegemony in a region is generally understood to refer to the political, economic, or military influence exerted by one independently powerful state on states in its immediate vicinity. Recent upheavals in Hong Kong have made it possible for realists to refer to specific states and explain how regional hegemony already exists. Constructivists and liberalists both argue that China has not built regional hegemony, or that China's attempts to do so have been fruitless. Chris Horton cites Cambodia as an example of a neighbouring country that is subject to China's influence in a recent news item. Horton uses Cambodia as an example. Because of China's extensive involvement in Cambodia, the country is now almost entirely dependent on China for its survival. This dependence gives China complete control over Cambodia in a number of contexts, including the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), in which Cambodia effectively casts a vote in China's stead at ASEAN meetings (Horton, 2019).

This hegemony would be contested by China on the basis that the country's constitution prohibits hegemonism (known in Chinese as baquanzhuyi) (Noguchi, 2011). And if one were to completely think that the words in the Chinese constitution are accurate representations of reality, then constructivists and liberalists alike would be able to argue their claims as arguments against realism. However, what is more plausible is that strategic behaviour extends further than what is claimed to be law or what is reflected in language. In actuality, China has taken steps to solidify their regional hegemony, as demonstrated by the statement made in 2008 by a senior Chinese admiral who, in an effort to rid the Western Pacific of the influence of the United States, told the US Pacific Commander T. J. Keating that the United States could have the eastern part of the Pacific and China would have the western part of the Pacific. This statement demonstrates that China has taken steps to solidify their regional hegemony. This is just one example out of many that indicates China's intention to establish regional hegemony among its surrounding neighbours, and it is just one example among many.

It was necessary for China to strengthen its armed forces before they could put this Chinese admiral's ideas into effect, therefore China has been working to do just that. In the years following the end of the Cold War, China has prioritized the growth of its armed forces by allocating a greater portion of their national budget toward this sector than they have to any other aspect of public welfare. When

looking at China's Gross Domestic Product (GDP), it has been observed that the growth rate of military spending is receiving a rising percentage of the GDP, despite the fact that China has not been facing any obvious external threats from other countries (Nabarun, 2013). The fact that China spends so much money on its military lends credence to the reasons offered by academics who advocate for offensive realism. This is due to the fact that, according to the precepts of realism, governments are always uncertain about what actions will be taken by other states and will continue to be dissatisfied until they acquire regional hegemony. In the case of China, this is an illustration of how they are clearly indicating that they place a higher priority on military might than economic power. By making this expenditure, China is proving that they are in a position of relative dominance, which, when viewed through the lens of offensive realism, is seen as positive.

China's expenditures on its military during the past two decades have been significantly higher than those of any other state immediately adjacent to China. According to liberalist theory, it is difficult to explain this fact because liberalists would argue that China wants the international environment to be peaceful in order to facilitate foreign trade and the attraction of Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) as a means to sustain economic growth. However, this is not the case. If this were the case, it would imply that China has prioritized the expansion of its economic wealth over the upgrading of their armed forces. This is due to the fact that foreign countries are typically discouraged from making financial investments in countries that have large militaries (Toft, 2005). In spite of this, China has shown that it is willing to resort to the use of force even when there is a possibility that this may have a negative effect on their economic interests. This has been proven beyond a reasonable doubt by China on multiple occasions, initially with Taiwan and most recently with Hong Kong. China began conducting military drills against Taiwan in 1996 as part of the Taiwan Strait Crisis. This was done in an effort to prevent Tunghui Lee from being elected president (Noguchi, 2011, p. 79). In Hong Kong, the disproportionate military build-up in Hong Kong reveals that China's primary aim is not necessarily economic progress. This shows that China does not always have Hong Kong's best interests at heart. This is a clear indicator that the liberalist ideology that has been applied to China is not one that is actually suitable to the setting of China. This is a clear sign that the liberalist ideology that has been applied to China is not. In contrast, these outcomes generally align with the tenets of realism, and because power is at the forefront of this decision-making process, it reaffirms the notion that realism is the preferred explanation for China's strategic behaviour in the case of China's military spending. This is because power is at the forefront of this decision-making process. Case in point: China's military spending (Li, 2008).

The expansion of China's military budget is frequently defended by liberals on the grounds that it is related to domestic politics in China. According to these liberalists, China was domestically developing tax reform systems that allowed for a bigger expenditure in the military, implying that one justified the other. However, this assertion is not supported by the facts. In point of fact, increases in spending on the military had been on the rise for several years previous to any kind of adjustment being made to the tax system. Instead, China has prioritized the upkeep of strict civilian control and political stability, as was most recently displayed in Hong Kong. China has decided to pursue a policy aimed at establishing a more even distribution of power on the home front. Typically, this entails striking a balance between civilian and military leaders within the greater framework of the nation as a whole. Power, not ideas, is

what is driving China's strategic behaviour, which is why it is essential to acknowledge that despite the fact that domestic politics are also being considered in addition to those on the international level, it is power that is deciding China's strategic behaviour. In addition, this kind of behaviour gives the impression that liberalist ideologies are not the ones that should be used to describe China's strategic behaviour; rather, aggressive realist ideologies appear to be the ones that most appropriately explain the situation.

**Conclusion.** In this article, the subject of whether the foundation of a nation's strategic dominance is power or ideas was examined from both a theoretical and practical standpoint. It was determined that power was the most influential factor in the decision-making process of states based on the information that was presented, which examined the case of China, and more specifically its military spending, through the lens of offensive realism. In order to reach this conclusion, aspects of constructivism as well as liberalism were taken into consideration. However, as the question asked for only one theory to be chosen, it was explained that neither constructivism nor liberalism provided sufficient factual evidence to apply to the Chinese setting. On the other hand, using the five tenets of realism, China's decision-making strategies and its use of force in both Taiwan and Hong Kong provided key evidence to demonstrate that offensive realism was an applicable theory in this particular case. This evidence demonstrated that offensive realism was an applicable theory. Although it is generally accepted that China provides a clear illustration of how power is the key determinant in the strategic behaviour of states, it is possible that this is not always the case, especially in other circumstances where the examples may not be as plain and dry. When attempting to apply theory broadly to the subject of strategic behaviour, it is essential to take into consideration case studies that provide specific and helpful examples to represent the likely outcome. This is due to the fact that this is the reason why it is important to consider case studies.

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## How Parents Can Know If Their Child Is Gifted

**Dr. Jakkrit Siririn**

*JakkritSiririn@gmail.com*

*National Interest*

### ABSTRACT

Talented youth refers to children who exhibit outstanding abilities in one or more areas such as science, intelligence, creativity, language use Leadership visual arts in performing arts, in music, in sports and academic competence in any field or many branches clearly compared to children of the same age level and in the same environment Education for young talents It is an index indicating the development trend of the country. Providing education for these youths abroad is a high return investment. The next benefit that will happen to society is the matter of rights, equality and humanitarianism especially to further upgrade the quality of education of the country.

Role of Parents in Promoting Intellectual Children Encourage your child to do things and interesting activities Read all kinds of books. Be interested in music. Work with friends to perform their duties to the best of their ability Parents let the school organize activities for children to express their opinions did a group internship Practicing virtues such as sacrifice, knowing duty to the nation The house has a good environment. Help solve problems for children let him be diligent, focused, creative. Take care of food to complete the 5 food groups. Give what your child asks because he will appreciate it. Training to be a good Buddhist give love to children in the right way Obstacles to enhancing intelligence are Not giving love and not caring about your child's feelings.

**KEYWORDS:** Gifted Childs, How Parents Can Know

Received: 29/12/2022

Revised: 22/01/2023

Accepted: 24/01/2023

**Introduction.** Thailand's educational management system has evolved a lot. Since the education reform According to the National Education Act, B.E. It must be organized in an appropriate format taking into account that person's abilities. (Ministry of Education, 2010) until now to have a new round of education reform After the promulgation of a new constitution (BE 2560) according to the (draft) framework of the National Education Plan 2017-2031 which has been mentioned in the education management in the system informal education informal education which covers the target group of normal learners, underprivileged/poor students, the handicapped, the gifted including groups of different languages and cultures (Office of the Education Council Secretariat, 2016)

In the past, education management in Thailand was the teaching and learning process in the form of curriculum-based teaching that emphasized academic content. At present, there is a guideline for teaching and learning management that takes into account nature, interests differences between people and potential of learners increased a lot, both in Thailand and abroad because sometimes Teaching processes in the traditional classroom or Lecture-based learning may cause the youth to overlook potential and special abilities. Especially is the lack of continuity in the development of such youth. Consistent with research related to teaching and learning for young talent in countries such as the US, UK, Canada and Australia, many of these children need to drop out of school in the middle because they can't be in the general classroom education system because they have to learn, listen, and read what they already understand ( Kovidyakorn, 2008) .

Talented youth refers to children who exhibit outstanding abilities in one or more areas such as science, intelligence, creativity, language use Leadership visual arts in performing arts, in music, in sports and academic competence in any field or many branches clearly compared to children of the same age level and in the same environment Education for young talents It is an index indicating the development trend of the country. Providing education for these youths abroad is a high return investment. The next benefit that will happen to society is the matter of rights, equality and humanitarianism especially to further upgrade the quality of education of the country. ( Office of the National Education Commission, 2009)

### **Characteristics of an intelligent child**

At present, there are various organizations both public and private sectors both at home and abroad There are many activities related to the creation of educational management processes with regard to talents or exceptionally intelligent children, such as the Foundation for the Promotion of Intellectual Children. Child and Youth Talent Development Center in Schools ( Sodsri- Saritwong Foundation) Project to develop and promote talents in science and technology (Institute for the Promotion of Teaching Science and Technology) , National Talent Research and Development Institute ( Srinakharinwirot University) Talent Development Center ( Office of the Basic Education Commission)



Project to fulfill the potential of students with special abilities Educational Research and Development Center Agricultural Demonstration School of Kasetsart University

Center for Talented Youth, Johns Hopkins University (USA) National Association for Gifted Children (UK) Sächsisches Landesgymnasium Sankt Afra zu Meißen (Germany) Gifted Education Research, Resource and Information Center (Australia) Special Class for the Gifted Young of University of Science and Technology of China (People's Republic of China) National Research Center for Gifted and Talented Education (Korea Republic) The Hong Kong Academy for Gifted Education (Hong Kong)

Characteristics of young talents under the process of promoting learning management for young talents there are many academic principles involved in the process of promoting learning management for young talents. Both Thai and international, for example Mary Ruth Coleman, a learning management scholar for gifted youth at the National Research Center on the Gifted and Talented, has identified 12 characteristics of gifted youngsters. (National Research Center on the Gifted and Talented, 2001)

Attribute 1: Motivation Examples of observable behavior: Eager to learn or make an effort to achieve a task objective. Seeking knowledge or aiming to become a person in a career or job that interests them.

Attribute 2: Interests an example of observable behavior: a serious interest in something.

Attribute 3: Communication Skills (Communication Skills) Examples of Observable Behaviors: They have better communication methods than the average person both in the use of language, not using language and symbols

Attribute 4: Problem Solving Ability (Problem-Solving Ability) Examples of observable behavior: There is a system for solving problems. If obstacles arise, they can come up with new ways to solve them creatively

Attribute 5: Memory Examples of observable behaviors: having knowledge of memory about things. Both inside and outside the school can remember stories or details of events precisely

Attribute 6: Inquiry / Curiosity Examples of Observable Behavior: Asking more complex questions than children of his age. Have the ability to search or explore various information.

Attribute 7: Insight Examples of Observable Behaviors: Relevance of Events or integrate ideas and regulations well

Attribute 8: Reasoning Examples of Observable Behavior: Able to think critically look at events penetrating, giving a rational and gentle answer

Attribute 9: Imagination/ Creativity Imagination/ Creativity Examples of observable behaviors: innovative thinking, inventive, thoughtful, flexible in problem solving or choice in daily life

Attribute 10: Humor Examples of Observable Behavior: Good-humored, optimistic, funny.

Attribute 11: Intensity Observable Examples of Behavior: Strongly Energetic Committed to getting things done

Attribute 12: Sensitive to Others' Feelings (Sensitivity) Examples of observable behavior: benevolence Compassion for others, fair ( Phatthitinan, 2009)

Consistent with learning theory Constructivism Under Piaget's conceptual learning model that links the theoretical learning management process. Constructivism with intelligent children (Susan Pass, 2004), who said that according to statistics worldwide, there are gifted children or children with special abilities, about 5 percent of all schoolchildren which intelligent children tend to have behaviors that are significantly different from normal children of the same age The general behavioral characteristics of intelligent children according to Susan Pass's concept are as follows:

1. Can learn to read at an early age have a better understanding of language than children of the same age
2. Be creative Able to think things on their own and have different ideas than others.
3. Able to come up with solutions or solutions that are different from others
4. Can think of connecting things that are not related to each other to be related.
5. Happy to learn to solve problems.
6. A curious child Always asking here and there, questions are often in such a way that they require an explanation of why and how.
7. Having new strange ideas, starting new things by yourself, not following other people's example.
8. Relatively sensitive to other people's feelings can read other people without using spoken language
9. Like to comment
10. Able to adapt or change
11. May have some special talents, such as music or sports, etc.

At the same time, Usanee Anurutwong (2008) said that from the study, it was found that Children and youth with special talents in Thailand On average, there are fewer statistics in other countries. That is, about 3 percent are likely to be child geniuses in each field but was not discovered Because these children are living together with normal children scattered in various schools across the

country, every school will have children with special abilities. Sometimes searching is difficult and for some it is too late to find them. According to the principle of testing to find out the child's genius in any aspect, there are currently 10 prospects, namely

- 1) Thinkers
- 2) Scholars
- 3) Scientists
- 4) Mathematics
- 5) Linguist
- 6) Leader
- 7) Creative
- 8) Sportsman
- 9) Musicians
- 10) Artist

Each of which has different characteristics, such as scientists. He was a child who was curious about things. How to do likes to read books about inventions, like to watch, touch, smell, see the connection of phenomena that occur. Likes to do work that requires practice, experiments, likes to analyze and criticize things rationally or artist will be a child interested in art Spend your free time drawing, writing, and concentrating on art, happy with art I want a career in art Good senses, hands, eyes, skills, able to use action. Good emotional expressions, etc.

Educational management for intelligent children Teachers must understand the nature of children and organize courses A motivating learning management process promotes genius appropriately have difficult content and more challenging than general children's courses It is linked and integrated in many subjects. Organize a learning process that is more complex than normal courses organize a variety of activities should train children to be able to learn independently to be responsible for seeking knowledge Focus on the development of all parts of the brain and emphasizing the development of morality and ethics

It can be said that a child prodigy must be developed differently from a normal child. have specific courses must create an atmosphere environment to provoke and challenge children's abilities to develop to their full potential to have morals and ethics emotional intelligence intellectually sharp Must be created to be a good person, good person and able to live in society happily. Therefore, it is necessary to establish an educational infrastructure. In order to find and develop special abilities from a young age and connected

to a higher education level by allowing to be sorted by a variety of methods suitable for each group of children. The learning process needs to be modified course update learning materials. Measuring and evaluating appropriate environments, etc., that will help learners to develop to the fullest potential of each student. And most importantly, there must be a stage for children to express their knowledge and abilities.

### **Gifted knowledge**

Knowledge related to Gifted in terms of the process of promoting learning management for young talent. There are a lot Both Thai and foreign, such as the research of Phaka Satyatham (2002) on the upbringing of intelligent children. The study was conducted on 1) family environment of intelligent children 2) characteristics of intelligent children 3) parent's role in promoting intelligent children 4) parent's role in raising children 5) problems of intelligent child the results showed that The family environment of intelligent children Mothers will take extra care of themselves during pregnancy. The youngest mother's age during pregnancy was 21 years, the highest was 37 years. Parents gave the most love and care to their children. Raising an intelligent child is no different from any other child. The person who takes care of the child and is closest to the child is the mother. The home and school environments equally contribute to children's intelligence.

Characteristics of an intelligent child have normal development from birth steadily improving grow faster than usual Know how to suppress emotions interested in people around mother has health problems generally intelligent, quick-headed, good concentration, accurate memory, observant, questioning, creative have many skills Able to think and analyze problems, able to study 4 all the time. Responsible. able to speak before walking; good at drawing; clever in questioning; quick thinking; self-confidence; patience; striving to accomplish tasks assigned to him like to help the less fortunate

Role of Parents in Promoting Intellectual Children Encourage your child to do things and interesting activities Read all kinds of books. Be interested in music. Work with friends to perform their duties to the best of their ability Parents let the school organize activities for children to express their opinions did a group internship Practicing virtues such as sacrifice, knowing duty to the nation The house has a good environment. Help solve problems for children let him be diligent, focused, creative, take care of food to complete the 5 food groups. Give what your child asks because he will appreciate it. Training to be a good Buddhist give love to children in the right way Obstacles to enhancing intelligence are not giving love and not caring about your child's feelings.

The role of parents in raising their children can be divided into two types: close upbringing is to give love and warmth both physically and mentally to eat full and sleep, type 2, democratic upbringing, teach and teach reasons to understand. Make a mistake, make it right Hit sometimes, do the right thing, give praise. Tell the reason for punishment.

Problems of intelligent children are divided into 3 groups. The first group concerns health such as deep sleep, difficult to wake He was a fat boy who was mocked by his friends. Rarely exercise, teeth do not meet, difficulty chewing food. Group 2 deals with emotional and social issues such as quarrels between siblings. because they have different ideas Aggressive and jealous teasing between brothers Irritability rampant high anxiety dissatisfied with the words of the elders in the house sluggish Fear of strangers, old people, being overly indulged worried about studying Need lots of love and care from every mother. Making no sacrifices. Group 3 deals with work such as working late, watching TV, not knowing how to solve problems in group work do not like to plan ahead lack of skills in sports Friends in the group rarely help with work, so they feel uncomfortable.

Consistent with Echo H. Wu (2012) from Murray State University, USA, who conducted a study titled Enrichment and Acceleration: Best Practice for the Gifted and Talented. Every young talent has a unique talent. If there is a curriculum specially designed to meet the learning needs of each young person, it will enhance the different competencies for the gifted child. This is seen in a study by Hertzog (2003), which examined the impact of gifted programs: from the students' perspectives. Designing a curriculum suitable for each gifted child is essential. Because young talents are always different in subtleties, educators need to make informed decisions about how the curriculum should be drawn up. The findings from Hertzog's research are that gifted children should not be adapted to fit the curriculum. But should the curriculum be adjusted to fit the child, in line with the Olszewski-Kubilius (2003) study on do we change gifted children to fit gifted programs, or do we change gifted programs to fit gifted children? The results showed that some highly gifted children may need special programs to develop their full potential. While moderately gifted children may not need it, however, all gifted children should be best served by empowerment programs. It may be a group teaching or individual teaching. Meanwhile, Renzulli's (2012), Reexamining the role of gifted education and talented development for the 21st century: A four-part theoretical approach, suggests that gifted organized education is different. It is definitely different from other educational management. As long as we pay attention to the different needs of each learner. Understanding different talents will enable all parties – students, teachers, parents, community and society – to prosper together.

Howard Gardner (2005) presented the theory of Multiple Intelligences, which divided the general intelligence of people into 8 areas:

1. Language intelligence (Verbal/Linguistic)
2. Musical Intelligence (Musical/Rhythmic)
3. Logical Intelligence (Logical/Mathematical)
4. Relational intelligence (Visual/Spatial)
5. Physical intelligence (Body/Kinesthetic)

6. Interpersonal Intelligence (Interpersonal)
7. Self-knowledge intelligence (Intrapersonal)
8. Nature Intelligence (Naturalist)

Application of teaching with multiple intelligences to youth with special abilities

1. Because each learner has different intelligence in each field. Therefore, there should be a variety of learning activities.

2. Because learners have different levels of development in each aspect of intelligence. Therefore, it is necessary to manage the teaching and learning to be suitable for the development stage in each aspect of the learners.

3. Because each learner has different intelligence in each field and a combination of various abilities This is not the same It creates a uniqueness (Uniqueness) and this identity is the source of diversity (Diversity).

4. Measurement and evaluation system for learning it should be shifted from the original idea of using tests to measure cognitive abilities on just one side without correlation with the actual context in which the competence is used.

### **Best practice**

Best Practices in the process of promoting learning management for young talents there are a number of model project guidelines related to the process of promoting learning management for young talents both in Thailand and abroad, such as the Thai Children's Talent Training Camp, which is operated by Institute for the Promotion of Learning Geniuses and Innovations (Teachers) is an agency under the supervision of the Office of Knowledge Management and Development. (Public Organization) in 2009 together with 5 educational institutions comprising Suranaree University of Technology Maejo University Phibunsongkhram Rajabhat University Nakhon Si Thammarat Rajabhat University and Phai Udom Suksa School Bangkok Under the G&T April 2009 Summer Camp program, through the GTX (Gifted and Talented Exploring Center) or local talent acquisition and development centre. A model center that TSO established with schools and local network organizations to find and measure the talents of children in each area and to encourage children and youth to develop their special abilities to their full potential. The PHRA has established 8 learning bases to develop the special abilities of children and youths in 8 areas, namely mathematics, science, language and literature, art, music, and sports. Social Sciences and Creativity within the GTX Center contains a variety of learning materials. that help encourage children and young people to explore learn by interest and creative as well as being able to practice doing work



according to their interests and special abilities by themselves There were 513 youths participating, and all of them were children who were screened by the Talent Exploration and Development Center (GTX) recruitment process. The camp activities will be divided into child development in each area, such as the Thai language conservation course inventor's master course top detective course art course and knowledgeable agricultural courses, etc., learning in the camp focuses on the children be encouraged to think through every activity which is designed to correspond with the work of the brain by which children will be able to review the knowledge they have learned (Recognize) and lead to problem solving (Problem Solving) until the final process Children will use their creative thinking, applying all their knowledge to come up with the answers they need. Over the course of 7 days in the camp, children will experience these three processes through fun learning leading to the discovery of ways for children to develop their own potential According to the aim of the camp to have these children think without being good at only in textbooks

Genius Development Center Special Education Research and Development Institute Srinakharinwirot University Assistant Professor Dr. Usanee Anurutwong, the center's chairman, conducted an Enrichment Program to emphasize the development of high-level thinking strategies such as creativity. rational thinking creative problem solving for pre-primary children and primary school with special abilities or have aptitude and interested in mathematics science Language and Arts by using the form of activities with challenging and intense subject matter Combined with teaching methods that are fun - easy to understand. Children get to practice their daily lives. (Special Education Research and Development Institute, 2012)

The Genius Development Center is the only institution in Thailand that offers holistic activities for assessing fundamental fundamental potential in terms of intelligence, abilities, social skills, emotional skills, life skills and thinking skills. Therefore, both the data from the test and observing behavior and found that many Thai children with high intelligence but unable to bring the good cost in themselves to show their potential especially how to think and how to solve problems worrisome is Both children with intelligence at the level of genius to children with normal intelligence. All of them have a very low level of problem-solving ability test results compared to international standards not dare to think outside the box The lack of self-confidence that is the main problem in children's lack of thinking because I don't dare to think and don't know how to think.

The National Association for Gifted and Talented offers annual awards to individuals and organizations that support and promote young talent under the name NAGC Awards (National Association for Gifted and Talented Awards).

A. Harry Passow Classroom Teacher Scholarship: for K-12 teachers with excellence in teaching young talent and strive to develop their teaching skills

Administrator Award: for school administrators who support and promote young talent.

Ann F. Isaacs Founder's Memorial Award: For NAGC's own internal division.

Book of the Year: The Book of the Year Award is given to writers who support and foster young talent.

Community Service Award: for the community that supports and fosters young talent.

David W. Belin Advocacy Award: For funders to establish educational institutions that support and foster young talent.

Distinguished Scholar Award: for individuals who have contributed to the establishment and continued support of the education of young talent.

Distinguished Service Award: For individuals with a long-standing relationship with NAGC in supporting and promoting young talent.

Doctoral Student Awards: 5 awards for doctoral students in the field of special education.

Early Leader Award: For those pursuing a doctoral degree in a special education field and continually work on supporting and promoting young talents

Early Scholar Award: For individuals who have made significant contributions to research on the education of young talent.

GCQ Paper of the Year: For members of the Gifted Child Quarterly journal panel, outstanding for delivering new theories in special education.

Gifted Coordinator Award: For Coordinators and Administrators who have impacted young talent.

Hollingworth Award: This is an international award given to the support and promotion of young talent.

Master's and Specialist Award: 3 awards for teachers who excel in teaching and creating classroom atmosphere in the special education field.

King Mongkut's University of Technology Thonburi set up Gifted Education Office: GEO to search for gifted children and organize 2 types of activities: classroom activities; by the Office of Education for Talents in conjunction with the Faculty of Science It provides classrooms with an Honors Program that starts with two basic subjects that students of almost all disciplines will need to study are math and physics subjects, and an innovation contest project for Learning Tool for gifted children participating in the project which will give problems to develop tools/equipment/technology in transferring knowledge at the lower secondary level There is a period of 5 months to develop the work, which will be presented every month. Both activities are aimed at helping children in the gifted group know how to acquire

knowledge. The teacher will use a method to talk to the gifted children until they can argue with each other until the children in the Gifted group realized that, in fact, various knowledge Is there a way to get it? (Office of Education for Talents, 2015)

The Office of the Basic Education Commission (OBEC) has opened the Sirindhorn Arts Center. To promote children with very high talents in arts, music and dance as a result of organizing arts and crafts fairs by OBEC in the past, they discovered that there are many children with special talents in art and music, which should be extended to give these children the opportunity to develop their own special abilities. Therefore, OBEC has established an incubator and development center for visual arts student music and dance

OBEC has selected schools that are ready to be established as an incubator by choosing Sri Songkhram Wittaya School. What we know as the Sirindhorn Arts Center has Mr. Sangkhom Thongmee taking care of it as an incubator for visual arts and to Sangkeet Wittaya School, which is already a specialized school It is an incubator for both Thai and international music and dance. Bring children with special abilities to the camp to develop their abilities. must pass screening that In addition, OBEC has attracted geniuses in visual arts, music and dance to join the incubator's advisor, such as Prof. Preecha Thaothong, National Artist, Mr. Chalermchai Kositpipat. national artist As a consultant in visual arts, Lt. Col. Sanoh Luang Sunthon, a national artist Mr. Sirichaichan Fakchamrun, President of Bunditpatanasilpa Institute as a consultant for Thai music Police Lieutenant General Weeraphan Waoklang, National Artist Khunying Wongchan jurisprudence Rector of Kalayani Vadhana Institute of Music as a consultant for international music, Mrs. Suwannee Chalanukroh, national artist as a consultant in performing arts for organizing activities to develop skills for this group of children It will be done continuously every 3-4 months, then the children will come to camp along with monitoring the child's development If successful, operations may be expanded to other schools. However, this project will serve as a launching of these children into the public interest especially higher education institutions There may be reservations or scholarships for children at OBEC. Open an incubation center for visual arts, music and dance, creating future artists to submit to music institutes both domestic and international art which is currently in the process of selecting children to join the next project.

**Conclusion.** Therefore, in order to change Thai children to be able to think, solve problems and create new things, it is necessary for Thai children to be ready to create ideas. Because the power of thought allows you to use existing knowledge as a basis for problem solving strategies by the course to enhance such experience It is a continuation of children who have been diagnosed with their potential with the Genius Development Center. After knowing that the child has aptitude and interest in any field. in order to use this course as a base for more ways of thinking and problem solving from potential abilities that children have in them The process of creating courses and activities is therefore intense. by integrating with 4 learning areas, namely mathematics science Language and Arts In addition, the instructor of this course must be proficient. and there is a way to create learning for children as well

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## รายนามผู้ทรงคุณวุฒิพิจารณาบทความ(Peer Review)

Professor . Dr. Valentin Yakushik .National University of Life and Environmental Sciences of Ukraine (Kyiv,Ukraine)

Assoc. Professor .Dr.Katerina Veljanovska Blazhevska ,PhD MIT University (Skopje,North Macedonia)

Assist .Professor. Dr.Ivan Savchuk . The National Defence University of Ukraine named after Ivan Cherniakhovskyi (Kyiv, Ukraine)

Dr.Sofiiia Dombrovska .Odesa National Economic University(Odesa, Ukraine)

พ.ต.หญิง ผู้ช่วยศาสตราจารย์ ดร.องค์อร ประจันเขตต์ วิทยาลัยพยาบาลกองทัพบก

ผู้ช่วยศาสตราจารย์ ดร.อุราเพ็ญ ยิ้มประเสริฐ มหาวิทยาลัยสยาม

ดร.อภิชาติ ทองอยู่ มูลนิธิสถาบันประเทศไทย

ศตวรรษที่21

ดร.กรรณิกา เชาววัฒนกุล

เครือข่ายวิทยุโกดักกันท์

บทความทุกเรื่องที่ตีพิมพ์เผยแพร่ได้ผ่านการพิจารณาทางวิชาการโดยผู้ทรงคุณวุฒิในสาขาวิชา (Peer review) ในรูปแบบไม่มีชื่อผู้เขียน (Double-blind peer review) อย่างน้อย 2 ท่าน

บทความที่ตีพิมพ์เป็นข้อค้นพบ ข้อคิดเห็นและความรับผิดชอบของผู้เขียนเจ้าของผลงานและผู้เขียนเจ้าของผลงาน ต้องรับผิดชอบต่อผลที่อาจเกิดขึ้นจากบทความและงานวิจัยนั้น ดังนั้นบทความที่ตีพิมพ์ได้ผ่านการตรวจสอบคำพิมพ์และเครื่องหมายต่าง ๆ โดยผู้เขียนเจ้าของบทความก่อนการรวมเล่ม

## ชื่อบทความTitle

ชื่อผู้แต่ง 1\*, ชื่อผู้แต่ง 2 และ ชื่อผู้แต่ง 3

Name 1, Name2 and Name3

ชื่อหรือตำแหน่งทางวิชาการ, หน่วยงานที่สังกัด, ที่อยู่

Name or Academic position, Institute, Address

\*ที่อยู่ E-mail เฉพาะของผู้เขียนผู้รับผิดชอบบทความเท่านั้น

(corresponding author)

ชื่อหรือตำแหน่งทางวิชาการ, หน่วยงานที่สังกัด, ที่อยู่

Name or Academic position, Institute, Address

ชื่อหรือตำแหน่งทางวิชาการ, หน่วยงานที่สังกัด, ที่อยู่

Name or Academic position, Institute, Address

## บทคัดย่อ

(เนื้อความ).....

..... บทคัดย่อคือบทสรุปของงานวิจัยที่แต่ละ  
องค์ประกอบต้องสั้น เนื้อหาของบทคัดย่อได้ดึงมาจากงานวิจัยหลัก องค์ประกอบของบทคัดย่อ  
ตามลำดับคือ 1) คำชี้แจงของปัญหา 2) จุดมุ่งหมาย / วัตถุประสงค์ของการศึกษา 3) ความแปลก  
ใหม่ทางวิชาการ 4) ผลลัพธ์ ในบทคัดย่อทั้งหมดมีจำนวน 250 คำ

**คำสำคัญ:** ภูมิศาสตร์การเมือง, ภูมิศาสตร์เศรษฐกิจ, นวัตกรรม 3-5 คำ

## ABSTRACT

(Text).....

.....  
Abstract is a summary of a research work in which each of its component must be briefly.  
The contents of an abstract are extracted from the main research work. The  
components of the abstract in order are 1) Statement of problem 2) Aim / Objective of the study 3)  
scientific novelty 4) Results . In all abstract could contains 250 words

**KEYWORDS:** geopolitic, geoeconomic, innovation

3-5 words



## บทนำ

(Introduction)(เนื้อความ).....  
.....

บททวนวรรณกรรม(Literature Review )(เนื้อความ).....  
.....

ระเบียบวิธีการศึกษา(Methodology) )(เนื้อความ).....  
.....

ผลการศึกษา (Results) )(เนื้อความ).....  
.....

สรุปและอภิปรายผล(Discussion)(เนื้อความ).....  
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**Note:** The following are examples of commonly used formats. Please consult APA's Publication Manual, **7th Edition** for more rules and examples. This is available at the bookstore and the library. Resources are also available at APA's official website: <https://apastyle.apa.org/blog/>.

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สำหรับการยกคำพูดโดยตรง ให้ใส่เลขหน้า (ชื่อ ปี หน้า 5) หรือช่วงของหน้า หากยังอยู่ในหน้าที่สอง (ชื่อ ปี หน้า 55-56) หากไม่มีเลขหน้า ให้อ้างอิงเลขย่อหน้า (ชื่อ ปี ย่อหน้า 2)

APA uses an author-date citation system in the body of the paper. Provide the author last name or the group name, plus the year (Name, year).

For a direct quotation, include the page number (Name, year, p. 5) or the page range if it continues onto a second page (Name, year, pp. 55-56). If there are no page numbers, cite the paragraph number (Name, year, para. 2)

## II. General rules for referencing

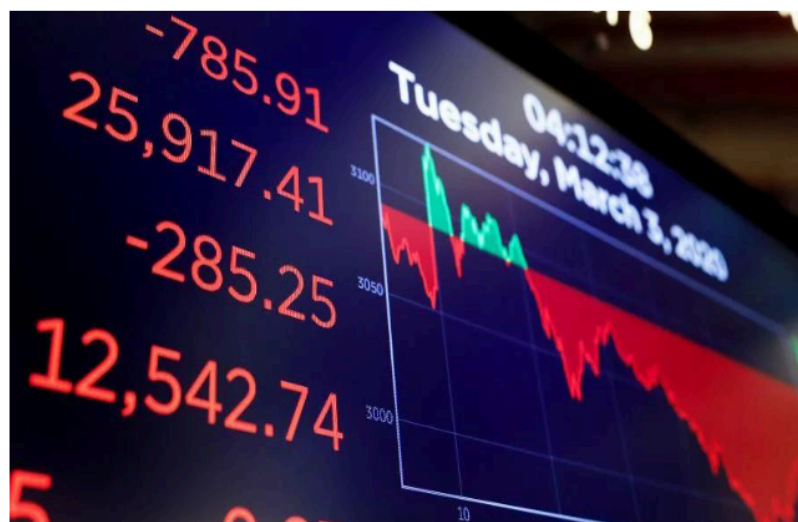
<b>BOOK</b>	Author Surname, Initial. (Year). <i>Title of book</i> (Edition.). Publisher
<b>Source with one author</b>	Fathollah-Nejad,A.(2021) <i>Iran in an emerging New World order: From Ahmadinejad to Rouhani</i> . Palgrave Macmillan.
<b>Source with two authors</b>	Ehteshami ,A.,& Molavi, R.(2012) <i>Iran and the International System</i> . Routledge.
<b>Source with three or more authors</b>	Held, D., McGrew, A. G., Goldblatt, D., &Perraton, J. (2000) <i>Global transformations:politics ,economics and culture</i> .Cambridge; Oxford: PolityPress.
<b>With a URL</b>	Jason, L. A., Glantsman, O., O'Brien, J. F., & Ramlan, K. N. (Eds.). (2019). <i>Introduction to community psychology: Becoming an agent of change</i> . Rebus Community. <a href="https://press.rebus.community/introductiontocommunitypsychology/">https://press.rebus.community/introductiontocommunitypsychology/</a>
<b>Organization/Group as Author</b>	NorQuest College. (2016). <i>In the community: An intermediate integrated skills textbook</i> . <a href="https://globalaccess.bowvalleycollege.ca/OER/NQC/In-the-Community/">https://globalaccess.bowvalleycollege.ca/OER/NQC/In-the-Community/</a>
<b>Chapter in an Online or E-Book Chapter in a Print Book</b>	Zaccara,L.(2016) Iran's permanent quest for regional power status in Braveboy- Wagner, J.(Ed.) <i>Diplomatic Strategies of Leading Nations in the Global South: Asia, Africa, Latin America, and the Middle East</i> . (pp. 181-211.) New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
<b>Report by a government agency or other organization</b>	Department of Energy, USA. (2017). <i>U.S. Energy and Jobs Report</i> <a href="https://www.energy.gov/sites/prod/files/2017/01/f34/2017%20US%20Energy%20and%20Jobs%20Report_0.pdf">https://www.energy.gov/sites/prod/files/2017/01/f34/2017%20US%20Energy%20and%20Jobs%20Report_0.pdf</a>

<b>Institute</b>	Russtrat Institute (2020, November 2) <i>The strategic survival of the Russian economy will ensure the creation of a closed</i> <a href="https://zen.yandex.ru/media/russtrat/strategicheskoe-vyjivanie-rossiiskoi-ekonomiki-obespechit-sozdanie-zakrytogo-klastera-5f9fa45fb09e797cebbd07de">https://zen.yandex.ru/media/russtrat/strategicheskoe-vyjivanie-rossiiskoi-ekonomiki-obespechit-sozdanie-zakrytogo-klastera-5f9fa45fb09e797cebbd07de</a>
<b>Translated book</b>	Author, A. (Year). Title (A. Translator, Trans.). Publisher. (Year original work was published)
	Smith, A. (2017) <i>An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations</i> (L. Klukin, Trans) Classics of Political Economy (Original work published 1776)
<b>Book in a language other than English</b>	Author, A. (Year). Title [Title in English]. Publisher.
	Zucmann, G. (2013) <i>La richesse cachée des nations: enquête sur les paradis fiscaux</i> . (The Hidden Wealth of Nations The Scourge of Tax Havens). Paris : Seuil
<b>Classical works</b>	Author, A. (Year). Title (E. Editor, Ed./ T. Translator, Trans.). Publisher. (Year original work was published)
	Marx, K. (1959). <i>Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844</i> (M. Milligan Ed.) Progress Publishers, Moscow (Original work published 1844)
<b>Edited book</b>	Editor Surname, Initial. (Ed.). (Year). <i>Title of book</i> (Edition.). Publisher.
	Crampton, J., & Elden, S., (Eds.). (2007). <i>Space, Knowledge and Power</i> . Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, Ltd.
<b>Journal</b>	Author(s) of journal article – surname and initials, [use “&” for multiple authors]. (Year of publication). Title of journal article. Journal name – in italics, Volume – in italics (Issue or number), Page number(s).
	Chase, R., Hill, E. B., & Kennedy, P. (1996) Pivotal states and U.S. strategy. <i>Foreign Affairs</i> , 75(1), 33–51
<b>Online article with no DOI</b>	Author, A. (Year). Article title. Journal Title, volume(issue), page range. URL
	Acharya, A. (2016) Studying the Bandung conference from a Global IR perspective. <i>Australian Journal of International Affairs</i> , 70 (4), 342–

	<p>357,2016</p> <p><a href="https://doi.org/10.1080/10357718.2016.1168359">https://doi.org/10.1080/10357718.2016.1168359</a></p>
<b>Articles in a language other than English</b>	<p>Author, A. (Year). Article title [Translated article title]. Journal Title, volume(issue), page number. DOI</p> <p>Chaves-Morillo, V., Gómez Calero, C., Fernández-Muñoz, J. J., Toledano-Muñoz, A., Fernández-Huete, J., Martínez-Monge, N., Palacios-Ceña, D., &amp; PeñacobaPuente, C. (2018). La anosmia neurosensorial: Relación entre subtipo, tiempo de reconocimiento y edad [Sensorineural anosmia: Relationship between subtype, recognition time and age]. <i>Clínica y Salud</i>, 28(3), 155-161. <a href="https://doi.org/10.1016/j.clysa.2017.04.002">https://doi.org/10.1016/j.clysa.2017.04.002</a></p>
<b>Newspaper Article</b>	<p>Author, A. (Year, Month Day). Article title. Newspaper. DOI/URL</p> <p>Jardine,B.(2019, October16) Why are there anti-China protests in Central Asia?<i>The Washington Post</i>.<a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics//2019/10/16/why-are-there-anti-china-protests-central-asia">https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics//2019/10/16/why-are-there-anti-china-protests-central-asia</a></p>
<b>Organisation as author</b>	<p>Organisation. (Year, Month Day). Title of webpage. Title of Website. URL</p> <p>OECD.(2020, April 1) Policy Responses to Coronavirus (COVID-19): Women at the core of the fight against COVID-19 [Online]. Available: <a href="https://www.oecd.org/coronavirus/policy-responses/women-at-the-core-of-the-fight-against-covid-19-crisis-553a8269/">https://www.oecd.org/coronavirus/policy-responses/women-at-the-core-of-the-fight-against-covid-19-crisis-553a8269/</a></p>
<b>Magazine article online</b>	<p>Author Surname, Initial. (Year, Month Date). Article title. Magazine title, volume number(issue number). URL</p> <p>O'Connor,T.(2021,September 16).<i>China, Russia bring Iran, Pakistan into the fold to face the Afghanistan crisis jointly. Newsweek</i>. <a href="https://www.newsweek.com/china-russia-bring-iran-pakistan-fold-face-afghanistan-1629992">https://www.newsweek.com/china-russia-bring-iran-pakistan-fold-face-afghanistan-1629992</a></p>
<b>Facebook post</b>	<p>Author, A. (Year, Month Day). Text of post [Status Update]. Facebook. URL</p> <p>Gaiman, N. (2018, March 22). <i>100,000+ Rohingya refugees could be at serious risk during Bangladesh's monsoon season. My fellow UNHCR Goodwill Ambassador Cate Blanchett is [image attached]</i> [Status Update]. Facebook. <a href="http://bit.ly/2JQzPAD">http://bit.ly/2JQzPAD</a></p>
<b>Dissertation</b>	<p>Author, A. (Year). Title [Type of Publication, Name of Institution]. Database/Archive. DOI/URL</p>

<b>Thesis</b>	<p>Asawai ,S.(1978)<i>The development of irrigation systems in Thailand from 1888 to 1950</i>. [ Master's thesis Chulalongkorn University] Chulalongkorn University.</p> <p>Hollander, M. (2017). <i>Resistance to authority: Methodological innovations and new lessons from the Milgram experiment</i> (Publication No. 10289373) [Doctoral dissertation, University of Wisconsin-Madison].ProQuest Dissertations and Theses Global</p>
<b>Thesis Database/Online</b>	<p>Albor, C. (2011). <i>Are poor people healthier in rich or poor areas?: The psychosocial effects of socioeconomic incongruity in the neighbourhood</i> [PhD thesis, University of York].  <a href="http://etheses.whiterose.ac.uk/1595/">http://etheses.whiterose.ac.uk/1595/</a></p> <p>Hutcheson, V. H. (2012). <i>Dealing with dual differences: Social coping strategies of gifted and lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer adolescents</i> [Master's Thesis, The College of William &amp; Mary]. William &amp; Mary Digital Archive.  <a href="https://digitalarchive.wm.edu/bitstream/handle/10288/16594/HutchesonVirginia2012.pdf">https://digitalarchive.wm.edu/bitstream/handle/10288/16594/HutchesonVirginia2012.pdf</a></p>
<b>Conference papers</b>	<p>Author, A. (Year, Month Date Range). Title [Paper Presentation]. Conference Name, City, State, Country.</p>
	<p>Haji-Yousefi, A. M.(2010, June2-3) <i>Iran's Foreign Policy during Ahmadinejad: From Confrontation to Accommodation</i>. [Paper Presentation ] the Annual Conference of the Canadian Political Science Association June 2-3, 2010, Concordia University, Montreal, Canada.</p>

### ตัวอย่างรูปภาพ Example figure



ภาพที่ 1 ชื่อภาพ.....Figure 1. Figure title

ตารางที่ 1 ชื่อตาราง.....

**Table 1.** Table name

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### การเขียนสมการ

สมการที่ใช้ในบทความควรจะเป็นการสร้างจากโปรแกรมMathTypeหรือเป็นวัตถุของ Microsoft Equation เป็นตัวอักษร JusmineUPC ขนาด14 โดยทุกสมการจะต้องมีลำดับหมายเลขกำกับโดยเขียนอยู่ในวงเล็บว่างไว้ชิดขอบขวา และควรเว้น 1 บรรทัดก่อนและหลังสมการ

### Writing formulas

The formulas used in this article should be either MathType or Microsoft Equation objects. They are JusmineUPC 14 in size. All formulas must be numbered in parentheses, right-aligned, and One line should be left before and after the formula

$$a = b + c \quad (1)$$

ทั้งนี้การอธิบายตัวแปรที่ระบุในสมการให้ใช้ตัวอักษร JusmineUPC ขนาด 14 ตัวอย่าง เช่น a หมายถึง....., b หมายถึง.....และ c หมายถึง.....

To describe the variables specified in the equation, use the JusmineUPC character size 14.

a means ....., b means ..... and c means ....

### **คำแนะนำในการเขียนและพิมพ์ Instructions for Writing and Typing**

**คำแนะนำทั่วไป** บทความต้องมีความยาว 9-17 หน้ากระดาษ A4 พิมพ์ด้วย Microsoft Word for Windows การตั้งค่าน้ำกระดาษขอบด้านบนและด้านล่าง 2.5 ซม. ด้านซ้ายและ ด้านขวา 2.5 ซม การลำดับหัวข้อของ เนื้อเรื่องให้ใช้เลขกำกับ บทนำเป็นหัวข้อหมายเลข 1 และหากมีหัวข้อย่อยให้ใช้ เลขระบบทศนิยมกำกับหัวข้อย่อย

**General Instructions:** Each article must be long 9-17 A4 pages. Microsoft Word for Windows must be used for typing. Page layout is as follows: Upper and bottom edges are 2.5 cm, left and right edges 2.5cm. Use numbering system for topic arrangement starting from 1. Introduction and so on. Use decimal system for sub-topics.



