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PREFACE

Kinga Földvály

The summer of 2013 marked a significant event in the history of the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences at Pázmány Péter Catholic University, and particularly in the history of the two academic partnerships the university is a member of: the International Research Universities Network (IRUN) and the Catholic Universities Partnership (CUP), a network established and supported by the University of Notre Dame. Between 29 and 31 August, 2013, almost 70 graduate students currently enrolled in Masters or Doctoral studies, gathered for a three-day conference in the historic venue of Szent Adalbert Conference Centre in Esztergom, the historical capital of Hungary and centre of the Hungarian Catholic Church. The primary aim of the conference was to encourage student research and tighten the connections among members of IRUN and CUP, by sharing both scientific results and interests that may lead to further cooperation and joint projects in the future. The conference was made possible by a generous grant of the European Union and the New Széchenyi Plan by the National Development Agency of the Hungarian Government.

These days, when in many countries the humanities are fighting day-to-day battles to prove not only their popularity among students, but also their relevance and significance to the globalised world of the twenty-first century, this conference and the present volume of the conference proceedings may serve as a bright beacon of hope for everyone worried about the future of such traditional disciplines. During the three days of the conference, students of twelve universities from all over Europe presented high quality scholarly research in a wide range of topics from all traditionally important disciplines within the humanities and social sciences, engaging in fruitful discussions and opening up an amazing number of vistas for further projects, proved that there is indeed a future to the academia, to universities, to the young generations of European intellectuals.

The structure of the volume is fundamentally thematic, with essays organised on the basis of the broader disciplines they have originated from; thus the reader will find essays on literary studies, from traditional philological work to contemporary theoretical arguments on literature and criticism; these are followed by investigations into various areas of theoretical and applied linguistics. Historical studies offer a natural introduction to interdisciplinary studies within the social sciences, political and economic studies. The volume is rounded off by studies on philosophy, theology and psychology, and in this way it provides ample illustration from nearly the whole spectrum of disciplines that belong to the humanities and social sciences. All thirty-one articles that have been selected for inclusion in the volume have undergone meticulous editing, and in some cases careful revision by authors, both as regards content and language, to ensure that the final form of the volume will remain a source of pride for the authors even when they have reached the peaks of their academic careers in the years to come.

Piliscsaba, November 2013.

LITERARY STUDIES

THE ROLE AND WORK OF THE POLYGRAPH LUDOVICO DOMENICHI IN THE PRINTING HOUSES OF VENICE AND FLORENCE DURING THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

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Introduction

This essay will be divided into three different parts: the first will reconstruct the status of past studies on the figure of Ludovico Domenichi, the second will look at some problems related to the printing in the Renaissance and the third will trace some of the key points of the biography of Domenichi. The method that is being adopted for the recognition and the analysis of the Domenichi editions is multifaceted and changes depending on the type of work and edition: analysis of the language and *modus traducendi*, recognition of literary echoes and style and identification of self-citations. Besides, other data can be derived from the correspondence between Domenichi and various writers and printers. Finally, an analytical bibliographic approach is applied to the editions that goes to check, through the analysis of different parts (paratextual apparatus, like letters of dedications, indexes and comments at the text) how, where and with what strength the activity of the polygraph Ludovico Domenichi expressed itself.

1. State of the studies

Ludovico Domenichi was a polygraph working as an editorial collaborator, mainly in Venice and Florence, between the first and second half of the sixteenth century; from the late eighteenth century to the present he has been the subject of several studies that have tried to explain different aspects of his life and his work. The first of these researches, written by Cristoforo Poggiali at the end of the eighteenth century, is an extensive study but it is characterized by excessive moralism and an apologetic intent. After the biography, based on archival data and on the correspondence that Domenichi had with several prominent cultural personalities of the time, Poggiali tries to draw a profile of his publishing activity. Finally, he compiles a partial bibliography of Domenichi which is divided into three sections: works written by Domenichi (eight editions), translations from Greek and Latin (thirty-six edition of different texts) and works by other authors edited by Domenichi (twenty-five editions of different texts). This third section, as Poggiali clarifies, is incomplete and does not provide any information about the editions mentioned (Poggiali 221–290).

In the nineteenth and in the early twentieth centuries, several works have attempted to systematize and clarify a large number of biographical data, and then, in the mid-twentieth century, to give a sociological reading of the editorial staff employed in sixteenth-century printing houses. These works start from the collection of numerical data, the place of printing and the editions' type, then they try to outline and map the production and distribution context in which these editorial collaborators moved. This mapping will help to set these intellectuals in their role inside the complex machinery of the cultural society of their time and investigate the significance of their presence in the specific production's context in which they operated. Alongside these bibliographies there are also some studies that deal with different aspects of Domenichi's life, such as his ambiguous heterodox attitude and his relationship of friendship

or conflict with some colleagues and prominent writers of the time (Castignoli 155–162; Bonaini 268–281).

However, all these studies lack a comprehensive view of Domenichi's production and an exhaustive historical and critical bibliography of his works, an up-to-date bibliography that nowadays has not evolved from that drawn up by Poggiali at the end of the eighteenth century. The drafting of Domenichi's bibliography will mean to investigate a large part of the vernacular production of the sixteenth century and to identify on the one hand the editorial mechanisms and rules (drawn from the analysis of paratextual apparatuses and his correspondence), on the other the constants that characterize his activity (for example in relation to his philological approach to the texts).

2. Editorial issues in the sixteenth century

It is also very important, for the philological studies, understanding the level of intervention in the texts, the methods of mediation and the evolution of these figures that from the mid-15th century until the 17th century develop from simple proof-readers to real editors. In fact, with the birth of printing, the manufacturing process changed and the problem of the texts' correctness, already present during the age of manuscript, grew. We need to look at the printing process and consider, among all the workers who were involved in it, the one who put his hand to the author's text: the editor (Grafton 27–29).

The printing process is characterized by several phases that carry the handwritten text to its printed form: steps that precede the print (from the author's *exemplar* to the imposed form), the printing (the physical passage of the sheet under the press) and the phases that follow the print (*errata*, scrolls affixed to the printed sheets, corrections or censorship and handwritten *cancels*).

The latter phase, in particular, enables to highlight one considerable problem related to the errors: their correction, in some ways, stopped the typographic process, and when the machinery was not working the printing house was unproductive. Of course, there were errors also in manuscripts, but in the printed texts these cause a greater concern for the author, perhaps because the multiplication of the specimens caused a consequent multiplication of the error, and also because the author suffered the loss of control over his text caused by the multiple steps needed in the printing process and by the number of people involved in them. Errors and manipulations could be due to several causes: poor readability of the manuscript *exemplar*, inattention of the composer, mechanical causes due to the nature of the printing process (reversal of types in the form, for example), insertion of corrections in the form that caused the generation of new errors and changes made by the typographical editors (Barbieri 3–19).

When the correctors and editors worked inside the printing house, the downtime caused by the proofreading was very short, but the problems started when the author wanted to correct the text himself: if he lived away from the place of printing, he had to come to a compromise to prevent the complete interruption of printing. The first option an author could choose was to ask the printer to send copies of the sheets already printed: this solution removed completely any downtime, but was used to correct errors only in the form of *errata*, handwritten corrections, scrolls or *cancels*. Then, as a second option, the author could choose a printer next to his city and give up on the preferred one which was placed far from his residence. The third option was to entrust another person, who lived near the printing house, with correcting the proofs. As a fourth choice the author could move in the place of printing, or finally, but it happened only at a very late time (when communications allowed to send letters quickly), the printer could send the proofs to the author by mail (Janssen 33–49).

When an author decided to have his work corrected by the corrector working inside the printing house we can wonder about the role of this proofreader. In fact, according to the

canons, the ideal proofreader should be substantially without a proper thought, careful with the details and learned of the language: actually this rarely happened and proofreaders, in different ways, manipulated the *exemplar*'s text. The changes could be unconsciously made, accidental and dictated by the proofreader's mother language or dialect, or conscious, due to the evolution of this worker from a proofreader to an editor: a new role which involved a high decision-making power in relation to the text that was passed under the presses. In fact, these people were able to correct the text of the author (style and grammatical errors of Latin and Greek), transcribe the often unreadable *exemplar* (inserting punctuation marks and normalizing abbreviations), prepare the paratextual apparatus, organise indexes and set the table of contents. These last two occupations allowed printers to obtain a different product from the first printed books, where these treatments were left to the will of the possessor who could complete the edition by hand. All these responsibilities contrasted, at least in the first period, with the humble condition of these editors, with the low salary and the lack of consideration that they enjoyed in the circles of intellectuals and writers. However, during the second half of the sixteenth century, this condition began to change: people who were well-known among men of letters and academics also began to exercise the profession of the proofreader that now, assuming a high level of knowledge, a refined literary taste and a flair for the demands of the market, becomes a real editorial collaborator.

3. Ludovico Domenichi: biography

Ludovico Domenichi worked properly as an editorial collaborator and he takes charge of all the editorial work: he leads the primitive *exemplar*'s text to a definitive and ready to print version; he takes care of the selection of works to be published, of the paratextual apparatus and of the indexes, of the comments, of the language and the translation, and of any additions to the text. He was born in Piacenza in 1518 and, after an early classical training in grammar and rhetoric, he specializes in law in Pavia and Padua. However, Domenichi had other interests and left the world of jurisprudence, so that he could devote himself to his true vocation: literature (Piscini 595). In these early years he becomes an active member of a literary academy, named "Accademia degli Ortolani". Then Domenichi left home and moved to Venice, where he began his work as a corrector and translator for Gabriele Giolito of Ferrari. From this period there are many letters that testify to the close friendships with other colleagues (Anton Francesco Doni) and established writers (Pietro Aretino), as well as the texts contained in the paratextual apparatuses, which show the dense network of relationships that Domenichi was weaving with different personalities of the time. After the Venetian experience, Domenichi decided to move to Florence, where he worked as an associate editor for the Giunti, trying simultaneously to manage a small printing house opened by his friend Doni. The experiment was not succeed and this typographic workshop will close and soon the friendship with Doni, as well as the one with Aretino, will be completed, perhaps because of the envy generated by the great success achieved by Domenichi, who was also entering into the graces of the Duke Cosimo I (Masi, "Postilla" 41–54; Garavelli, "Una scheda iconografica" 133–145). His luck seems to break with his imprisonment caused by his translation of a work of John Calvin (Garavelli, "Lodovico Domenichi" 36–96), however, he was released from prison and resumed his activities with renewed vigor in Lorenzo Torrentino's printing house, together with the great Greek scholar and philologist Arnaldo Arlenio (Bramanti 31–48). He was die in Pisa in 1564, in the midst of his career, leaving, besides his writings (partly printed and partly handwritten), numerous translations and multiple editions of texts, for example the linguistic revision carried out on the text of *Orlando Innamorato*; the first edition, revised by Domenichi, is dated 1545. Domenichi's revision was fortunate for the future of the text: basically, Domenichi rewrote all the text changing the regional language of the author with the one suggested by Bembo: literary Tuscan. He also

clarified some passages of the narration, put notes and explanations at the margin of the text and inserted illustrations. All these cares state the large success of Domenichi's revision; all these things speak about the activity and the important role of Domenichi in the editorial universe and in the printing houses (Dionisotti 240–241; Masi, "La sfortuna" 943–1020; Harris 141–148; Weaver 117–144).

We now understand the importance of a comprehensive bibliography that identifies also all editions tacitly treated by Domenichi, a character with an extremely wide range of activity, responsible for the spread of vernacular culture in the sixteenth century and for the subsequent fortunes of different printers with whom he collaborated. This was possible due to his ability to understand the tastes of the public, the demands of the market and thanks to his polished and precise linguistic and literary knowledge.

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THE LIBRARY OF THE JESUIT COLLEGE OF PERUGIA. NEW RESEARCH TOOLS

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The Jesuit presence in Perugia (1552–1773)

The Society of Jesus experienced its most difficult period since the mid-eighteenth century, when the expulsion of the Jesuits from the territories of Spain, Portugal, France, Italy and central and southern colonies in the Americas was decreed. The definitive suppression of the order, as is well known, took place on July 21st, 1773 with the decree *Dominus ac Redemptor* issued by Pope Clement XIV. With this official act of the Pope, the Society was finally dissolved. This happened more than two hundred years after the founding of the Order, which took place in 1540 by Ignatius of Loyola. In a short time there was a proliferation of a dense network of international colleges (Barbieri IX–XXXV).

We have very little information about the history of the Jesuit presence in Perugia, because of the lack of specific studies. There are however some general studies about the events relating to the early years of the Jesuit settlement in the Italian city, and then to the foundation of the College in 1552. For that reason, it can be considered as one of the oldest Jesuit colleges in Italy, built only four years after the college of Messina, the first of the Italian colleges of the Society (Tacchi Venturi 447–456).

The Jesuits arrived in Perugia on March 9th, 1552, headed by Father Everardo Mercuriano, the future general of the order, and were initially accommodated in several rooms of the episcopal palace by the bishop of the city, Cardinal Fulvio Della Corgna. As a result, he granted the fathers a permanent seat in the square of Sopramuro or “place of the schools” (ARSI 1). The College was later built next to the Church of Jesus, the construction of which, sponsored by Della Corgna, began in May 1562, to officially end in October 1571 (Crispoliti 160). Cesare Crispolti, in the mid-seventeenth century, described the places of the Society in Perugia as follows:

The house of the fathers, called College, has comfortable rooms, it is placed in healthy air, on one side it faces the square commonly known with the name of “Sopramuro”, on the other side it overlooks the beautiful and pleasant valley of Iano. There is a large and beautiful garden here for the recreation of the Fathers. They exercise sermons, confessions, and in the schools they teach literature, philosophy and *cases of conscience* [Author’s translation] (156).

The Society soon influenced the educational system of the city. From the seventeenth century, in fact, there is evidence of collaboration between the Jesuits and the local seminary, established by Della Corgna in 1564. “Since 1627 the adult clerics attended the Jesuit College for theology, because the small number of pupils and the shortage of seminary resources did not allow to support the teachers of sacred sciences”; which was a clear sign of the ability of the Jesuits to satisfy the requirements of a higher education (Lupi 31).

In terms of secular education there is a testimony from 1680, reported by Giuseppe Ermini, concerning an attempt by the Society to enter into the management of the local University:

A letter from Father Filippo Poggi to Innocent XI of November 9th 1680 stated that the ‘University of Perugia, which for the excellence of teachers and the diversity of the

students was one of the most famous universities in Europe, is reduced to a state in which teachers and students are among the worst in Italy',

and for this reason:

'There is need of reforms, one of which would be to entrust the university teaching to the Jesuit fathers, as was done in Fermo and Macerata. The Jesuits would greatly benefit the municipality and, with a little salary, could revive the fervor and attract foreigners, as happens elsewhere' (187).

Father Poggi's request was later not accepted by the Pope due to the intervention of the Bishop of Perugia Lucalberto Patrizi, who refuted the Jesuit's assertions testifying that in the schools of the citizen College there were not the courses of medicine and law (187). The failed insertion of the Society at the top of the *Studium* of Perugia forced the Jesuits to establish a weak relationship with the university. This was based, in fact, only on a partial academic activity, mainly helping the institution in those disciplines that lacked adequate teaching.

Nevertheless, as has been recently demonstrated, the influence of the Jesuits within the university staff was essential, at least in the eighteenth century. In fact, according to a document preserved in the archive of the Abbey of San Pietro in Perugia (Veronese 34–37), we know that, after the suppression of the Society, the university teachers feared to receive a large damage due to the sudden absence of the Jesuit professors, who evidently attained, over the years, a considerable importance in the life of the *Studium*. For this reason a proposal was made, signed by some of the most important professors of the University, to create an educational project that could meet the immediate lack of those religious figures who, along with the offices of their priestly status, taught "language, rhetoric, poetry, logic, metaphysics, scholastic theology, moral theology ... moved then to the study of literature ..." (37).

Therefore, if in the first one hundred and fifty years of Jesuit presence in Perugia the university management was refractory to the inclusion of the fathers in the government and in the academic staff of the institution, conversely in the eighteenth century the situation is completely opposite. Particularly, it reflects the happy combination represented historically, at least in Italy, by the collaboration between the university colleges and the Society of Jesus

The library of the College: the transfer to the Biblioteca Augusta

Especially in the last two decades, there have been numerous scientific contributions dedicated to the historical events, the composition and the management of public and private libraries. Equally nourished, both nationally and internationally, is the library historiography that – although with different and often irreconcilable research perspectives – has consistently fueled the theoretical debate.

The history of libraries contains a variety of components that allow a range of approaches and analysis that can be set and investigated through different reading levels and different perspectives. Therefore, it seems possible to study critically the bibliographic presence of one or more library funds (making possible comparisons, namely highlighting similarities or differences), the "space" of the library and therefore the evolution of architecture and furnishings (that have influenced and influence features and uses), the topographical structure and the more or less coherent semantic organization of the collections. It is equally important and fruitful to analyze the social, historical, geographical and cultural contexts of reference, the librarianship management and the related cataloging activities, the bibliological and codicological characteristics of the artifacts, the circulation of capital, the intellectual profile of librarians, and the types and number of users.

Taking note of this wide range of research possibilities, in this paper I intend to offer a first survey of the analysis of the library which belonged to the Jesuit College of Perugia, and which later entirely merged, following the suppression of 1773, in the Public Library of the city, the Biblioteca Augusta.

As we know, the libraries that belonged to the Jesuits have always been among the most important of religious orders. As said before, the founding of the Society of Jesus was followed by the proliferation of numerous colleges across Europe. Each of these, adhering faithfully to the method of the *Ratio Studiorum*, had necessarily to adopt a library. In this regard, a study which demonstrates the characteristics of the most important Italian Jesuit library collections is missing (for the French case a brief profile has been traced) (Mech 57–63). However, there are some studies that have examined, with methods and different perspectives, libraries of individual town centers, like Trento (Barbieri), Sassari and Cagliari (Turtas 145–173), Modena (Tinti) and Naples (Trombetta). Regarding the case of Perugia there are no specific studies; however, some recent bibliographic essays have tried to highlight the value and the processes of the library incorporation (particularly in relation to the figure of Agostino Oldoini, bibliographer and rector of the College) and to identify the tools for a first analysis of the collection, today partially preserved in the Biblioteca Augusta (Cecchini).

In May of 1774, for the express wish of the Pope, the entire collection of books that belonged to the Jesuit college of the city was confiscated by the Municipality of Perugia. As Giovanni Cecchini writes:

In the meantime a major event was approaching: the transfer of the library of the Jesuits' Convent of Perugia to the municipality, in consequence of the suppression of the Society of Jesus. Pope Clement XIV with his letter of May 4th 1774 granted to the municipality of Perugia 'All the books belonging to the Jesuits and found in the College and in its chambers: printed books and manuscripts, globes, spheres and other mathematical tools, including the shelves of the library and any other object found in it, without exception. The same books are destined to the enlargement of the public library of the city, for the use of young scholars (176–177).

Count Lodovico degli Oddi was delegated to execute the papal order. According to Cecchini, the Jesuit fund is a bibliographic collection of remarkable consistency and qualified character, particularly with works of theology, philosophy, patristic, sacred and profane oratory, lives of saints, medicine and natural sciences. Along with the books, even the furnishings of the library were later forfeited. The Jesuit fund, although not quantitatively exceptional (about 6,500 titles), caused many problems of space to the municipality because of the physical location of the volumes, forcing librarians to store them in the upper rooms of the building of the Public Library. Since then, the Jesuit collection followed the fortunes of the citizen institution in its various movements along the course of the centuries (Roncetti).

New research tools: the library account book

As already pointed out in a recent study (Ardolino 106), useful tools to understand the structure, texture and quality of our collection are the catalog and the inventory of the library of the Jesuit College, both preserved in the Augusta. Besides these two manuscript sources, which require a detailed study to acquire any information that can comprehensively satisfy the needs of an historical research, there is another, which is also preserved in the public library of Perugia. This is the manuscript MS 879, containing the book of accounts of the library from 1726 to 1753. This document offers an interesting overview of the life of the institution in the eighteenth century.

According to the information contained in this volume, in 1726 the Rector of the College, Giovanni Conievo, began a written report on the library activities. The document shows that the library was supported by two private endowments, the first, left by father Giulio Rettabene, and the second by Leandra Della Staffa:

Every year the library must receive from the College six pounds and eight pennies for the purchase of books of scholastic theology, moral, and law as established by Mrs. Leandra della Staffa, who left 200 pounds . . . Every year the library must receive six pounds from the College for the purchase of books of theology, philosophy, sermons, letters or humanities from the 150 pounds left by father Giulio Rettabene (1).

Then the text lists the purchased volumes, along with their value and the final tallies; this element shows us that the library had a steady income of funding not only thanks to the two endowments but also through the sale of double or no longer usable volumes:

We sold a lot of double books and many useless manuscripts of old philosophy of which the library was full. We also sold other superfluous and unnecessary papers (17).

The manuscript informs us of the activity of acquisition and maintenance of library materials, particularly regarding bindings and covers, as well as of the transport costs. Equally interesting is the report of the handover by one librarian (Prefect of the Library) to the other, to ensure the integrity of the fund and its economic rights.

A fragment in particular gives us valuable information about an extremely important event in the history of the library, which is the complete relocation of the volumes. In 1729:

Since we had to whitewash the whole house and even the library as a result, all books were lying on the ground. For this reason I made the decision to renew the whole library. The order and arrangement of the classes was improved. Since all the numbers fell off the books, because they were made of paper pasted on the volumes, I decided to write the numbers above each book in a new way. At the same time I wrote also the titles, which were missing from most of the books . . . (9).

The testimony of the librarian, father Francesco Ferrari, drafter of this page, is essential in giving us information about the inside organization of the library from the first half of the eighteenth century. Through this document we know that before 1729 the library was organized by classes, the signatures of the volumes were written on a tag placed on the back of each volume and on the outside of the tomes there was no indication of the titles. The physiognomy of the library changed after the renewal operation done by Ferrari, who carried out a series of improvements designed to make the fund more homogeneous in its organizational structure.

The library was considered by the Jesuits an asset of exceptional value. As a mirror of the cultural and educational vocation of the Society, it had an independent government from the College, headed by the Prefect of the Library, whose strict administration involved high personal responsibility, highlighted by the indication of the integrity of the fund and the property ascribed to it whenever a handover between one librarian and another took place. The detailed records of purchases and sales, the organization of the library in classes, and the radical reordering of the volumes also reflect the will of the fathers to aim for continuous improvement, in terms of quality and organization, of its bibliographic heritage.

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A PICTURE OF THE HISTORIC SLOVAK PRESS DURING THE SECOND HALF OF THE 19TH CENTURY

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In our study we are describing the methodology of studying the press from the 1850's to 1900. In a systematic manner we will focus on the most important political newspapers and church press of the period as well as point out other categories of newspapers that were available for the Slovak public. Briefly we will discuss the laws that limited older press.

Repetition we will outline our thoughts regarding this period as the source base for the work of historians. In the second half of the 19th century the press became a medium that could shape and influence almost all social classes. It was not only a way to influence the opinion of the educated and wealthy, but it could enhance the education of peasant and working classes as well (Ruttkey, „Storočnica prvého slovenského“. 233). The importance of the press was growing as a means of shaping opinions, even among these populations. It had become common practice in the villages for a number of people to subscribe to a newspaper. Residents who could read or wanted to be informed often visited people who purchased newspapers. Possibly the periodicals were borrowed or circulated from house to house. We cannot determine exactly how many people were familiar with the contents of the press, but we can confidently say that it was several times more than the number of subscribers. The opinion-shaping value of the press was irreplaceable for the new generation of Slovak patriots, public personalities and politicians. Press materials from this particular period are becoming an indispensable resource for the research of historians. It is possible to use the press for research of national as well as world history. The research is limited by the quality and partiality of content (articles, columns, domestic and foreign news). In our opinion, historians cannot do complete research of the history of the 19th and 20th centuries without studying the national and regional periodicals, although many historical works about various parts of 19th and 20th century history have been produced without the reading of newspaper resources of the period. When using periodicals as a historical source, we have to take into account the objectivity and impartiality of the content. Risks that affected subjectivity and objectivity of the press were in the hands of many – publishers, editors-in-chief, editors, graphic artists (Zmátlo, 145).

As in other countries, newspapers and journalism in Slovakia played an important role. On the other hand, their place was more specific and more important in comparison to the neighboring countries. Their position was maintained despite the duality of oppression: social and national. Despite the fact that Slovak print was underdeveloped and issued in modest numbers, it had a high societal response. The problem of national journalism grew from the hostile social relations and the underdevelopment of a nationally class-conscious Slovak society. Slovak journalism did not only have a news desk and an information mission, it also actually replaced the Secretariat of the Slovak National Council, a nationwide series of scientific and artistic institutions, and supplied what was otherwise a non-existent Slovak education. The Slovak populace learned from newspapers: new grammar, an improved style of speech, all of which led to the strengthening of national consciousness.

Before we proceed to describe the use of vintage press materials as a credible source for the work of historians, it must be stated openly that every newspaper is an inherently subjective testimony of the author of any article, or possibly the authorial collective. These materials are still valuable resources. Using the comparative method of historical research, we can verify the authenticity of specific newspapers. The articles analyzed by us are compared

with other original sources – archival sources, oral history, and so on. In the event that we are concerned about the image of a nation, we do not always have to approach the content of a newspaper passage critically. Because it was the safe and complimentary view which was circulated among the population and based on the above-mentioned subjectivity, we can deduce that many newspapers did not create an image of a specific event, person, or nation to reflect realistically or present it as unbiased information.

To better understand the origin and structure of a published article, it is necessary to examine the time frame and political situation during which the article was published. The author of an article was affected by several factors that shaped his/her ideas and attitudes, and these were then reflected in his/her work. The basic attributes might have included: nationality, religion, social background, education, affiliation or identification with a certain political party. We recommend the examination of minute-books of the editorial boards, possibly the correspondence between the author of the article and the editor of the newspaper, as these may result in different findings. For example, there may have been corrections of articles sent to the editorial board, and the reasons can be explored. Were the differences reflecting the differences of opinion between an author and the editorial board? Alternatively the writer of the article may not have been aware that his/her output violated the press laws and therefore the editorial staff did not publish this article or edited it to prevent the subsequent sanction (Ruttkay, *Dějiny československé žurnalistiky*. 3 – 18).

In the previous lines we have outlined only the basic pitfalls that can be encountered when working with older print materials. Each article is a unique source of information and should therefore be considered individually, analyzed in detail with regard to the internal and external factors of its specific time period, the laws, the author, editors, etc.

Before we proceed to a detailed description of the major Slovak newspapers from the second half of the 19th century, we believe it is necessary to define more precisely what we consider to be the Slovak press. These periodicals were written in various equivalents of the Slovak language, variously known as the Old Slavonic language, Bernolák's codification of the Slovak language (1787), Štúr's codification of the Slovak language (1843), and so on. The government newspaper published in the Slovak language is also part of the list of periodicals. This newspaper was meant to disseminate government policy and suppress Slovak national life in the second half of the 19th century. (Mannová 199 – 207).

After the defeat of the revolutionary forces in the years 1848–1849, the monarchy came to power and its conservative forces sought to restore the pre-revolutionary regime. While living in Vienna, Ján Kollár began to promote the old Slavonic language (actually a Slovakized Czech language) as an official language at the imperial court (Kováč 115 – 119). In July 1849 the *Slovenské noviny*, under the editorship of Daniel Lichard, began to publish in this language. On 22 November this newspaper became the official organ of the Vienna government. Since 1855 the *Slovenské noviny* had a separate supplement, called *Světozor* published in Czech. Hermenegild Jireček was its editor. Although the quality of the newspaper was reasonable, the *Slovenské noviny* failed to win over a wider audience. The October Diploma (October edition of the diploma meant the end of absolutism era and it changed the political system to constitutional monarchy) and February Patent (another name for constitution) indicated a change in government policy towards the nations in the monarchy. On 31 December, 1861 the last issue of the newspaper was published.

In the second half of the 19th century, church magazines had a unique place among Slovak newspapers. Šimon Klempa began to issue the *Katolícke noviny* in Budapest, on 7 November 1849, for the general public. Concurrently with the *Katolícke noviny*, there was also a weekly published, called *Cyril a Metod*, with a subtitle of *Catholic paper for church and school* in Banská Štiavnica, from 14 March of that year. Editors and founders were Andrej Radlinský and Ján Palárik. From 1851 on, it was edited only by Ján Palárik. The main language of the newspaper was the old Slavonic language, although some articles were published in a later

version of Slovak. In the newspaper *Palárik* dealt with linguistic and national issues, but also expressed his own views regarding the reform of the church administration. For his bold ideas and opinions on the reform of ecclesiastical structure *Palárik* was interned in a monastery prison. *Cyril a Metod* ceased publication on 9 July, 1851. About six months later, under the protection of the bishop's office in Banská Bystrica, *Cyril a Metod* again went to press on 10 January 1852. In the post of executive editor Michal Chrástek and Juraj Slota alternated (Duchkowitsch, Serafinová and Vatrál 148 – 169).

The church press was available to the Slovak public throughout the described period. To significant representatives of the Catholic press the periodical *Cyril a Metod* remained available. After the establishment of *Pešťbudínske vedomosti*, the periodical no longer had to play a political role and could concentrate fully on religious, social and educational issues. *Katolícke noviny* with the subtitle “*orgán spolku sv. Adalberta*”, started being published on 7 July, 1870. *Cirkevné listy* belonged among the most prominent evangelical newspapers. Published since 1863 its frequency fluctuated. From 1875 it became a weekly. The court in Senica, in 1876 banned the weekly publication and Jozef M. Hurban was not able to get the money for the bail bond. Other evangelical periodicals included *Ewanjelik*, and *Ewangelické cirkevnj nowiny*.

Spolok sv. Štefana (Guild of St. Stephen), the publisher of *Katolícke noviny*, decided to change the executive editor because of the drop in readership. This change did not help and the number of customers continued to fall. Therefore the publishing company stopped issuing the *Katolícke noviny* in 1856. The newspaper subsequently then merged with *Cyril a Metod* (originating in Banská Bystrica) and later relocated to Budapest. Here from 1857 the new *Cyril a Metod*, with the subtitle “*Catholic paper for church, house and school*” was issued. The executive editor became Andrej Radlinský. It is worth noting that the newspaper changed its name several times and there was also a period when it was not published, but despite the various obstacles experienced it is still available today.

Slovak society, as previously mentioned, considered newspapers to be a first-class tool for the dissemination of political ideas and the building of national awareness; therefore, one of its priority objectives included obtaining the authorization to issue a political newspaper. *Pešťbudínske vedomosti* was the second Slovak political newspaper. By March 19, 1861, it was published with the subtitle “*Paper for politics and literature*”. Its executive editor and publisher was Ján Francisci. On 22 September 1863, Mikuláš Štefan Ferienčík took over the editing and publishing. Despite the change of leadership, a change to the newspaper line did not come. It continued to advocate the policy of the old Slovak school. Due to financial problems, *Pešťbudínske vedomosti* later moved to Martin. The official version of the explanation claimed that this was caused by a strike by the printing staff. From March 13, 1870, this publication became known as the *Národné noviny* and from 1873 the *Národné noviny*. The publisher during the period of “*Matica Slovenská*” (the name is derived from the lifetime of Matica Slovenská, a cultural, educational and research institution) was Mikuláš Štefan Ferienčík followed by Wiliam Paulíny – Tóth. In the following period *Národné noviny* was published by a consortium of several persons. At its head Čulen, V. Paulíny – Tóth and Paul Mudroň alternated.

Slovenské noviny was first published on 2 January 1868. The publisher, owner and editor was Ján Nepomuk Bobula. A group of politicians later known as “*Nová škola slovenská*” (New Slovak School), disagreed with several points of the policy of document called as “*Memorandum*”. The “*new school*” later established its own publishing house called “*Minerva*”. *Slovenské noviny* ceased operations in early 1875. This closure led to disagreements between the leaders of the “*Nová škola slovenská*” and economic problems. Despite the unfavorable economic conditions, the Slovak press continued to flourish. At the end of the 19th century five political newspapers were available to the Slovak population. Previous documentation states that *Národné noviny* had a circulation of 1,200, *Ludové noviny*

2,500 and *Národný hlásnik* 2,500. All of these newspapers were printed in Martin. *Slovenské listy* was published in Ružomberk and *Nová Doba* in Budapest. (Mrva 190 – 192).

Because of its conservative nature the *Národný hlásnik* newspaper was very popular among the village people, for its pages brought a lot of valuable advice about keeping animals and the cultivation of various crops. Also close to the nationally conservative current was *Slovenské pohľady*, a periodical established by Jozef Miloslav Hurban. For various legal and economic problems it closed its doors in 1852, after only six years of operation. *Slovenské pohľady* was later reopened by publisher's son, Michal Hurban. The newspaper published literary and scientific information about and for Slovak society and is still available today.

In addition to the described political and religious magazines, it was possible to buy: economic and educational newspapers such as *Obzor* with the subtitle "*Paper for economy, trade and farmhouse*". Readers also had a literary press in the form of *Orol* and *Sokol*. Both magazines were used for amusement and edification. Humorous and satirical publications were represented in several magazines. The first of its kind in the Slovak language was *Černokňažník*. The New and Old Slovak School often used these magazines to beset their opponents through satire. A similar magazine, *Rarášek* was issued in Martin. After its end in 1875, it was followed by another magazine, called *Rarach*. The Policy of the New School was promulgated by the comic magazine *Ježibaba*.

Several historians claim that the first scientific Slovak journal was Hurbanov's *pohľady*. Newer publications from Ruttkay and Serafinová agree that the first scientific journal was actually *Letopis Matice slovenskej*. Pedagogical magazines were designed especially for the needs of teachers during their practical training. For teachers also, but available for the wider public audience as well, there were *Slovenský národný učiteľ* and *Dom a Škola*. *Dom a Škola* was often criticized for articles by Czech teachers. The critics considered these articles to be too liberal. *Hlas* was considered a truly liberal magazine, for it criticized the *Národné noviny* and also the Slovak National Party for their passivity, lethargy and being excessive Russophile.

As the press organ of the New Slovak School, *Slovenské noviny* has been more thoroughly described in the earlier portion of this paper. In addition to criticism of the Old School the newspaper also addressed women's issues. However, *Dennica* and *Živenna*, published later, should be considered as purely women's magazines.

The pro-government press was known to be a high quality publication, as well as "hungarophile" in nature, with the goal of Magyarization. It brought current local and round-the-world news through permanent financial support from government circles. Therefore, compared with the Slovak national press, it was obviously better designed with more graphics. The government supported publications had a different agenda and the most famous were *Kresťan*, *Vlast' a svet*, *Svornost'* and *Slovenské noviny*. *Svornost'* constantly attacked Slovak cultural and educational institutions. Its influence greatly contributed to the closure of Slovak secondary schools and "Matica Slovenská".

In the second half of the 19th century the government devoted much attention to the newspapers. During the revolution it was reaffirmed how much power the uncensored press had on public opinion. The new neo-absolutist government in Vienna tried to avoid this. The censorship was restored in the monarchy under the supervision of Bach's Interior Ministry. The government used concessions, government stamps, and also controlled the importation of books and journals. Every editor had to be at least 24 years old with Austrian nationality and a place of residence within the same town as the periodical publisher. The amount of security depended on the size of the city where the newspaper was based. The law prohibited the selling of publications on the street. The Code of regulations punished attacks against the monarch, religion, morality, or the integrity of the country. In May 1867, the restoration of printing juries occurred in Hungary (originally established during the revolution and abolished in 1852), (Chmelár 89 – 92).

This code was full of paragraphs, regulations and bail bonds, which were intended to limit journalistic work. Legislative restrictions caused major problems for the Slovak national press. On the other hand, it is not possible to claim that their target was only the Slovak press. The government tried to limit all national newspapers, as well as the journalistic production of other opposition parties. Economic weakness and internal squabbles within Slovak society meant that its press was more vulnerable compared to that of other nationalities' newspapers.

Gradually the territory of today's Slovakia profiled several national centers with printers and publishers. Among the best-known hubs was Martin (Knihlačiarsky účastnícky spolok), and eventually Ružomberok (vydavateľstvo Karola Salvu) and Skalica. A deeper and more detailed look at the structure and background of these centers would be useful, but, as we have repeatedly emphasized the scope of the study does not allow us to do so (Ruttkay 77–98).

In conclusion we wish to emphasize that newspapers by the end of the 19th century were the only vehicle for the dissemination of national thought among the masses of the Slovak people. The government school or church could not fulfill this mission. Through regulations, state power strove to hinder the development of national journalism and to financially harm it. That is why vintage newspapers are an outstanding testimony to the national consciousness of the Slovak people and historic events in the territory of today's Slovakia. Historians should not avoid this resource, because without knowing the historic press, we cannot properly understand the time period in which the studied events transpired. In several cases the historic press is the only record of events and personalities of the time.

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ANIMAL IMAGERY IN VIRGINIA WOOLF'S WORKS*

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“Don’t you sometimes hug your dog – I did my darling Socrates – hugged him & hugged him – and kissed him a thousand times on his soft cheeks.” ‘No,’ would have been Virginia’s truthful reply to this question . . . she was not, in the fullest sense of the word, a dog lover” (Bell 175). These are Quentin Bell’s words in his biography of his aunt, quoting Ottoline Morrell’s letter to Virginia Woolf. According to Bell, even *Flush* is not a book from a dog lover rather “a book by someone who would love to be a dog” (175), which suggestion sounds strange indeed. Maybe he is right and neither “Leonard nor Virginia ever” hugged their dogs (175). And it is also possible, as Bell states, that Woolf “wanted to know what her dog was feeling” (175) and it is not a sign of her love for animals either, because “she wanted to know what everyone was feeling” anyway (175), but it is unquestionable that Virginia Woolf respected animals a great deal. She took home stray dogs when she was a child, bought a Manx cat from her very first salary, and she always lived with a cat or dog or both. They played an important role in her writings. Apart from watching her own pets, she spent a lot of time examining animals in nature and also read studies about them. As a result, her works abound in their closely observed features, wrapped in beautiful metaphors often to describe human qualities. In this essay I will concentrate on her use of animal imagery especially in her novel *The Waves*, with some allusions to her other works.

To start with lesser known similes, I quote here some of Woolf’s diary entries. These judgments may sound somewhat cruel, but if one ignores the possible intention of malignancy behind them, and concentrates on the artful way these images are composed in, one inevitably sees these pictures coming to life in front of one’s eyes. In a way they are all examples of how Woolf found the right expression to project her instant feelings and perceptions into words. On Katherine Mansfield she writes after one of their encounters: “she stinks like a — well civet cat that had taken to street walking” (D1 58). Rose Macaulay is compared to another type of the same species: “. . . Rose Macaulay sitting spruce lean, like a mummified cat, in her chair” (D3 76). Adrian Bishop is likened to a “ruddy bull frog” (D3 68). She associates a group of writers she and Leonard met with “baldnecked chickens” and the conversation with them with “pecking up grains with these active stringy fowls” (D3 71). Of course there are examples of similes expressing more respect as well. Molly McCarthy, of whom Woolf was really fond, reminds her of “a warm faithful bear” (D3 72). If one remembers Woolf’s claim that one of the reasons for her writing diaries is to practice language and the tracing and noting down of her mind’s eye, one can conclude that these metaphors, though most of them cannot be judged as kind, were not necessarily meant to hurt those to whom they were related. Rather they served as playing with words. The following sentence, containing words associated with both negative and positive meanings, may be a proof of this: “Lord Ivor Spencer Churchill – an elegant attenuated gnat like youth; very smooth, very supple, with the semi-transparent face of a flower, & the legs of a gazelle . . . he is a clever boy” (D3 67–8). Even if these phrases came after some time of consideration and not spontaneously, they are testaments for Woolf’s uniquely vivid imagination.

Much more appreciated and known are those metaphors, however, which we can meet in her novels and short stories. The spectrum of animals whose features Woolf employs is broad.

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One can find creatures from insects to wild animals, and they not only help to understand, but they also bear the proof of Woolf's unique talent for observation. The moth is one of those images that return again and again in many of her writings. Due to its characteristic of being attracted by light, which represents life, and its short life, which usually ends while searching for light, most of the time it symbolizes death as opposed to life. This way of representation is remarkable in the essay *Death of the Moth*, and also in Woolf's first novel *The Voyage Out*, where moths usually appear to break the silence and to interrupt the calmness in order to remind one of death. In *The Waves* moths represent qualities which serve as the core of the novel: continuous search, quest for freedom, for life, for a unified personality. Moths were meant to express the incessant stream of human thoughts "flowing together" (D3 139). As a matter of fact, the first title of the novel was *The Moth*. In the text of the novel moths appear to suggest constant movement: "A shadow flitted through my mind like moths' wings among chairs and tables in a room in the evening" (W 151); "to send me dashing like a moth from candle to candle" (W 165), and also the breaking of a progress, the impossibility of moving on: "The wind washes through the elm trees; a moth hits the lamp..." (W 96); "... a moth-like impetuosity dashing itself against hard glass" (W 48).

Many of the generally accepted symbols of the moth can be grasped while close reading the novel. Especially in the Christian traditions moths and butterflies represent the futility of beauty and mundane pleasures (Pál and Újvári 394), the qualities with which Jinny is endowed. In many cultures moths are respected for their capacity of transfiguration which is one of the characteristic features of Louis, who thinks of himself as someone influential in distant past lives as opposed to his present insignificance. His change from this powerless person into a dignitary when he arrives home and his imagination grips him corresponds to the ability of transfiguration of the moth from the dead chrysalis into a beautiful winged creature. This capacity of dramatic change makes butterflies and moths to be regarded as the symbols of the soul, which is particularly relevant here, since the whole novel is built on the aspects of the human soul. The source of Woolf's attraction to moths may be childhood experiences when all the Stephen children were fascinated by collecting them in butterfly boxes.

Besides the frequent employment of this insect, *The Waves* presents endless examples of animal images. Many of them are attached to the voices as their characteristics with which they are apportioned. As all the voices can be typified as uncertain, restless and disturbed, the animal images represent similar qualities. Rhoda is constantly possessed by a vision of a leaping tiger who wants to tear her apart. The tiger is the symbol of life itself that conveys an immitigable threat for her: "The door opens; the tiger leaps. The door opens; terror rushes in; terror upon terror, pursuing me" (W 58). At the same time, Rhoda's desire for escape is a place, "the other side of the world where the swallow dips her wings" (W 58). Mainly in Asian culture tigers are the embodiment of power and absolutism, which quality can be connected to one of the general interpretations of the novel. There are opinions that suggest that the whole novel is a metaphor of the imperial quest, and a kind of criticism from the part of Woolf against the tendency of suppression by the English in the colonies. In this respect the tiger may be the symbol of the colonisers. On the basis of this approach, I have the theory that each voice stands for one of the colonised parts of the globe. In my view Rhoda, the weakest and most vulnerable of all the other voices, with her constant allusions to the migrant swallows, represents Africa. Nevertheless, this image can be interpreted in many different ways. One of them is the desire for freedom which is the most frequent reading of bird images. Rhoda's desire to escape to the other side of the world, however, can also be understood as her attraction to death, which is an evident characteristic of this figure. In many cultures swallows, the birds travelling to very far places, are regarded as the knower of the "other world", in this sense they are connected to death.

Louis's burdens in life are symbolised throughout the whole novel with his vision of heavy and chained animals: "The beast stamps; the elephant with its foot chained; the great brute on

the beach stamps” (W 5). The snake also lends its features to the characterisation of Louis. He is often referred to as the “boy in grey flannels with a belt fastened by a brass snake. . .” (W 5). In his imagination Louis seems to live in different lives and in different time periods. By projecting himself into different historical eras, envisaging himself in them as an important authority, he hopes for a better acceptance of his present life. He only feels “immensely respectable” (W 112) in his profession, but when he returns to his attic room after work he changes entirely as if he shed his skin, like a snake, to take on another one: “I hang my coat here . . . I divest myself of my authority” (W 112). This brass snake on his belt symbolises the effort which holds him together, but when he drops his public self, hangs his coat up, the belt falls down and he falls apart, longing for the unity of his selves. Examining snake motifs in different cultures, it seems evident that the brass snake at the end of a belt which forms a circle around a body is not an accidental choice. The image of a snake or serpent biting its own tail is known in the ancient world as Uroboros. It usually symbolises unity, rebirth, immortality and the circle of life. In Egypt it represents the cyclical nature of time, the eternal return and the everlasting cycle of nature. In the Islam world the Uroboros represents the principle of life (Pál and Újvári 272–73). The plot of the novel embraces all these meanings.

Susan, the embodiment of nature, even her appearance echoes the natural world: her eyes are “grass-green” (W 22) and “pear-shaped” (W 95). She is a kind of Gaia figure, one with nature and all animals. The young hare, the cow, the cart-horses, the sheep, and the setter all represent her sense of freedom:

At this hour, this still early hour, I think I am the field, I am the barn, I am the trees; mine are the flocks of birds, and this young hare who leaps, at the last moment when I step almost on him. Mine is the heron that stretches its vast wings lazily; and the cow that creaks as it pushes one foot before another munching; and the wild, swooping swallow; and the faint red in the sky, and the green when the red fades . . . all are mine. (W 53–4)

In Susan’s soliloquies birds appear to reflect her progress and phases in life and also her mood. At the beginning of the novel when the voices are children, for Susan problems seem to be far away: “Birds are singing up and down and in and out all round us” (W 4). When she still attends school, life is ahead of her, there is no need to rush, and everything is still in preparation: “The birds gather in the middle of the road – they need not fly yet” (W 54). When the friends, who are now middle-aged, meet to salute the dead Percival, birds also seem to commemorate the lost youth and the fallen friend: “In this silence . . . it seems as if no leaf would ever fall, or bird fly” (W 127). By old age she gets tired of her life which lacks unity. Her fields which once meant freedom to her are now only the home of her “relentlessly pressed-down life” (W 108), and she gazes “like a young bird, unsatisfied for something that has escaped [her]” (W 132).

If one takes birds’ role in different traditions into consideration, further interesting parallels between the novel and bird symbols can be detected. In Buddhism the incessant flight of birds is the symbol of the restless life whose final aim is the nest, the Nirvana (Pál and Újvári 326). In *The Waves*, all the voices are searching constantly for the peace of their soul, the unity of self and happiness. Saint John of the Cross likens the restlessness of the mind to birds (327), which is also an essential component of the novel, and applies to the voices. In Early Christian art all bird images are meant to express the soul (327). Maybe this is the reason why Woolf used bird images to such a great extent in a novel whose driving force above all other things is the soul.

At one point of *The Waves* the underworld takes shape with many hideous animals:

We are in a swamp now; in a malarial jungle. There is an elephant white with maggots, killed by an arrow shot dead in its eye. The bright eyes of hopping birds — eagles, vultures — are apparent. They take us for fallen trees. They pick at a worm — that is a hooded cobra — and leave it with a festering brown scar to be mauled by lions. This is our world We are giants, lying here, who can make forests quiver. (W 11)

Bernard's monologue, with this powerful last sentence, can also be interpreted as the threat of the Empire to the freedom of the colonised nations. The formidable eagles and vultures may stand for the colonisers and symbolise the utmost evil that feeds on others to keep itself alive. In *A Room of One's Own* Woolf employs the same carnivores to express the power of patriarchal society that prevents women from progressing:

Great bodies of people are never responsible for what they do. They are driven by instincts which are not within their control. They too, the patriarchs, the professors, had endless difficulties, terrible drawbacks to contend with. Their education had been in some ways as faulty as my own. It had bred in them defects as great. True, they had money and power, but only at the cost of harbouring in their breasts an eagle, a vulture, for ever tearing the liver out and plucking at the lungs—the instinct for possession, the rage for acquisition which drives them to desire other people's fields and goods perpetually. . . (ROO 31–2)

Dogs appear in *The Waves* in the form of hounds and their role is to even more emphasise that never-ending quest on which the whole novel is based. "I am like a hound on the scent. I hunt from dawn to dusk" (W 72), says Neville, and no other simile could express more his constant search for love, acceptance, the right phrases, but most of all truth — "In this pursuit I shall grow old" (W 72), he predicts. The same thoughts continue in Rhoda's monologue, but her self is so fragmented that she does not even have a solid aim in view, she feels completely lost and "faceless": "I do not know — your days and hours pass like the boughs of forest trees and the smooth green of forest rides to a hound running on the scent. But there is no single scent, no single body for me to follow" (W 72). Rhoda's conspirator, Louis, watches the others as a complete outsider and feels as left out of the things as Rhoda does. Their pursuits are observed by Louis like this: "Listen, Rhoda . . . to the casual, quick, exciting voice of action, of hounds running on the scent. They speak now without troubling to finish their sentences" (W 79).

In Virginia Woolf's search for expression dogs play a vital role, and usually they represent noble qualities. In *To the Lighthouse* the love for them expresses good-heartedness and the smoothness of character behind a mask that indicates the opposite. In the eyes of Lili Briscoe, the always harsh and tyrannical Mr Ramsay can rival the fine and good hearted William Banks because "he loves dogs and his children" (TL 18), which is an obvious sign of gentleness deep inside. In *Orlando* dogs surround the protagonist all the time and he/she finds true companions in them:

Love and ambition, women and poets were all equally vain. . . . Two things alone remained to him in which he now put any trust: dogs and nature; an elk-hound and a rose bush. The world, in all its variety, life in all its complexity, had shrunk to that. Dogs and a bush were the whole of it. (O 46–7)

Woolf's interest in dogs resulted in *Flush*, the novel in which, owing to the mastery of observation, the protagonist became a dog with its own personality, because, as she writes in her diary, "each dog has an unmistakable impression" (D1 60). Taking into consideration the frequent occurrence of animals and their roles in Woolf's works, we can conclude that even if

we accept Quentin Bell's statement about the unsentimental relationship between Virginia Woolf and her pets, there cannot be doubts about her special concern with them.

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A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF POLISH AND HUNGARIAN 20TH CENTURY AVANT-GARDE –LITERATURE AND ART–SELECTED ISSUES

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1. Introduction

The essay addresses parallels between Polish and Hungarian 20th-century Avant-Garde, focusing on selected examples from literature and art. Although direct connections and contacts between Polish and Hungarian artists were rather weak at that time, their works have been equally influenced by current trends of European modernism and postmodernism, and for this reason exhibited a lot of similarities.

The Polish and Hungarian artistic avant-garde movements developed during the first two decades of the twentieth century. The reception of the avant-garde in Poland was quite favorable. Polish futurists, active from 1918 to 1923, grouped mainly in Warsaw and Cracow, blazed a trail for other avant-garde movements. The Formists, originally a Polish avant-garde artistic group, most active from 1917 to 1922, were mainly inspired and influenced by the experience and ideas of futurism, cubism and expressionism. Also constructivism gained popularity in both countries. However, achievements of the Hungarian artists and theoreticians had a much stronger impact, thanks to prominent representatives like e.g. László Moholy-Nagy, who taught at the Bauhaus in Weimar and later established the Chicago Institute of Design (1939). Common elements in the developments of artistic trends can be found also after World War II. The concrete poetry movement in Poland and visual poetry in Hungary reveal a lot similarities and common ideas. It will be illustrated with representative examples in the first part of the paper. The second part will be mostly devoted to the Polish avant-garde novelist and poet, Stanisław Czycz.

2. Avant-Garde movements in Hungary and Poland between the wars

In Poland, constructivism manifested itself for the first time at the exhibition of New Art in Vilnius in 1923, featuring such artists as Henryk Stażewski, Władysław Strzemiński and Mieczysław Szczuka. The Block Group endeavoured to deploy works of art in all areas of life. The Praesens group promoted new trends in architecture and art, and recommended close cooperation of architects with painters. In 1929 Władysław Strzemiński, Katarzyna Kobro and Henryk Stażewski founded the a. r. group, which emphasized the idea of integration in the new art. Since 1927, Strzemiński worked on his own concept – the theory of unism in art – which resulted in a series of monochrome relief images.

In Hungary, Lajos Kassák was an outstanding personality – a poet, writer, painter, collagist, designer, movement coordinator and art theoretician. He travelled across Western Europe and spent some time in Paris, becoming acquainted with modern art and avant-garde groups. In 1915 he founded and became editor of *A Tett* (The Act) and *Ma* (Today), both influential journals. In 1922 he published a manifesto, “Képarchitektúra”, containing the theory of image architecture. His next manifestos were influenced by Eastern and Western constructivist ideas. His most famous graphics and paintings are those with geometric compositions. His works include also Dadaist poems and concrete poetry, billboards, design, and novels.

Another major figure is László Moholy-Nagy, avant-garde painter, sculptor, photographer, designer, film maker, and theorist. He joined and cooperated with the Activist circle involved in the Kassák's journal, *Ma*. After 1920 he participated in the Dadaists' movement activities in Berlin. In 1923 he began teaching at the Bauhaus School, and became known as a proponent of constructivism. His first works of clearly geometric shapes were painted around 1920. He conducted experiments in the field of photography and film, and was also one of the main founders of the idea of kinetic sculptures.

Another Hungarian–Polish analogy is related to a new approach to poetry, invented independently in the 1920's by Tytus Czyżewski and Lajos Kassák. It was Czyżewski who published the first Polish visual poem "Mechanical Garden" in the *Formists* journal. In this poem the names of flowers, inscribed in circles and squares, grew out of the ground. Breaking text linearity and punctuation make the poem a kind of a simultaneous composition. The graphic layout of the other poem – "Anthem to the Machine of My Body" imitates the shape of a human chest (Rypson 287). *Ma* magazine, which was issued by Kassák in Budapest, represents an expressionistic orientation. The artist, who was forced to emigrate in 1920, continued editing and publishing the magazine in Vienna. At that time he created a cycle of image-poems. The works reveal a Dadaist and surrealist atmosphere, and their typography forms an autonomous complex semantic structure of poems. Researchers indicate a contradiction between the lyrical dimension of poems and the constructivist typography, emphasizing their clarity and logic. But János Brendel observed that "complementing the work of constructivist content created new poetics" (Brendel 133).

In 1922 Kassák (together with Moholy-Nagy) published the *Buch Neuer Künstler*, which described his new pictorial approach and technique, and also his pursuit of pictorial parallels in modern art. Examples from Poland are characterized by the use of bright colours, geometric forms, collages and photomontages (the cover design of *Earth to the Left* by Mieczysław Szczuka is the first Polish photomontage). Many constructivists worked on the design of books and posters covering a broad area from cinema to political propaganda.

A striking resemblance can be also found in the area of photography: Moholy-Nagy uses a similar close-up portrait approach as Stanisław Ignacy Witkiewicz, aka Witkacy, did in his psychological images. The Hungarian artist, together with Man Ray, is also famous for his cameraless photography. Stefan Themerson, a Polish avant-garde writer, poet, essayist, philosopher, filmmaker and composer, also conducted experiments with photograms. In 1936 and 1937 Themerson visited Paris, the centre of the world for avant-garde art at that time, and London, and met also Moholy-Nagy.

3. After World War II

The concrete poetry was born in Europe in the 1950s, but in Poland it was not visible until 1968, when Stanisław Dróżdż, the best-known Polish concrete poet from Wrocław, exhibited the so called "Conceptshapes" (Dawidek Gryglicka 120). These are "self-signs" intended to provide meta-communication and represent the pure implementation of the formulated poetics of the concrete verse. "Forgetting", "optimum" and "it will be – it is – it was" were his flagship projects from that time. His next experimental step was an interactive installation entitled "between", which was developed for the avant-garde Foksal Gallery in Warsaw in 1977. He covered all exhibition room (also the ceiling and the floor) with paper sheets with the only a single word inscription "between". He is also famous for an installation entitled "Alea Iacta Est", dedicated to Stéphane Mallarmé, presented at the 50th Biennale in Venice in 2003.

Apart from being a poet, Dróżdż was also an art theorist and animator, and a propagator of this type of poetry. In the 1970s in Wrocław his ideas were followed by Marianna Bocian,

In Hungary, András Petőcz who was equally active as a writer and prominent visual and concrete poet, can be considered as a counterpart for Drózdź. In the 80s Petőcz published two books of visual poems: *Őnéletrajzi kísérletek* (1984) and *Non-figuratív* (1989). At the same time, as the leader of the Hungarian avant-garde poetry, he began to work on sound poetry (László 1619). In 1990 he prepared *Medium Art*, an anthology of Hungarian Experimental Poetry. In 1989–1992 he was the editor of the literary periodical *Magyar Műhely* (*Hungarian Workshop*). This title became a common label identifying both the group of involved artists and their journal when they moved from Paris to Hungary and played an important role in keeping Kassák's legacy alive.

A fair amount of the work by Tibor Papp, a writer, poet and translator, is in French. He studied in Paris and spent there much of his creative life (he founded, together with Paul Nagy, the "L'Atelier Group" and the magazine with the same title). Papp occupies also a major place in the field of the computer generated poetry. As the other Hungarian visual poets, Nagy and Bálint Szombathy, Papp worked for years as a graphic editor. Since 1984, Papp had been generating texts using an Amstrad PC. He presented them at the Pompidou Center and in many other galleries (Boots 214). In 1988 the L.A.I.R.E. team (Papp, Claude Maillard, Frédéric Develay, Jean-Marie Dutey, and Philippe Boots), who contemplated the idea of distributing texts produced with a computer support, came into existence.

Papp created a formally well-defined visual genre. Referring to his artworks one can illustrate diversity of the innovative avant-garde: traditional textual poems, space/poem pictures, graphics containing textual elements, computer generated poems, dynamic picture poems, cubes, rings and spirals (Kelemen). Papp also wrote a surrealist short epic poem, "Turning Climes" ("Forgó Égtájak"), published in 1964 in the volume of poems "Lame Sunday". The apparently simple form of a part of the poem enables the reader to read the lines of the poem in various ways: both vertically and horizontally.

```

graph TD
    A[jer kicsi nőstény] -- blue --> B[dobd le ruhádat]
    A -- orange --> C[bánatos állat]
    B -- blue --> D[jer szuka-szépség]
    B -- orange --> E[fuss csak utánam]
    C -- blue --> F[senki se láthat]
    C -- orange --> G[allj ki a fűbe]
    D -- blue --> F
    D -- orange --> H[fednek az árnyak]
    E -- orange --> I[csüssz le a vízbe]
    H -- orange --> I
    G -- blue --> I
    I -- blue --> J[itt van az este]
  
```

The diagram illustrates the semantic relationships between the words of a poem. The words are arranged in a grid, with blue arrows indicating vertical relationships and orange arrows indicating horizontal relationships.

- Vertical relationships (blue arrows):**
 - jer kicsi nőstény* → *dobd le ruhádat* → *jer szuka-szépség* → *senki se láthat*
 - bánatos állat* → *senki se láthat*
 - dobd le ruhádat* → *fednek az árnyak*
 - allj ki a fűbe* → *csüssz le a vízbe* → *itt van az este*
- Horizontal relationships (orange arrows):**
 - jer kicsi nőstény* → *bánatos állat*
 - dobd le ruhádat* → *fuss csak utánam*
 - jer szuka-szépség* → *fednek az árnyak*
 - fuss csak utánam* → *csüssz le a vízbe*
 - fednek az árnyak* → *csüssz le a vízbe*
 - bánatos állat* → *allj ki a fűbe*
 - csüssz le a vízbe* → *itt van az este*

28

Similar independent simultaneous poetic attempts were also undertaken in the second half of the twentieth century by many other concrete poets and conceptual artists, for example by the American music composer John Cage and Russian artist Rimma Gierlovina.

4. Polish avant-garde novelist and poet, Stanisław Czycz

Occurrence of simultaneity in the Tibor Papp's "Turning Climes" poem by is a good introduction to a case of far-reaching simultaneous experiment in Poland. This is probably one of the few opportunities to portray a Polish poet and writer who is hardly known outside his home country, Stanisław Czycz (1929–1996), and present his works at the international forum as well as reveal what has inspired him in his avant-garde attempts.

Czycz was born in Krzeszowice, a small town near Cracow. He made his debut as a poet in 1955, as a writer in 1961. His works include three volumes of poems, three volumes of short stories and two novels. All of them can be divided, according to the author's own categorization, into "mine" (experimental pieces) and "not mine" works, written only for commercial purposes. The works called "mine" include: few poems, polyphonic poems from the cycle "The words to a writing on a sun-dial", a short story "It was it is it will be", the first parts of *Ajol*, including "And", novels *Pawana* and *Don't believe anybody*, as well as an *Arw* film screenplay.

From the very beginning, Czycz attempted to break the traditional linear character of literature. He described the genesis of his formal search in the following way: "Why did I start writing in this way? I wanted to catch this simultaneity in my consciousness" (Rozmowa 17). The idea of polyphony in poetry and prose came to him through his awareness of the structure of the human consciousness, which is not constrained to a model of separate consecutive threads of thoughts. The conviction that literature is not equivalent with life experience was strengthened by an analogy to films: a story which is seen evokes in the author's mind another parallel story which he pushes away and tries to ignore because it distorts the first one.

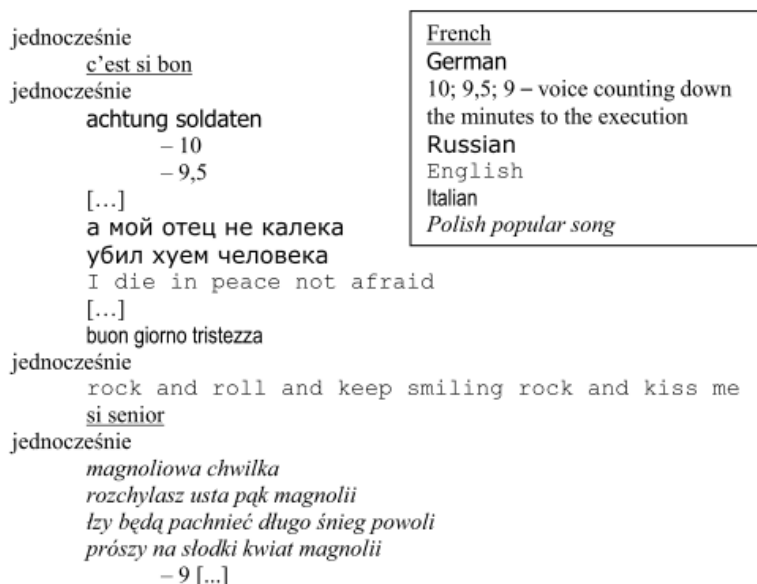
Czycz was fascinated by the avant-garde; he tried to become a part of this trend both as a poet and novelist. Just like Joyce, he undermined the rules of syntax and introduced modern narrative techniques: montage and stream of consciousness. Czycz was also inspired by works of Ezra Pound, he translated the ending of "Canto 81" and worked on the translation of the "Hugh Selwyn Mauberley". The quotation from the second poem triggered Czycz's interest in anonymous Latin inscriptions on the faces of sun-dials. They became leitmotifs of the cycle of four polyphonic poems – "The Words to the Writing on a Sun-Dial" in his second volume from 1960.

In the "Adieu" poem from the debut volume *Backgrounds* (1957) Czycz starts his experiment with a collage structure. The poem follows in a way the Poundian technique of constructing "Cantos" and "Mauberley" – the "ideographic method". Leszek Engelking explains it by an interest of the American poet in the Chinese poetry and his studies on the nature of an ideogram. The essence of this method, as Engelking observes, was the combination and juxtaposition of various "facts, documents, citations and legends etc. Each time from such a combination a new concept was to emerge; similarly, a combination of ideograms, where each of the ideograms has a separate meaning, results in a new concept" (Engelking 309).

The first part of Czycz's poem portrays scenes from the war, the second is the dream of an aviator who is to drop an atomic bomb. The poem is based on a constructive rule of growing tension and a disintegrating rule of reporting a stream of consciousness. Tension is built upon an introduction of a 'voice' which counts down the minutes to the final action. The second constructive element is gibberish – an attempt at showing all the associations which come through the brain of the aviator in his last moments: foreign quotations, orders, excerpts of popular songs or images included as free associations. Different foreign languages and

different voices, which are components of this collage, are marked with different fonts (Fig. 2).

Figure 2. S. Czycz. “Adieu”



Source: Text layout according to the author’s instructions by Dorota Niedziałkowska.

In other verses of this and the next volume of poems the author attempts to create a simultaneous record. The nature of “catching the simultaneous” in the consciousness of an artist was based on more than one lyrical monologue at a time. He splits lyrical monologues into themes, and divides them into voices (introducing several speakers) and writes them on one sheet of paper in parallel. As in the verses of Tibor Papp’s poem, each theme is a separate part of the whole but each of them is in dialogue with the whole poem. We can also notice this narrative technique in the third part of “The Words to the Writing on a Sun-Dial” dedicated to the mythological Pasiphaë.

Figure 3 shows a section of the poem divided into separate voices: the first one (italics) is a quote from the of St. John’s anthem and refers to the poet’s vocation. The second (bold) and the third (simple letters) focuses on a woman; the fourth (marked with a line) is a parody of the second: the poet mocks man’s blindness and infatuation. The voices are interrelated and intertwined: they complement, comment or mimic each other.

The last step in building Czycz’s simultaneous technique in poetry was to write down a multi-threaded lyrical monologue as an internal monologue or a stream of consciousness. The attempts to capture and express visually “the simultaneous”, to depict the multitudinous thoughts and feelings which pass through the mind became the main subject of the fifth part of “The Words to the Writing on a Sun-Dial” (Fig. 4). The poem shows the consciousness of an artist, a poet, who recalls a romantic encounter with a girl in a park surrounding an old castle. He is thinking about several things at the same time. This polyphonic, fragmented recollection includes thoughts, dreams, a recalled conversation with a girl and her replies. Czycz mixes all threads on a single page and creates a multi-column layout. The most important feature of this idea were connections that may be established between columns of the text and illustrate associative leaps of thoughts.

Figure 3. S. Czycz. "The Words to the Writing on a Sun-Dial" III

ut
 queat
 laxis
 re
 -sonare
 -- po uczeniu się imion, po ich myleniu, po wielu
 pouczenie się ima w myleniu, powielaj -ją we
 bliskich połyskań zębów, połyskań paznokci
 bliski kołysań że znów ach nadchodzi mnie czer
 stopach, kostkach, przegubach
 zdyszaniach -wone strumyki
 słodka kotka czy luba
 pirania pochyłaniach czół w iskrzeniu potu,
 po wielu – toba lka moja krew
 po otwórz, te we mnie
 czerwone strumyki, którymi
 powielaj – prędko odpływam
 po i kolejno
 wszystko gaśnie –
 -wtórz,
 tylko ty świecisz
 znów ach
 nad tylko
 -cho ty
 -dzi słod
 -- Pazifae –
 -ka [...]

Source: Text layout according to the author's instructions by Dorota Niedziałkowska.

The need to express simultaneity not only in poetry, inclined Czycz to look for appropriate forms of its presenting, also in his experimental prose. Figure 5 illustrates another example of the simultaneous record: on this page Czycz puts together literature, music and images. *Arw* is devoted to the Polish painter Andrzej Wróblewski, who began his career in the days of the socialist realism. In 1975, Andrzej Wajda a renowned Polish film director ordered from Czycz a short story, which was based on "And" novel. Czycz created a hybrid poetic and prose work; he used the simultaneous narrative technique in the first part. As the film was to portray the beginnings of the artistic and political activity of the painter, in the time of the strengthening of socialist realism, the poet composed the social and moral background from quotations from historic sources, for example Bolesław Bierut's (Polish communist party leader) speech, Rudolf Hoess' (Deputy Führer to Adolf Hitler) concentration camp regulation and paraphrases of poetic works. Apart from these, Czycz incorporates references to a catalogue of Wróblewski's exhibition paintings as well as excerpts from the "Cantata about Stalin" score.

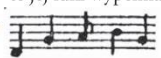


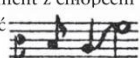


"*Arw*" is juxtaposed with such texts as Mallarmé's "A Throw of the Dice", Apollinaire's "Calligrammes" or Czyżewski's "Anthem to My Body Machine". What Czycz had in common with the futurists was his attempt to express a multifaceted nature of phenomena as well as their simultaneousness and interleaving of parallel threads. Due to formal analogies, Czycz's polyphonic poems used to be compared to the concrete poetry, hypertext literature, liberature or e-literature.

Figure 4. S. Czycz. "The Words to the Writing on a Sun-Dial"

nicze mój cicerone fle em
 urodziłam się w tym pałacu prawie
 i mieszkalam
 kilka lat gladiator
 nagle może nie powinnam ci tego mówić
 mówić wynurzył się
 co powodowało że zgodziłam się z tobą tu iść
 przed nami ale gdy ty nie ukrywasz
 w ciemności
 swoich
 uniesień pocałowałeś odnaleźć
 przed chwilą gałąź zwieszała się
 w tym wieczorze na okno
 odkryję ci coś jeszcze
 inne odbijało
 jestem tu ołowiany blask nieba
 ten pałac trzej i przeszło mnie brzęknięcie szyb w
 zachód prawie w ru w nagle otwartych czy i zaraz zamkniętych
 jestem inie zimnych z lekkim trzaśnięciem drzwiach
 wbiegliśmy lub może nie było za nimi
 nie lecz ktoś pod kolumnadę czterej żadnej chyba dziewczyny
 portyku deszcz króle
 tobie mieszka narastał w zimnych
 tam błękitach
 osobny 300 000 wolt kończymy amerykańska
 kończymy już i jesteś tu jeszcze aktorka
 tę bo trudno jest w tym
 serię w ulewę ten wieczór jeszcze się filmowa wtedy w
 wejść w samej sukience tam niedawnej
 następna mnie i z odkry któraś nocy
 będzie i niech w noc sex śnie
 kobaltowa i z odkrytymi jakieś okna
 włosami i niech źródło
 lekki trzask pocałowałeś ten jakieś żarząco tam było
 i doktor przed deszcz są uchylone cicho czy cembrowina
 tu chwilą niech na chłodne podchodziła studni
 latają puder już wonie i mroki drzewa
 wie pan nocy lekki zwieszały
 te na moim jej zielone
 promyki policzku jednak większość uśmiech gałęzie
 wychodzi sal odsłaniał białe
 i pokoi brzegi
 beauté zębów
 base
 make up zajęły
 crème miękko odgarnęła
 szwedzki już duchy włosy w złotawo
 jej atomy
 ja używam i powietrze tłącym się są
 krajowy marki porusza tam czasem te same
 wie pan pollena shantung wiatr zmierzchu
 obojętne miraculum dmąć przez
 jaki puder fluid i myślisz może niech pęknięcia w szybach
 byle ten deszcz szpary w drzwiach
 osłaniał te miejsce prędko że to tak pachną ja rozpinała
 lub ten wieczór marca
 przechodzi ta noc powoli
 ciężko pod tymi gumołowiami
 świecą się suknię
 już zdejmujemy obłoki
 nie
 do widzenia
 do jutra ukazowały się
 zostać ramiona
 jutro może jeszcze
 rentgen do wi piersi
 dzenia do
 jutra
 przyp
 o zostać jeszcze
 znaki ave

Fig. 4. Czycz, Stanisław. The words to the writing on a sun-dial V. Lublin: Wydawnictwo KUL, 2011, p. 40–41.

Figure 5. S. Czycz. "Arw"

| | | | |
|--|---|---|--|
| zaangażowana | | i 25, i błękit, | obozowy.. całkiem |
| w nową rzeczywistość, | - A to? | tak i światło dalej jasne, | jak znalazł.. |
| w jej ważne sprawy, | - Co? | z boku i na moment | choć znalazłem potem |
| i by akcentowała | - Ten tam.. | | coś innego, na tym strychu, |
| jasne jej | - A.. Nowa Figuracja. | i obrazy dalej jak wyżej | może szkoda, bo.. |
| perspektywy, | - Co?.. wśród tych.. | i w nich tu 13, ale | plyniemy dalej.. |
| ten argument zdawał się | - No.. | tak trochę | może szkoda, bo gdybym |
| mało przekonywujący, i | O tym może potem, | już kulejaco cały | i też .. |
| wymigujący, ta postulowana sztuka | - Co? | ten łańcuch | rwać się |
| miała przy tym być ogólnie zrozumiała, prosta, | | | zaczyna muzyka i |
| czytelna dla szerokich mas i szeroko | | | te jej luki wypełnia |
| oddziaływać na reszce | | trzeba, żeby nasi twórcy pamiętali, |  |
| tych nowych jej | - On umarł. | że ich dzieła powinny | |
| odbiorców, i porywając, w porywającej | | kształtować, porywać i wychowywać | |
| nowej rzeczywistości, | - Kto? | naród, twórczość winna być | |
| żadnego z tych warunków | - Zginął młodo.. | odzwierciedleniem wielkiego | |
| nie spełnia i nie spełni żadnego z tych zadań | | tu przełomu |  |
| sztuka dotąd uprawiana, w tym i ta | - Co? | dalej to | jaki |
| niby poszukująca, gdy coś | | co wyżej, | naród przeżywa, |
| wyraża prócz samej siebie |  | i tu | spójrzmy krytycznie, |
| to jedynie obojętność | - Ten. | 24, z boku, | jaki ton |
| na wszystko wokół, mówiono dalej, | - O, i to. | tylko fragment z chłopcem | |
| ta artystowska zabawa, | - No. | i nie widać |  |
| której czas | | wyraźnie | |
| minął, jest czas | - Ten? Młody.. A szkoda, | że to rozstrzelanie, | jaki |
| walki o utrwalanie nowej | bo się fajnie.. | tu 15 na moment, | nastroj tak, plynemy.. |
| rzeczywistości i jej zdobyczy | - Co? | i dalej | budzą te dzieła, rozkładowej kreacji |
| i sztuka ma być w tę walkę wprzęgnięta, | | tamte, | czy znajdziemy robocie wroga |
| te nieodpowiedzialne, stwierdzano później jeszcze, | | | w nich zapal położyć kres |
| a mimo świątłych wskazań i napomnień | - Fajnie się zapowiadał, nie? | |  |
| uporczywie przez niektórych kontynuowane zabawy | - A żeby ci tak.. | | |
| wyrażają w najlepszym wypadku obojętność | - Co? |  | to, i dalszy ciąg |
| na tak przełomowe | - Żeby ci tak | | tego, wypełnia |
| dziejące się wszystko wokół | w płucach grało.. | | najpierw luki w tamtej rwiącej się |
| albo demonstracyjne | - A co? | | muzyce, luki coraz większe, |
| odwrócenie się | - Ta muzyka.. już taka, że | | aż w końcu w ogóle |
| od tego wszystkiego, | krew może zalać.. | | zajmuje miejsce tamtej, i |
| dekadenckie, stwierdzano | - A tamta?.. | | odtąd muzyka gdy tu będzie to ta, i |
| w nawoływaniach jeszcze dalszych, i | - Swoją drogą.. | | jej przekształcenia, w technikach |
| nihilistyczne i tym opozycyjne i świadomie | | | i tempach, itd. dowolnych, |
| czy nieświadomie, na przykład samym swoim | | | lecz nie aż takich, by całkiem |
| rozkładowym działaniem, wrogię, | | | gubiły ten motyw podstawowy, |
| pod wszystkimi | | | |
| tymi naciskami | | tu te jakieś, zwalisto-asyryjskie, np. drab | w świetle |
| realizację różnych | i głośne | jakiś z fizjonomią debila | zwyczajnym, |
| twórców, lub próby, | śmiechy | czy zboczenia przy jakby zdezelowanej, bo | ale gasną wolno |
| różne, nie wyłączając | na te | naturalistycznie a bez pojęcia | kolory, staje się |
| zaopatrywania w | różne, | malowanej tokarni, lub trzech tacy jako | tu |
| deklaratywne tytuły | | murarze, albo kapistowskie jakieś jakby | powoli |

25 – Rozstrzelanie IV, 13 – Ryby, 24 – Rozstrzelanie V, 15 – Ryby bez głów.

5. Conclusion

Both Hungarian and Polish artists made a significant contribution to modernism and 20th-century Avant-Garde. Some of them, like László Moholy-Nagy and Stanisław Ignacy Witkiewicz have earned worldwide recognition. However, others, like Tibor Papp and Stanisław Czycz, who deserve broader international recognition, still remain in the shadow. I have tried to take advantage of this international conference to discuss liaisons between artistic trends in both countries and elaborate a little bit more on interesting works of the latter ones.

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THE ROAD TO SELF-DISCOVERY IS PAVED WITH MARY SUES

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The following paper deals with the Mary Sue phenomenon in fan fiction using examples from the Harry Potter fandom¹. According to Merriam-Webster online dictionary, fan fictions, also fanfics or just fics, are “stories involving popular fictional characters that are written by fans and often posted on the Internet”. This paper takes a closer look at Mary Sues in fan fiction, discussing the reasons behind their prevalence and the reasons why they are so often, perhaps unfairly, viewed in a highly negative light by the rest of the fan fiction community. Could it be that writing Mary Sue fan fiction is an inescapable, and indeed vital, first step for most fan fiction writers? Where, if at all, can one draw the line between a (regularly criticised) Mary Sue and a well-rounded (and often praised) original character?

That’s the Life of a Mary Sue

Before this paper can truly be under way, the subject matter must be defined. What is a Mary Sue? To put it simply, a Mary Sue is all things to all men, or, more commonly, all things to all women. As Pat Pflieger put it:

Mary Sue is more: more charming, more belligerent, more understanding, more beautiful, more graceful, more eccentric, more spiritual, more klutzy. She has better hair, better clothes, better weapons, better brains, better sex, and better karma than anyone else. Even next to the strong and interesting heroines of twentieth-century media and fiction, she stands out (Pflieger, “Too Good to be True”).

A Mary Sue is an original character (OC) that the author writes into the story and she is, at least in her purest form, impossible to miss. From the moment she is introduced the reader knows she is someone special. Her name is unique and carries special meaning, her appearance is striking, her heritage unusual, her magical powers unrivalled, and, to be extra sure that the reader is aware of how important she is, she is generally also the narrator. A Mary Sue is usually new to Hogwarts – she is either a transfer student or she has some other, usually tragic, reason to be joining the school so late. If she is not new to the school, she is usually a Hufflepuff who spent her previous school years practically invisible to her classmates, but is now shoved into the limelight for some, usually tragic, reason.

The purpose of a Mary Sue is to serve as the author’s avatar in the story. As such she is in a unique position of power which enables her to make everything go her way, because she is, of course, familiar with the canon story and, though she is usually a new student, she knows all of the characters’ personalities and back-stories. A Mary Sue is the author’s superego. She is what is in Lacan’s mirror before it breaks. Because she is a reflection of her author there are nearly as many Mary Sue permutations as there are authors.

¹ Fandom: “The community that surrounds a tv show/movie/book etc. Fanfiction [sic] writers, artists, poets, and cosplayers are all members of that fandom. Fandoms often consist of message boards, livejournal communities, and people.” (Brienne for UrbanDictionary.com. 8 August 2004.)

Between a Mary Sue and an OC

An original character is any character that appears in a fanfic and is not part of the canon while a Mary Sue is an original character that enables the author to write herself into the story. However, the line between these two characters is thin and poorly defined in any fandom. In the Harry Potter fandom, possibly the most diverse of all fandoms, this problem becomes even more pronounced. The sheer number of different authors and readers makes it impossible to come to a clear consensus about what is and what is not a Mary Sue. Of course almost every Mary Sue is an OC but is every OC a Mary Sue? Some fans seem to think so – some even believe that any fanfic containing an OC should be banned. Indeed, some web based fan fiction sites and archives do not allow its members to post stories containing OCs at all. Other sites and fans are less discriminatory and allow for the possibility of good original characters that go beyond being Mary Sues.

As shown above, it is relatively hard to give a clear definition of what a Mary Sue is. This is partly the reason behind why it is hard to draw the line between a Mary Sue and an OC. The purpose of an OC is to add something new to the story or offer a different perspective on the events taking place, and the purpose of fanfics is to entertain the readers, which a boring OC could never do. An author has to maintain a difficult balancing act. If she makes her OC ordinary and boring, she risks having her fanfic go unnoticed by all; if, however, she makes the OC too interesting, too powerful, too anything, she runs the risk of having it labelled a Mary Sue. To keep her balance, the author would have to keep a watchful eye on the line between an OC and a Mary Sue, but where should that line be drawn?

Perhaps the easiest way to set an OC and a Mary Sue apart would be the quality of writing. A Mary Sue fic in its purest and most painful form is almost guaranteed to have been written by a teenage girl taking her first steps into the fandom. Imagine a girl who is only recently started reading fanfics. She has only been exposed to a few fics, most of them Mary Sues, and the idea of some new girl entering the HP-verse and saving the day seems like a terribly original and interesting one. She thinks to herself ‘I could write something like this’, and, because anyone can post fan fiction on the internet anonymously, she decides to do it. She thinks of the most interesting character she can imagine, gives her an original name, and starts writing. Just like most teenage girls, she has never taken creative writing classes and does not know which traps to avoid in order to make her writing enjoyable. She explains too much, gives too many and too detailed descriptions, and does not know how to make her character interesting other than by assuring the reader that it is. That is the origin of most Mary Sues – it is really not very surprising that they are not very good. However, the authors who are not too traumatized by the negative reviews they receive and keep on writing slowly improve through exposure to a higher quality of fan fiction and constructive criticism by good reviewers. If they decide to have another go at writing an OC it is very likely that it will remain an OC and not turn into a Mary Sue.

Quality, of course, is subjective and one reader’s OC is another’s Mary Sue. Some fanfics balance precariously on the razor’s edge that separates Mary Sues and OCs with their combination of rather Mary Sue-ish characters and relatively good writing. They are mocked as Mary Sues by some and praised as OCs by others – a state of affairs that is not likely to change.

A Sue-Free Zone

One of the chief characteristics of a Mary Sue character is that she is well liked by all around her so it is quite ironic that Mary Sues are in fact widely disliked in most fandoms. Most readers express their dislike by simply avoiding stories containing original characters or else by closing the story when the OC goes full-Sue. However, there are also those who are not

content to be passive in their dislike and take it a few steps further, morphing the dislike into full-blown, and seemingly irrational, hatred of all things Sue. Hatred that cannot be satisfied with a simple click of the button to close the tab in which the fic is open, but needs to be expressed publicly, usually in extremely harsh and even cruel negative reviews (also called ‘flames’) left under the story. These flammers are one of the reasons why some authors avoid writing any story containing original characters – nobody wants to open their inbox only to find a myriad of flames lurking in the email notifications.

The most obvious reason for the readers’ dislike of Sue stories is the quality of the writing which is generally quite low. Problems of quality aside, Mary Sue authors are, in the eyes of the readers, often guilty of a much more heinous crime. Canon defilement, or canon rape, is what happens when an author takes the original material and then adds new characters, changes the existing ones and generally twists the plot until it is all but unrecognizable. In fan fiction, a genre that exists purely in relation to its canon, this is seen as unforgivable. It goes against one of the basic ideas of fan fiction, which is not to create an exciting new universe, but to play in an existing one created by the canon author. Deidr1 explained this quite well in her essay entitled “What I Mean by Mary-Sue and Why I Hate Her”.

And she’s not a female OC – not necessarily. If you want to write a female OC who can fight cyborgs and run the Enterprise and fly, go right ahead! And give her purple eyes and fluffy pink hair and a name like Twyla Moonlight Evensong! Woo!

The problem is not the OC. It’s not that she’s a girl. It’s not even the purple eyes. The problem is when the story starts warping itself – when everything, and everyone, and every single piece of anything ever is all bound up in the one character. With no room for anyone else.

That’s the Mary-Sue. She’s problematic. Sometimes, she’s downright toxic.

The best and most notorious example of a badly written, canon raping Sue fic is *My Immortal* by Tara Gilesbie. Originally posted on *fanfiction.net*, it was removed for not conforming to the site’s regulations regarding spelling and grammar. However, by the time of its removal in late 2008 it has already achieved notoriety as the worst fan fiction ever written and was re-posted on *fanfiction.net* under several different account names to serve as a warning to future generations of authors. Whether or not *My Immortal* was a serious writing attempt or a deliberate parody is still debated within the Harry Potter fan fiction community, though this doesn’t in any way diminish the fic’s popularity or hilarity.

While most critics focus on the problems of quality and canon defilement, there is another potential problem with the Mary Sue which has more to do with the age of the readers than the author. As CreativeSprite explains in her essay “Why I hate Mary sue [*sic*]”, most Mary Sue readers are young girls in their early teens. They are still trying to work out who they are and who they want to be, all the while being bombarded by the media image of what a girl or a woman should be.

Growing up, girls are sent the message “you need to be perfect to fall in love” so it’s no wonder that they end up believing this. I think it doesn’t help that these girls have Mary sues thrown at them in the form of fairy tale and movie characters, and these same stories and movies telling them this is what you have to be like. Young girls are under insane pressure these days in terms of body image and fitting in, the last thing they need are Mary sues [*sic*] making it worse.

On Misogyny and Bullying

As shown above, Mary Sues are not well liked by the majority of the fan fiction community. In fact, the term Mary Sue has transcended fan fiction and is now often used to describe female characters in films, comics, and books as well. It has come to the point where for certain readers/viewers any strong female character is automatically a Sue and must therefore be ridiculed and reviled. Because of this, many authors are reluctant to write strong female characters, which is surely not what the fans wanted to achieve. However, the hate and abuse aimed at Mary Sue authors has prompted some of the community members to step up in defence of Mary Sues. Fan based sites such as *Dreamwidth*, *LiveJournal* and *tumblr* host a variety of essays defending Mary Sues. Most of them focus on two main problems with the Sue-hating culture.

The first problem is that the Sue-hating culture shows obvious leanings towards misogyny. If any female character is accused of being a Mary Sue for being in any way special or interesting, then the only safe characters are the boring ones, the ones that do not overshadow the male protagonist – the ones that know their place. On the other hand, original male characters can be as amazing and powerful as they want. In an essay posted on her *tumblr* page, *adventuresofcomicbookgirl* illustrates this point by giving a description of Batman using female pronouns instead of male ones. Unsurprisingly, the description ticks off all of the major boxes on the Sue character sheet. In fact, most superhero characters fit the Mary Sue profile, yet they are not accused of being Mary Sues. Why? Because they are male characters and are, as such, allowed to be extraordinary. Female characters on the other hand seemingly do not have the right to be amazing.

The other problem pointed out by several fan girls is that the culture of ridiculing Mary Sue authors is essentially a bully culture. There exists, in the dark recesses of the fan fiction community, such a thing as the Mary Sue hunter community. Its members, usually older authors, hate Mary Sues with such passion that they actively seek out Mary Sue stories and then write a story of their own in which the Sue they've "hunted down" is killed in as brutal, but canon-friendly, a way as possible. This is utterly unacceptable on several levels. Using an author's OC without her permission is frowned upon as it is, but then violating that character in the worst way imaginable goes beyond any acceptable code of behaviour in the fandom. Aside from breaking all the etiquette rules of the fandom, this is also an extremely brutal act of cyber-bullying. However, such communities are rare and most sites and archives do not allow Mary Sue hunter stories to be posted.

A much more common reaction by Mary Sue haters is to leave a flame on the story. Unlike constructive criticism, which is encouraged in the community, flaming is frowned upon; however, most sites and archives do not ban their members for flaming. This means that almost every author writing a story which contains a female OC has to at some point deal with a flame. For younger authors flames can be devastating, especially if they appear on their very first story and outnumber the positive reviews.

As staranise points out, most flames aren't even based on any actual flaws in the story. They don't focus on the grammar, or the spelling, or even the plot holes, they simply deride the author for having written a Mary Sue.

Mary Sue these days isn't a criticism of skill. It isn't a criticism of writing ability. It doesn't teach the writer how to build convincing character detail. It teaches her to reduce her expectations for her characters (staranise, "Such stuff as dreams are made on").

Almost every fan fiction author will write a Mary Sue at some point in her writing career. Usually it will be in one of the first stories that she writes and posts on the internet – a story

which is likely to be of lesser quality than her later work. Bullying her for it is unfair and should be unacceptable.

Conclusion

Mary Sue is a problematic character. She twists the plot to serve her own gain and her characterization is one that only an author could love. However, she has her good points as well. She allows authors to take a stroll through the Harry Potter universe, play in it, and interact with the characters. Her story is a modern day fairy tale in which the heroine is loved by all and her side always triumphs – it offers a short escape to the author and the readers. For older readers a Sue fic can be a lovely nostalgic trip to their first encounters with fan fiction, or an indication that the fandom is still going strong and gaining new members who will in the future, once their Mary Sue phase is over, offer new and exciting fanfics for all to enjoy. If that is not enough for the community, fans can always laugh at the Sues in any of the myriad of Sue-parodies. All in all, a Mary Sue harms no one and offers pleasure to some which is all that anyone could ask of a story. With that in mind the fandom should open its doors wide and let the authors Sue away to their heart's content.

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THE IMAGE OF MAN IN HISTORIOGRAPHIC METAFICTIONS BY JOHN BANVILLE: THE NOTION OF THE HISTORIOGRAPHIC

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John Banville's *Doctor Copernicus* and *Kepler* are classified by critics as historiographic metafiction, a peculiar joint venture of a historical novel and metafiction which, by creating alternate, often untrue versions of history, revisits strategies people use to reconstruct the past. As Linda Hutcheon observes:

[i]n historiographic metafiction like John Banville's *Doctor Copernicus* and *Kepler*, the focus of the problem of reference is on the writing of history, for in them history appears to have double identity. On the one hand, its discourse does seem to be ontologically separate from that of the self-consciously fictional text (or intertext) of fiction . . . On the other hand, we have seen that there also exists quite another view of history in postmodern art, but this time it is history as intertext. History becomes a text, a discursive construct upon which fiction draws as easily as it does upon other texts of literature. (142)

Typically, historiographic metafiction would question the way in which we reconstruct history by prominent self-consciousness of the text. Works such as *Doctor Copernicus* or *Kepler* seemingly fail to comply with either of the above criteria mentioned by Hutcheon. History, as presented in the texts, does not appear to pose too many problems as far as the writing of it is concerned. This claim finds confirmation in the fact that many events which are mentioned in the novels turn out to be true to historical record, which proves that even though the writing of history may be complicated, it is manageable after all. Similarly, the self-consciousness of the text, at a first glance, is not particularly prominent here. For instance, only rarely is the narrator's language auto-referential and even less frequently does the narrator draw readers' attention to the fact that what they are dealing with is fiction.

Hutcheon's description of *Doctor Copernicus* and *Kepler* also seems to miss a crucial aspect of Banville's novels. The critic argues that both texts are engaged in the problem of how people reconstruct history. This statement is true but incomplete. Banville's tetralogy in general seems to differ in its subject matter from such classical examples of historiographic metafiction as *Midnight's Children* by Salman Rushdie or *Passion* by Jeanette Winterson. The latter novels are truly concerned with the place of man in history and the difficulties which humankind faces when reconstructing its past. Banville is only to some extent interested in history as such. What his novels seem to present in a most riveting fashion is man against the history of science. This fact appears to be worth mentioning for two reasons. First, it certainly makes the texts exceptional in the canon of historiographic metafiction. Second, it puts man in an entirely new situation. In Banville's novels, man is not only shown against historical, social, political, etc. backgrounds, but s/he is also a creature at the frontier of human cognition.

The two main contexts, historical and scientific, only briefly mentioned above constitute a basis for the image of man in Banville's novels. To present the image of man in a most comprehensive way, let me concentrate on one of the key principles of historiographic metafiction, namely the historiographic. One of the most crucial questions which should be asked in the process of this analysis is whether either *Doctor Copernicus* or *Kepler* misconstrue the lives of the great scientists. To examine that, let us draw a brief comparison

between non-fictional biographies of Doctor Copernicus and Kepler and their novelistic versions.

1.1 Non-Fictional versus Novelistic Biography

Banville's novel, *Doctor Copernicus* seems to follow the historical account faithfully. Copernicus's fictional autobiography begins with his childhood and a brief history of the whole family:

The Koppernigks had originated in Upper Silesia, from whence in 1396 one Niklas Koppernigk, a stonemason by trade, had moved to Cracow and taken Polish citizenship. His son, Johannes, was the founder of the merchant house that in the late 1450s young Nicolas's father was to transfer to Torun in Royal Prussia. (8)

The stages of Copernicus's life shown in the novel are also mostly true to his biography as reconstructed by historians. An exception may be his meeting with professor Brudzewski. If one bears in mind what Hartner says, the fictional biography slightly diverges from the historical one in claiming that this meeting actually happened and, in fact, was quite disillusioning and traumatic for Copernicus. The part narrated by Joachim Rheticus (who in reality joined Copernicus in 1539) may also be surprising in the choice of the narrator but otherwise it follows the historical record, except where it explains the reasons why Rheticus abandoned the publishing of *De Revolutionibus*. The historical record confirms that Rheticus was "too far away to oversee the printing" (Gringerich 514). In the novel, the fictional Rheticus gives different reasons. He reports that when he came back to oversee the printing, weird things started happening to him. First of all, leading citizens of the town began to avoid him. Then, he was asked by his landlord to move out (212). Finally, Andreas Osiander himself came to visit Rheticus. The mathematician first took it as a sign of respect for himself but, soon, he realised, that Osiander did not mean respect. On the contrary, he meant to present the reasons why Rheticus should abandon the printing and move out of the town. Osiander says:

I mean, of course, the boy, whose presence fortunately was brought to our attention by the master he deserted . . . Do you want me to tell you what the child said, do you want to hear, do you? These are his very words, his very words, I cannot forget them, never; he said: *Every morning I brought him his food, and he made me wank him tho' I cried, and begged him to release me. A child, sir, a child!* (*Doctor Copernicus* 214–215; emphasis in the original)

Osiander's accusation may come as a surprise since the readers never learn about any similar behaviour on Rheticus's part. It is even more astonishing, though, when Rheticus finally admits, "it was dreadful of me to invent all that . . ." (*Doctor Copernicus* 219). As it turns out, Rheticus is just infuriated that his name is not mentioned in *De Revolutionibus*. That is why he invents the story of the boy and calls Copernicus a fraud, not an astronomer (218). All in all, *Doctor Copernicus*, at least in general, follows Copernicus's biography faithfully. It gives an account of his development as a person and as a scientist beginning with his childhood and ending with his death: a complete picture of Copernicus's life, one might say.

Similarly as in the case of *Doctor Copernicus*, the details of Johannes Kepler's life follow the biographical data to a large extent. Even though there are fewer dates in *Kepler*, the reader may find excerpts which read "[e]arly in 1601, at the end of their first turbulent year in Bohemia, a message came from Graz that Jobst Müller was dying, and asking for his daughter" (64). This is an actual event, as are other historical events, historical figures or the works published by Kepler. One fact, however, makes this novel different from *Doctor Copernicus*. The former follows faithfully and chronologically Copernicus's life, that is, it

starts with his early childhood, proceeds to his adolescence, adulthood and finishes with his death. *Kepler*, in turn, begins with Kepler's visit to the castle of Benetok which took place between January and June 1600, when Kepler was 29 years old. Even though his childhood and adolescence do appear, these are presented as reminiscences which do not follow so much the logic of quasi-biographical account one can find in *Doctor Copernicus*.

In the light of the above analysis, one might actually deny Banville's novels the status of historiographic metafiction as the novels are outstandingly accurate in the rendering of the scientists' lives. They barely seem to "play upon" the historical account. On the other hand, though, this accuracy may be treated as a feature which belongs precisely to historiographic metafiction. This statement may sound paradoxical but it becomes self-explanatory in Hutcheon's words. The critic observes that:

historiographic metafiction suggests the continuing relevance of such an opposition [between fiction and fact], even if it be a problematic one. Such novels both install and then blur the line between fiction and history. This kind of blurring has been a feature of literature since the classical epic and the Bible . . . , but the simultaneous and overt assertion and crossing of boundaries is more postmodern. (113)

In other words, if a given novel is unusually precise in the presentation of the historical matter, it blurs the ontological difference between the world of fiction (a novel) and the real world (history). History becomes fictionalised and fiction historicised. To use Egginton's words, "realities . . . bleed into one another" (223) so that for the reader it is impossible to tell the difference and state unambiguously whether what they are reading is a historical account or fiction. It also seems interesting how Hutcheon describes the role of characters such as Doctor Copernicus and Kepler. As she claims, "[i]n many historical novels, the real figures are deployed to validate or authenticate the fictional world by their presence, as if to hide the joints between fiction and history in a formal and ontological sleight of hand" (114).

Blurring the difference between history and fiction must have its results on the image of man conveyed by such novels. As an integral part of history, man undergoes the same processes as his/her historical background. Even though, as it has been described above, historical figures appear in order to validate a basically fictional picture, they themselves are only fictional resemblances of their historical counterparts. This clear-cut division between historical and fictional figures seems to function well only in theory, though. The question which historiographic metafiction asks is where the ontological difference between the historical figure and its fictional counterpart should be located. Maybe even more apt a question would be whether it is at all possible to establish this boundary. Man in historiographic metafiction is, first and foremost, then, a product of the dissolution of the ontological boundaries between history and fiction. His/her status seems to be unclear since it cannot be located unambiguously on either side. This will have its effect in all areas of his/her life. Having established one of the most crucial elements constituting man in historiographic metafiction, let us have a closer look at the fictional lives of Doctor Copernicus and Kepler.

Fictional Biography

The choice of construction of the novels is by no means accidental. As it has already been stated, the life of Doctor Copernicus is presented in a fairly logical and chronological fashion. Copernicus's childhood seems to be particularly crucial here, for his later paradigm of thought and scientific exploration. As Graham Bradshaw and Michael Neill point out, the beginning of *Doctor Copernicus* is the spitting image of *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*. They claim that "[i]n each case . . . the infant scientist or artist is learning to identify himself through things and names that existed before him" (4). This seems to be precisely what

happens in *Doctor Copernicus*. Even though the novel starts as a third-person narrative, the point of view is surely that of a child. The perception is in a curious way limited. The first words read: "At first it had no name," and then "It was the thing itself, the vivid thing" (3). This seemingly naïve statement describes little Copernicus's point of view. In a very modernist fashion, one might say, the narrator renders the way in which the child discovers the surrounding world. The nature of the relation between things and their names seems to baffle Copernicus at all stages of his life and, even on his deathbed, he is still unable to solve it. He, as it were, drifts between names, which make his head whirl (22), and their referents.

The structure of *Doctor Copernicus* seems to reflect man's life, which begins with one's birth and finishes with one's death. A most tentative interpretation, then, would be that *Doctor Copernicus* employs a fairly commonsense model of human existence. This reading of the novel, though, may not be entirely correct. As Hutcheon observes, "Banville's *Doctor Copernicus* ends with 'DC' – both the protagonist's initials and the (initiating/reiterating) *da capo* which refuses closure" (59; emphasis in original). If the reader takes into account Hutcheon's words, it will turn out that the progress of man's life is not that neat and logical. The lack of closure, which the critic mentions, could be interpreted in two ways. Firstly, it may verbalize man's eternal question of what awaits him/her after the death of the body and whether death is the end of existence or just a transitional stage to a different world. Secondly, if the reader bears in mind Hutcheon's suggestion that letters 'DC' may stand for *da capo*, they should look for an explanation in the theory of music. Władysław Kopaliński explains that this term, which originated in Italy, indicates in music a repetition of a musical piece starting from the beginning ("Da capo"). If one applies it to the novel in question, one may come to interesting conclusions. Man's life in *Doctor Copernicus* does not end with man's departure from the world of the living. What seems the end of the novel sends the readers back to the beginning of the story. This is no longer a linear development of history and of one's life but a circular one. What seems even more disturbing is that the novel starts with the same problem with which it ends. Man's life becomes, then, a vicious circle or a loop out of which there appears to be no escape. Man is caught in history and the loopy structure of his/her life.

Kepler is constructed in a different way and begins with Kepler's dream when he is already 29 years old, which indirectly suggests that the author might have found some inspiration in Kepler's posthumously book published entitled *Somnium (Dream)*. Much less importance seems to be ascribed to Kepler's childhood than in the case of *Doctor Copernicus*. Interestingly enough, even when Kepler's childhood is mentioned, a dream also appears as a crucial element. As the narrator says, Kepler "remembered out of his childhood a recurring dream, in which a series of the most terrible tortures was unfolded before him, while someone whom he could not see looked on, watching his reaction with amusement and an almost friendly attention" (157). In *Kepler*, the reader will also find an element which sends him/her back to the beginning of the novel, as it was in the case of *Doctor Copernicus*. This time, however, it is the picture of Kepler dreaming. The novel appears to share with *Doctor Copernicus* yet another feature which is particularly crucial for the image of man. If Copernicus is entrapped between names and their designates, Kepler seems to be entrapped somewhere between dream and reality.

The image of man presented in *Kepler* is very similar to that which appears in *Doctor Copernicus*. In both novels, man faces some kind of irreconcilable problem or clash of realities. Certainly, in each case this difficulty is of a different nature but still the texts present the situation of man as ontologically unstable. The lack of evidence which could help the readers to locate man with some certainty on either side, again, appears to question the status of man. Here, the novels not only state that the status of man is doubtful, but also seem to undermine the fact that one can take an active part in the formation of one's life. Even though the main characters of Banville's two novels seem to finally yield to the problems they face, their will to learn the nature of the universe helps them achieve some liberty in the long run.

1.3 Conclusions

To recapitulate, the comparative analysis of non-fictional biographies and their novelistic versions has proven that there are no great differences between the two. The important conclusion is that the lack of clear boundaries between the world of fiction and the real one makes the ontological status of man problematic and unclear. Additionally, man is torn between different realities: history, politics, social issues, religion, literary fiction and science, forces which at some stage may restrict the possibility of man's active formation of his/her life. Solutions to this situation are scarce and none of them is obvious. What Banville's novels appear to suggest, though, is that those who attempt to reach beyond the veil can count on a certain amount of intellectual and spiritual freedom.

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THE LITERARY SCHOLAR AS LITERARY CRITIC? HOW THE STUDY OF THE RELATION BETWEEN THE ACADEMIC AND THE PUBLIC DISCOURSE ON LITERATURE CAN HELP TO UNDERSTAND THE FUNCTION AND VALUE OF LITERARY STUDIES

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1. The Public and Academic Discourse on Literature: A Zero-Sum Game

In 2000 the well-known American literary scholar Harold Bloom published the very popular reading manual: *How to Read and Why*. In this bestselling book he introduces the work of canonical writers such as Hemingway, Borges, Nabokov and Proust amongst many others and he does so from a very personal point of view. “Reading well is best pursued as an implicit discipline”, he writes in the preface, because “finally there is no method but yourself.” (19)

In his preface Bloom explicates why reading literature is both important and (above all) pleasurable. Notably, he does this not by describing the pleasures of reading itself but by contrasting *personal*, *amateur* reading and *academic* reading: “...the way we read now partly depends upon our distance, inner or outer, from universities, where reading is scarcely thought as pleasure”. (22) Professors of literature – once the teachers that made literature lovers acquainted with the experience of close reading – are in Bloom’s preface presented as the villains that distance the reader from the pleasure of reading literature. In order to experience what is, according to Bloom, “the most healing of pleasures” we have to clear our mind “of academic cant”. (19)

What is striking about this preface is that an eminent professor of Literary Studies starts his book about reading by undermining the importance of his own profession. We may recognize the following oppositions between academic and non-academic reading. First, non-academic reading is typified as a close relation between reader and work (as opposed to the distant attitude of the academic reader to its object of study). Second, non-academic reading is personal (whereas academic reading is characterized as ‘objective’ and impersonal). Third, non-academic reading is pleasurable (not so for academic reading, rather the opposite). In the end non-academic reading has a positive psychological effect on the reader – Bloom called it ‘the most healing of all pleasures’ – for it makes you a mentally healthier person. By suggesting these oppositions, Bloom seems to disqualify his academic colleagues (and implicitly himself as well?) and the academic discipline that they are representatives of. We may question why a professor of literature attributes so little authority to the literary scholar when it comes to reading literature?

In his study *Bring on the Books for Everybody. How Literary Culture Became Popular Culture* (2010) Jim Collins refers to Bloom’s *How to Read and Why* as an example of a tendency that renders the academic study of literature no longer as the ultimate authority when it comes to reading and studying literature. In the chapter entitled ‘The discrediting of the academy and empowering amateur readers’ he writes:

... [Bloom] begins with this diatribe against professors of literature in order to present personalized reading as the only legitimate *authority*. ... apparently amateur, personal reading cannot lead to transcendent experience as long as the academy retains any shred of validity. (23)

In this citation Collins makes it clear that there is a strong competition between the academic and the non-academic discourse on literature. They are not coexisting peacefully – the amateur in the realm of the public and the academic within the rampart of the university – but they need to *discredit* the other in order to become legitimate and authoritative themselves. Collins puts this state of competition in the following catchy phrase: “Literary authority is a zero-sum game”. This means that the gain (or loss) of the one party is exactly balanced by the losses (or gains) of the other party.

2. Literary Authority: A Case Study

The proposition of this paper is that the study of the competition between the public and the academic discourse on literature (a specific kind of ‘zero-sum game’) can contribute to our understanding of the underlying norms and values that define the academic study of literature itself at a given historical place and time. Moreover, when focusing especially on the self-(re)presentation of the scholar that explicitly positions him- or herself in relation to the public discourse on literature, it is possible to analyze the academic norms and values within the context of a larger social-cultural field to which both the academic and the non-academic critic belong. For example, when Bloom in his function as public writer diatribes against professors of literature it is important to take into account that he does not disqualify the whole of Literary Studies but only a very specific type. When speaking as a scholar it becomes clear that Bloom objects to literary criticism that is inspired by French theory. (Bloom 1991) The very notion of ‘the academic’, ‘literary theory’ or ‘criticism’ is articulated differently within the public discourse than it is within the academic discourse. Which articulation is rendered more authoritative, by whom and why?

The focus on conflicting discourses and authority leads to research questions that concern the discursive strategies of the literary scholar: What arguments does the scholar use to legitimate his profession? What are the intertextual (scientific) traditions he places himself in? What normative statements does he make in respect to his scholarly enterprise? And how do his peers evaluate these? In this paper a case study is presented in order to demonstrate how these questions can contribute to the analysis of the competition between the public and academic discourse on literature and subsequently can help to understand the underlying norms and values that define the academic study of literature.

The case study presented here is derived from the history of Literary Studies in the Netherlands and can be placed in line with the contemporary example of Harold Bloom, because it considers a professor that attacks his fellow professors in a public manifestation. It dates back to December 1978 when Dutch professor of Slavic Literary Studies, Karel van het Reve (1921–1999) delivered a public lecture in Leiden, the Netherlands. In this lecture – that is still considered ‘infamous’ in Dutch literary historiography (see for example Bax) – Van het Reve shared his thoughts on the task and function of the literary scholar and uttered his discomfort with the way Literary Studies was practiced at that moment in the Netherlands. The lecture was entitled *Literatuurwetenschap: het raadsel der onleesbaarheid*, in translation: *Literary Studies: The Riddle of Unreadability* and was a frontal attack on the work of contemporary Dutch literary scholars. Notably, Van het Reve was not only professor of Slavic Literary Studies but also a popular publicist and writer of essays, hence the audience consisted not only of journalists and colleagues both academic and non-academic, but also of (what Collins would call ‘amateur’) readers. The following paragraphs present an analysis of the lecture bearing the above posed questions in mind.

The arguments deployed by Van het Reve in *The Riddle of Unreadability* can be linked to two main objectives, identified as the objective of ‘non-scientificity’ (objective 1.) and the objective of ‘unreadability’ (objective 2.). On the one hand Van het Reve addresses the scientific status of the discipline by stating that Literary Studies is not a real ‘scientific’

discipline, because it makes no use of a scientific method. On the other hand Van het Reve addresses the output of the literary scholar that he considers 'unreadable' for different reasons. I will elaborate on these two objectives.

Inspired by the work of the influential philosopher of science Karl Popper, Van het Reve says that a major objection one can have towards Literary Studies is that it does not 'state' anything, it makes no propositions, or in the words of Van het Reve:

A primary objection one can have towards Literary Studies is that it does not come to propositions, in other words, Literary Studies does not interdict anything . . . A specific science should indeed be defined as a series of prohibitions. (23) [translation MW]

These so called 'prohibitions' are the result of a scientific method in which the probability of a hypothesis or theory is tested by means of *falsification*. If the test shows that the theory is plausible the scholar is getting one step closer to a statement that has the nature of a law. For example a statement could be: 'a work of literature is considered a masterpiece because the narrative structure has a high degree of complexity.' If the falsification test shows that this statement is not maintainable, the scholar has to renounce this statement. According to Van het Reve, the problem of Literary Studies is that scholars do not use a scientific method like the method of falsification. Therefore they do not have the "good scientific habit" (as he calls it) to drop a statement when the irrationality of it has been proven. (19) This leads to the situation in which Literary Studies is a highly dispersed discipline that shows no exponential *growth* of knowledge only an unsystematic *increasing* of knowledge.

Van het Reve's second objective is derived from his first objective in which he states that Literary Studies is not a 'real' scientific discipline. In his second objective he says that the literary scholar tries to fill the methodological gap and obscure the lack of rigid scholarship by using a highly hermetic jargon. According to Van het Reve, the literary scholar "observes what every layman can observe when reading literature", and subsequently he:

. . . tries to translate his observation in scholarly terms with no other purpose than to camouflage the poverty of his own observations, or to be more precise, to mask the lack of any original observation. (22) [translation MW]

The specialized, theoretical jargon conceals that the results of literary research are poor. Moreover, the jargon makes the scholarly output of the literary scholar, the academic texts, barely readable, according to Van het Reve.

However, Van het Reve does not only deliver critique. He offers an alternative program for Literary Studies as well. The answer to all this "misery" is according to him that Literary Studies have to focus on the question why a work of literature is good and others are not. (27) When adopting this question as the leading question, Literary Studies can in the end come to interesting results that do not need the camouflage of the jargon, and formulate 'prohibitions' that lead to an exponential growth of knowledge. (11) This argumentation becomes very interesting in the light of the central topic of this paper (the relation between the public and the academic discourse on literature) because the alternative program that Van het Reve is offering here is not the program of a *scholarly* discipline but the program of *public* criticism. What we see is – paradoxically – that Van het Reve calls on the authority of the philosopher Karl Popper (who is famous for his ideas on what determines an objective scientific method) to make room for a highly normative kind of academic research.

Now that the two objectives of Van het Reve are briefly clarified and discussed in relation to the academic tradition in which Van het Reve inscribed himself we can turn to the question raised earlier: what are the *underlying norms* and *values* that are ascribed here to the academic study of literature? One norm is already mentioned in relation to the objective of

‘unreadability’, it is the norm of ‘normativity’ in which the task of the literary scholar is formulated as a normative task. Van het Reve’s critique on the unreadability of scholarly work within Literary Studies is not motivated by a scientific or scholarly criterion but by an *artistic* criterion. The ‘readability’ of the texts proves the affinity of the scholar with literature. The text of the scholar of literature must be a pleasure to read, only then can the reader be sure that the scholarly writer of the text truly understands the object of his study. In other words, the articulation of the notion of ‘normativity’ deployed by Van het Reve is associated with personal taste and style, not with scientific notions such as ‘objectivity’ or ‘controllability’ (as connected to the method of falsification).

Harder to pinpoint is the underlying norm that is attributed to the objective of the scientific status of the discipline. On the one hand Van het Reve takes the norm of the Natural Sciences and judges that Literary Studies lack a true scientific method and therefore cannot be called a ‘real’ science. On the other hand Van het Reve applies the norm of public criticism, because, as shown above, Literary Studies is not normative enough in his eyes and in order to become a real scientific discipline Literary Studies should focus on the question of literary quality. These two definitions of what ‘a science of literature’ should be are highly contradictory.

When taking the reception of *The Riddle of Unreadability* into account, it is possible to determine more precisely how the norms that Van het Reve presented were evaluated. As could be expected, the academic field reacted fiercely. But instead of writing serious academic reactions, different scholars published a reaction in public media, mostly national newspapers. Van het Reve’s call for a normative scholarly program was dismissed and the consensus was that Van het Reve made the mistake that he did not distinguish between the praxis of the academic and that of the critic: the scholar of literature is not a literary critic. (Fokkema, Ibsch, Van der Paardt, Gomperts)

Yet, it is interesting to see that the scholars who reacted against Van het Reve were in one way or the other very much offended by the rebuke of ‘unreadability’. One scholar wrote that the criterion of readability was not a question of principle but a practical one. (Meyer) Another tried to falsify Van het Reve’s claim by putting forward two studies of literature that were indeed ‘readable’. (Van Luxemburg) If the norm of readability did not address an underlying value of importance for the academic enterprise of the study of literature then these scholars would not have paid much attention to it. But they did, and we can conclude that this is because they felt attacked on the aspect of ‘affinity’ with their object. The academic discourse on literature also needs to make the claim that it maintains a special affinity with literature in order to be authoritative over the public discourse on literature. However, at the end of the seventies, a forthcoming scientification of the study became clear: the rise of Reception Studies and New Criticism and the influence of sociology and semiology on Literary Studies all claimed a more ‘objective’ approach to literature. This scientification and its accompanying aspiration towards objectivity made it harder for the literary scholar to claim this special affinity.

3. In conclusion

The case study of Van het Reve showed that the aspect of ‘normativity’ is one of the nodal points of debate when we look at the relation between the academic and the public discourse on literature, because it touches upon the dichotomy felt between an academic (objective) and non-academic (subjective) approach to literature. The discussion recurs through time and in different forms: in relation to the lecture of Van het Reve it centered around the aspect of ‘affinity’, in the case of Bloom around the aspect of ‘pleasure’ and the opposition between a personal, pleasurable non-academic reading and an unpleasurable academic reading. Furthermore, it became clear that the binary opposition between the academic and the public discourse is simplifying the relation between the two discourses, because there appears to be a

significant and complex *overlapping* of the two. Actually, the complex overlapping is present in the very word ‘criticism’ itself. ‘Criticism’ does not only refer to the practice of the critic who writes for public media like newspapers and magazines but it refers also to the praxis of the literary scholar who writes specialized papers for peer-reviewed journals. (Berger, McDonald) Yet the two functions do not coincide.

This paper functioned as a first demonstration of how the study of the competition between the academic and public discourse on literature touches upon fundamental questions on function and value of Literary Studies as an academic discipline. Future research into the study of the precise workings of the competing discourses focuses on the comparison of different case studies from different periods and the complex articulation of central notions as ‘scientification’, ‘normativity’ and ‘criticism’. As such it wishes to contribute to a deeper understanding of the different views and conceptions on the function and value of Literary Studies as a discipline within the Humanities.

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INSTITUTIONAL IDENTITY: THE CASE OF JEROEN METTES'S DUTCH POETRY WEBLOG (2005–2006)

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One of the central questions in the field of media studies concerns the relationships between different types of media. In what way do the so-called 'new' media affect the task, nature and function of their predecessors? Especially in contemporary culture, in which the ever-growing impact of digitization is a characteristic feature, such questions are increasingly relevant, with several cultural pessimists proclaiming the eventual replacement of the book by its digital alternatives. As Lisa Gitelman has pointed out, even prominent thinkers like Friedrich Kittler have contributed to this "overdetermined sense of reaching the end of media history" (3), in which "a total media link on a digital base will erase the very concept of medium" (Kittler 2).

Although the three major media revolutions of the twentieth century (the emergence of radio, television and the Internet) have had a demonstrable impact on the book market and people's reading habits, print is still considered a viable factor in the media ecosystem. Nico Carpentier and Benjamin De Cleen even argue that "the cultural importance of the old media is underestimated tremendously", adding: "These old media still play an important role in the everyday lives of many people. Blinded by the futurist megalomania, and by the hope for a better future, the presence of the old media is often taken for granted" (7). Such a vision implies that we should not overemphasize the threats of displacement that new communication technologies pose to residual media. As Asa Briggs and Peter Burke have asserted, it is better to view the media as "a system in perpetual change, including technological change, in which different elements play greater or smaller roles" (5).

In literary reviewing, the co-existence of different types of media has led to an expansion of criticism in non-print media, with book programs on national radio as early examples and reviewing practices on Facebook as a current alternative for publishing in print media. In this contribution, I aim to show that such forms of literary reviewing are (still) perceived as less authoritative than reviews published in print. My case study is the Dutch weblog *Poëzienotities* [Notes on poetry], which was written by the literary critic and poet Jeroen Mettes (1978–2006) between July 29, 2005 and September 21, 2006, the day of his suicide. By applying the concept of 'institutional identity' to both the contents and reception of this weblog, which has a cult status in the Dutch poetry scene, I will argue that the relatively low symbolic capital of online reviewing practices is strongly connected to a derogatory discursive construction of digital criticism.

The construction of institutional identity in Mettes

In her study *Media at War: Radio's Challenge to the Newspapers, 1924–1939*, Gwyneth L. Jackaway states: "At the time of the introduction of a new communication technology, established media may be called upon to assess what they are, what they do, and what makes their work unique in the field of communications" (4–5). Such an (explicit or implicit) manifestation of a medium's nature, aim(s) and function(s) can be referred to as "institutional identity", a discursive construction of the characteristics of an institution (in this case a medium), which is produced by the subjects who write about it. It is important to stress that this identity is not only constructed by subjects who are affiliated to the institution in question (i.e. program makers in the case of television), but also by (relative) outsiders (i.e. journalists or scholars in the television example). Thus, an institutional identity is necessarily a complex

blend of representations: those of the subjects involved with the institution, and those of the commentators on the sideline.

Before having a closer look at the construction of institutional identity in Mettes, it is useful to outline the results of earlier research on Dutch digital criticism. The most up to date contribution on this subject was published by Jos Joosten, who draws an important conclusion with regard to the print media's attitude towards online critics: "At best, online criticism is considered complimentary to the (own) literary(-critical) field, but it is certainly not seen as a potential part of it" (72).² Joosten illustrates his argument with three observations: Dutch literary websites do not have more readers than literary supplements of national newspapers (76); digital critics are not well known with educated readers (80) and digital platforms for literary reviewing are seldom linked to literary institutions with symbolic capital (84–85). Consequently, in order to have a chance of influencing the literary status quo, Joosten argues, online criticism needs to establish a connection with the traditional media.

In light of this conclusion, the case of Jeroen Mettes's poetry weblog is highly interesting, since the text of *Poëzienotities* (133 posts) was integrally included in his posthumously published collected works (2011). In this respect, Mettes was a pioneer: he can be considered the first Dutch blogger who successfully made the transition from the digital circuit to print-based media. As mentioned earlier, *Poëzienotities* aired on July 29, 2005. At its core were critical evaluations of recent poetry publications, which were mainly organized by an alphabetical principle of selection: Mettes bought collections of poems in Verwijs, a book store in The Hague, starting with the letter A and working his way up through each letter. Apart from these contributions to his 'Dichtersalfabet' [Alphabet of Poets], Mettes used his weblog to reflect on the state of affairs in the Dutch poetry scene, to comment on political issues or to elaborate the ideas he developed as a PhD-student in literary studies at Leiden University. Due to this combination of activities, *Poëzienotities* had a double function: on the one hand, Mettes had an unlimited space to sharpen his personal ideas about literature; on the other hand, his texts were strongly polemical, for they rejected common practices in contemporary poetry (criticism).

During the period in which Mettes maintained his weblog, he seems to have had only a small group of active followers. Unfortunately, there are no statistics available that help us gain insight into the website's traffic, but the number of commentators indicates that *Poëzienotities* served a niche audience. In fourteen months, 46 unique visitors replied to one or more of Mettes's posts, with only six visitors commenting more than ten times: Samuel Vriezen (comments on 47 posts), Martin van Kralingen (41), Ruben van Gogh (28), Herlinda Vekemans (13), Frans-Willem Korsten (12) and Rutger H. Cornets de Groot (10). With the exception of Korsten, one of Mettes's doctoral advisors at Leiden University, all these frequent commentators maintained a poetry weblog of their own, which suggests that *Poëzienotities* functioned mainly in an online community of non- and semi-professional poetry critics. Nevertheless, Mettes's talent was soon recognized by important figures in the Dutch literary field: impressed by the quality of the critical texts on his weblog, several literary magazines asked Mettes to join their editorial board, which resulted in his editorship of the Flemish experimental journal *yang* in December 2005. He also started to publish both poems and essays in such literary magazines, thus bridging the gap between his weblog and more traditional ways of publishing.

Despite these activities in print-based media, Mettes was a convinced critic of traditional literary criticism, in the sense of day-to-day reviewing of literary works in newspapers and weekly magazines. Referring to the work of Paul de Man, Mettes unmasks this practice as "naïve criticism": "the way the press has been reading and evaluating literature in the last couple of tiring centuries" (19). As a literary blogger, Mettes distances himself explicitly from

² The author is responsible for the translations of the Dutch quotes.

this tradition: “Of course, I detest literary journalism in every meaning of the word” (ibid). In this sense, the case of Mettes echoes Florian Hartling’s qualification of the weblog genre as an “alternative Journalismusform” (219): the blogosphere seeks to correct a common function of journalism, here to be specified as the critical evaluation of (recently published) poems.

Focusing on the construction of institutional identity, Mettes’s disqualification of contemporary literary criticism (which, following Bourdieu, can be considered a classic form of position taking) is interesting, for his critique is interwoven with a negative representation of the institution of newspapers. In his weblog discourse, Mettes constructs an antinomy between day-to-day reviewing and (the possibilities of) online criticism, which is established in three binary oppositions. The first is *paternalism* versus *participation*, with the problem of authority at its core. In August 2005, Mettes reacted to ‘Adieu avant-garde! Naar een onbevangen poëziekritiek’ [Adieu Avant-garde! Towards unprejudiced Poetry Criticism], a controversial essay by Hagar Peeters, in which she argues that poetesses, performance poets and expressive poets are not taken seriously by poetry critics, whose ideas about literature are based on an elitist, masculine and avant-garde ideology. Mettes exposes Peeters as a “literary entertainer”, but *en passant* he also decries the nature of newspaper criticism. Ironically asserting that popularizing poetry could ultimately lead to the installation of the Dutch pop singers Acda and De Munnik as poetry critics in the leading newspapers *de Volkskrant* and *NRC Handelsblad*, Mettes argues: “This scenario would not be a nightmare, for it would definitely demolish the paternalistic role of the newspaper critic, which seems to me only a matter of time, and we would benefit from it: what are the odds, reader, of *NRC Handelsblad* having a better taste than you?” (57).

This particular question concerning the power of judgment lies at the heart of numerous debates on the authority of criticism (McDonald 7). According to Mettes, the newspaper critic acts like a paterfamilias whose taste serves as an instruction booklet for his *familia* (his readers), but this is an outdated principle in an era that enables the public to exploit its own taste through participatory media channels, such as the weblog *Poëzienotities*. Nevertheless, even Mettes must admit that critics can gain prestige (and hence authority) by operating in prestigious media. With regard to *NRC Handelsblad* critic Arie van den Berg, for instance, Mettes contends: “Who cares about him? His only authority is derived from his employer” (86).

The second binary opposition that Mettes creates in order to distinguish his digital criticism from newspaper criticism, is *shallowness* versus *thoroughness*. A key concept in Mettes’s critique of day-to-day reviewing is ‘tolerance of beauty’: in his view, newspaper critics are among the naïve enemies of art who evaluate poetry by examining whether a poem touches them, hence defining poetry as an “article of consumption” that is meant to be beautiful (59). Such a neo-liberalist vision on literature necessarily leads to the relegation of literary criticism in the realm of the superficial, which is, according to Mettes, a problem that is closely connected to the institutional identity of print-based media. These are, after all, exposed to a policy aimed at consumption and democratization, in which there is no space for the type of criticism that Mettes propagates: a thoroughly grounded evaluation of poetry, derived from an idea of literature “which the critic (consciously or unconsciously) believes to be universally valid” (60).

The final binary opposition, *extensiveness* versus *limitation*, is another antonymic pair related to this issue of space. Arguing that newspapers are driven by a capitalist logic, Mettes states: “Poetry criticism in newspapers has some status. Meanwhile, even in the most literature-friendly newspaper, poetry has quite a marginal status” (168). Hence, the weblog can serve as an alternative arena: “It is the ideal medium for poetry and poetry criticism, for it offers unlimited space for an activity which is essentially negligible: reading poetry and writing about it” (ibid).

Institutional identity in the reception of Mettes

By constructing the oppositions I have worked out above, *Poëzienotities* contrasts the institutional identity of newspaper criticism with that of the weblog as an alternative space. Given my interest in the power relations between different types of media, it is important to investigate whether Mettes's claims have resonated in the field of Dutch poetry criticism: in order for niche media to act as a successful control mechanism on the mass media, mass media must respond to their criticism (De Waal 24).

As mentioned earlier, the last post in Mettes's weblog was published on September 21, 2006. It was entirely empty, which soon turned out to be a symbol of the suicide of its author. His followers were shocked: due to the anonymity of the medium, they did not know that Mettes suffered from serious depression. The days after his desperate deed, tens of condolences appeared in response to the empty post, with many reputable poets and critics expressing their dismay. These appalled reactions imply that Mettes had to some extent established a position in the Dutch poetry scene, but one should not overemphasize his reputation outside the blogosphere. In the print-based media, only three obituaries were published: one by Mettes's fellow editors in *yang*, one in *Mare*, the magazine of Leiden University, and one in the Flemish newspaper *De Morgen*.

This relatively insignificant reception of Mettes's suicide was compensated for in the summer of 2011, with Piet Joostens, Frans-Willem Korsten and Daniël Rovers publishing his collected works. This time, the daily and weekly press of both the Netherlands and Flanders did respond to the name of Jeroen Mettes: overall, his *Nagelaten werk* [*Posthumous writings*] was discussed in more than ten newspapers and opinion magazines, which is a high average in the Dutch linguistic area. Thus, the *publication in print* of Mettes's collected texts seems to have been a necessary step in the process of his reputation formation, assuming that this process (still) takes place in print-based media.

Concerning the construction of institutional identity, the reception of Mettes's writings shows a remarkable framing of the nature of online poetry criticism. For instance, the critic Gaston Franssen wrote in the literary magazine *Parmentier*: "Regarding poetry criticism, the internet has become strongly pillarized: the existing websites are dominated by relatively closed circuits, consisting of a handful of loyal discussants. Jeroen Mettes was, retrospectively, an exception to this rule" (112). Considering the small amount of frequent commentators on Mettes's posts, Franssen's claim needs to be modified, but his assertion is definitely interesting from the viewpoint of institutional identity: by framing *Poëzienotities* as an exception to the rule, Franssen distinguishes Mettes's critical practice from *common* digital poetry criticism, which, in his view, is lacking bandwidth. Similarly, the newspaper critic Victor Schiferli isolates Mettes from the *ad hominem* culture he noticed on the internet:

Who ever thought of poets as peaceful people – maybe a bit unworldly, but full of good intentions – should have a look at literary blogs. I presume that in former times, before the invention of the internet, these people only muttered angrily to themselves. Nowadays, poets and their related souls tumble over each other and in doing so, they often use personal attacks. They are people who jeer at each other, safely hidden in the trench in front of their computer. (*het Parool*)

According to Schiferli, this did not adhere to Jeroen Mettes: "He never used personal attacks: his reactions were always substantial and often also funny and sharp" (ibid).

By discursively marking Mettes's unique position in the field of digital (poetry) criticism, print-based critics contribute to the negative institutional identity of the internet as a medium for writing about literature. Besides, they do not reflect on their own position, despite Mettes accusing them of shallow paternalism. In this respect, the print-based media seem to ignore

Mettes's plea for the weblog as an alternative space for practicing criticism: they posthumously neutralize him as an exception to the general rule that online poetry criticism is the digital equivalent of the literary neighbors' quarrel, hence inverting the binary oppositions *shallowness versus thoroughness* and *extensiveness versus limitation* for their own advantage.

Concluding remarks

The story of Jeroen Mettes's reception shows the indispensability of print-based media in the symbolic production of literature. Quantitatively, the consecration of *Poëzienotities* largely depended on the publication *in print* of his collected works, which generated authoritative reviews in newspaper criticism. Discursively, these reviews construct an institutional identity of online criticism with 'pillarization' and '*ad hominem*' as keywords, hence treating Mettes as an antitypical representative of literary blogging. Consequently, the remarkable publication of *Poëzienotities* seems not to have positively influenced the general image of digital (poetry) criticism. In conclusion, if the traditional media can maintain their symbolic hegemony within the field of Dutch literary criticism, the alternative space of online criticism seems to need more critics working in Mettes's tradition and, more importantly, must hope for reputable publicists who help it construct a more positive institutional identity.

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LANGUAGE AND LINGUISTICS

THE ROLE OF CONVENTIONS IN LANGUAGE

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0. Introduction

The basic idea that language is at least partially conventional seems admissible at first glance. “It is a platitude” David Lewis said “– something only a philosopher would dream of denying – that there are conventions of language” (“Languages” 7). However, even if we agree with Lewis, it is not clear what role conventions should play in a philosophical explanation of language. On the one hand we can identify proponents of the thesis that conventions are at the very core of language and because of this, conventions should play a crucial role in the explanation of language and communication. On the other hand, there are opponents who believe that we can identify other important features which are necessary and sufficient for a philosophical explanation of communication. The subject of this paper is to summarize assumptions and main arguments of influential authors participating in this discussion – David Lewis, Donald Davidson and Michael Dummett. The aim of the paper is to point out potential difficulties and problematic questions which can arise from both perspectives and to argue for the thesis that we cannot eliminate conventions if we look at language from a long-time perspective of its change and development.

In the first part I will briefly present views of all three philosophers and evaluate their argumentation. Subsequently, I will propose the distinction between two types of situations: a) situations in which a meaning is going to be established and b) situations in which an established meaning is used. I believe that this distinction can clarify the discussion and reconcile opposite views in some points.

1. David Lewis

In 1969 David Lewis published a book *Convention*, which can be regarded as an indirect response to Quine’s problem of radical translation and indeterminacy of meaning as presented in *Word and Object* and the essay “Ontological Relativity”. According to Quine, a person acquires language by observing linguistic behaviour of other speakers. However, according to the thesis of ontological relativity, each observed phenomenon can be interpreted in different ways and there is nothing in the world what could tell us which interpretation is correct. Since the linguistic behaviour is also an observed phenomenon, we cannot expect that different speakers arrive at the same conclusion about a language, and because of that their theories of language vary. Such a view implies that there is no such thing as “the language of community”; there are only idiolects of individual speakers.

In *Convention* Lewis provides a deep explanation of language and communication where communication situations are characterised as problem solving situations. Speaker and hearer face a situation in which signalling is needed and they solve it by agreeing upon some signalling system. If the signalling system works, then they have a good reason to use it in subsequent situations of the same kind. Recurrent use of some signalling system is an example of a convention-based usage. According to Lewis, conventions are “regularities in action, or in action and belief, which are arbitrary but which perpetuate themselves because they serve some sort of common interest” (“Languages” 4). So if the speaker and the hearer continue to use the signalling system in the same way, then their behaviour can be seen as convention-

based. If someone once conforms to regularity, he has no reason to cease and other speakers have a model to conform to.

This does not answer the problem how the language of community is possible. So Lewis proposes that the language of community is based on a convention of truthfulness and trust. Simply said, speakers try to avoid speaking false sentences and hearers behave as if sentences were true, unless they have counter-evidence. This helps them to acquire a language in the same way – in other words, to conform to conventions.

2. Donald Davidson

The conventionalist framework of language implies a specific explanation of communication. The communication is explained as a straightforward use of shared knowledge. A hearer understands a speaker and communication is possible because they conformed to the same conventions before the communication, i.e., they have learnt in advance what the word means. The prior shared knowledge of language is necessary and sufficient for successful communication. However, such a naive version of conventionalism came under attack by Donald Davidson. Davidson's critique of conventionalism can be summarized by his famous quote: "There is no such thing as language, not if language is anything like what many philosophers and linguists have supposed" ("Derangement" 446); where "language" means a conventionalist view of communication I tried to sketch in previous paragraph.

Davidson offered an alternative explanation of communication. A speaker and a hearer need two types of theories to communicate successfully – prior and passing theories. The speaker's prior and passing theories both take the hearer into consideration, so they can vary from case to case. Another interesting feature of Davidson's view is that the meaning of a word is primarily determined by what a speaker intends to convey. (See more in "The Social Aspect".)

Prior theories consist of how the speaker expects the hearer to interpret his words and how the hearer is disposed to interpret the words of the speaker *before* the communication situation. Passing theories state how a particular utterance made on a particular occasion should be interpreted and passing theories can change *throughout the conversation* if new evidence emerges. For the speaker, the "passing theory is the theory he intends the interpreter to use" ("Derangement" 442). For the hearer, "the passing theory is how he does interpret the utterance" ("Derangement" 442). Passing theories are mostly used in specific cases like malapropisms, misspells and slips of tongue. All these cases have something in common – language is misused by a speaker. For example, someone talking about her pregnant sister says "gravity" instead of "gravidity". Despite the misuse, a hearer can understand what the speaker really meant. Since the understanding is achieved in conflict with the ordinary meaning of words, a shared knowledge of conventions is not applied in such cases. Understanding a speaker is presented as the only aim of communication in Davidson's work. At least, there is no other aim mentioned.

Such rare phenomena as malapropisms or slips of tongue may seem negligible. However, Davidson believes that they show something important about the nature of communication. Cases of malapropism demonstrate our ability to understand a speaker without prior shared knowledge, so he concludes that conventions are not necessary for successful communication.

Moreover, since passing theories are crucial for successful communication and passing theories vary from person to person, from occasion to occasion it makes no sense to say that there is such a notion as the language of community. We are not able to identify even a personal idiolect of a speaker because there is no guarantee that his passing theory will be the same in different communication situations. Davidson makes explicit what was only implicit in Quine – an existence of the language is undermined; not only because different speakers have acquired language in different ways, but because the way how a speaker uses a language

can vary from occasion to occasion. Such a view has one major advantage compared to conventionalism. The phenomenon of language change is not sufficiently explained in the conventionalist framework because it is seen as an adverse deviation from conventions. In contrast, the language change is rendered as the most natural part of communication in Davidson's view.

3. Michael Dummett

Dummett stated two arguments against Davidson. Both arguments undermine the possibility of successful communication without prior shared knowledge. The arguments differ only in conditions which are taken into consideration. The first argument focuses on a situation when a malapropism is the only problematic word in the course of an actual communication. Dummett admits that the word can be understood without prior shared knowledge, but he doubts that it could be understood if the speaker and the hearer would not share the knowledge of other words used in that communication situation.

The second argument focuses on a situation when a word is understood without any shared background knowledge of language. Conditions of this situation resemble Davidson's radical interpretation or Quine's radical translation. As in the first argument, there is no prior shared knowledge of what the word means. Neither can it be understood on the basis of what other words mean, because speaker and hearer have no prior shared knowledge of language at all. Despite that, communication can be successful because understanding can be achieved. In response, Dummett focuses on what the achievement of understanding requires in such case. According to Dummett, it makes no sense to say that a hearer understands a speaker, but the hearer does not have in mind the same thing as the speaker has. In other words, communication is impossible if they do not share knowledge of what the word means, even though it must be restricted on the particular communication situation and it has never been used before. So Dummett admits that a personal idiolect can be used and understood in communication, but it does not show that shared knowledge is not necessary. Moreover, if shared knowledge is required for understanding personal idiolects, then the meaning of any word can be acquired in the same way by more speakers and prospectively by the whole community.

The existence of such conventions within community forms the language. But even if it is sufficiently explained how the language of community is possible, Dummett needs further arguments for the thesis that such conventions really play a significant role in communication and therefore they should play a major role in its philosophical explanation. On the one hand, new members should conform to the language, because of Lewisian reasons – because they want to be understood and to understand and achieving understanding is a good reason for conforming. On the other hand, according to Dummett, the existence of prior conventions puts an obligation on new members acquiring the language. We are obliged because the ignorance of conventions threatens the expressive power of language. "Davidson concludes that, provided we make ourselves understood, we have no obligation to speak correctly; ... Perhaps, strictly speaking, we have no obligation to our language as such: but we have an obligation to others who use it to avoid damaging its effectiveness as an instrument of communication" ("Reply to Davidson" 266).

4. The role of conventions revised

On the one hand, I want to emphasize two points in Dummett's argumentation: a) shared knowledge is necessary for successful communication and b) the obligation to preserve the expressive power of language should take part in the philosophical explanation of language. On the other hand, I agree in two points with Davidson as well: a) passing theories and

cognitive abilities connected with them are necessary for successful communication and b) the language change should be included in a philosophical explanation of language and communication.

At first, it is not clear if these claims are supposed to contradict one another. Moreover, it is not clear in what points Dummett does and does not agree with Davidson and vice versa. Lepore and Ludwig claim that “the debate remains elusive” and “it is unclear whether in the end serious disagreement separates them” (“The Reality” 2007). I believe that Davidson’s and Dummett’s points are not necessarily contradictory. It should not imply that Davidson and Dummett did not take them to be, but I am not interested in an exegesis here.

I believe that all four points are worth incorporating into a philosophical explanation of language, because they are all intuitively and empirically acceptable as a common part of natural languages. To omit some of them means to misrepresent what is obvious and the result will always raise reasonable doubts. However, the challenging question arises how this reconciliation should be done. I propose to make a distinction between two types of communication situations:

- A) Situations in which the meaning of a word is going to be established.
- B) Situations in which established meaning is used.

I will focus on situations A first. Suppose that a hearer meets someone who uses a word the hearer has never heard. He tries to find it in a dictionary, but with no result. The speaker uses a new word with a new meaning which has never been used in that language before. In such cases, the meaning of a word cannot be determined by convention or by previous use simply because there has never been any previous use. What the word means is fully determined by what the speaker intends it to mean. Subsequently, it makes no sense to say that the hearer can understand this word only if both speaker and hearer share the convention in advance, because there is no prior convention. Nonetheless, the hearer can get to an understanding.

This case is supposed to show that some version of passing theories – and cognitive abilities behind them – is necessary for communication. It also shows that Davidson is right when he claims that what a speaker intends determines what the word means. However, I want to emphasize that we are talking about specific communication situations in which a new meaning is established.

It is hard to give an example of such cases. Moreover, it can be objected that the use of a word is always a social matter and it is not possible to trace a particular speaker who started to use it. I admit that the situation is oversimplified, but I do not think it is completely unrealistic. Using a new terminology is popular especially within philosophy. In such cases it is easy to find particular person who started to use some word. Consider the case of Thomas Kuhn and the word “paradigm”. However, it is not a coincidence that I find hard to present more examples; it is because such situations are rare.

Moreover, the decision of the speaker about the meaning of a word is not completely arbitrary. If he wants to be understood the meaning must be graspable for hearers. In other words, it must be easy for hearers to conform to. This can be achieved if the meaning has rationally and recognizably stated boundaries of its use. But now, if the meaning has finite boundaries, then it can be grasped by anyone. Of course, it does not mean that everyone will follow the speaker. Hearers will continue to use the new word only if they find it practical for their communication. This is the reason why only conventions with higher expressive power persist in language and words with lower expressive power retreat from communication. The prescriptive obligation which Dummett stated seems to be in some sense unnecessary, because it should be automatically fulfilled in the course of language development, but there is always place for heresy. Dummett’s obligation restricts cases which could have bad effects on the language development.

It is worth to mention that in situations when meaning is going to be established Davidson's passing theories, as well as Dummett's obligation can be mutually applied.

4.1. Established meaning is used

In previous paragraphs I tried to explain how a new meaning can be established – applying some features of Davidson's as well as Dummett's views. Now we can focus on situations in which an established meaning is used. The situation when a meaning is used for the first time determines the correct use of the word for latter occasions = establishes a convention. The established convention persists in the same form till a situation occurs in which it is changed (meaning shift) by the similar process as it was established.

Moreover, a situation can occur in which a speaker uses a word with an established meaning, but a hearer does not know what the word means. In such case, the hearer has to use a passing theory to grasp what the speaker means. But the meaning of the word is not determined by what the actual speaker intends, even though the actual hearer must focus on the actual speaker if he wants to understand. The meaning of the word is determined for both – actual speaker and actual hearer – in advance of their communication situation. It was determined by the first situation in which that meaning was established and from their point of view, it is determined by convention.

Subsequently, there is no need for passing theories for speakers who conform to conventions within the period between meaning establishment and meaning shift. As there are boundaries of meaning, different people can master meanings in the same way, i.e., they can conform to conventions and speak the same language. The period between meaning shifts varies. It can be hundreds of years for words like “mother”, “home” or “water”, but it can be no more than a few months for others. However, in general, the amount of situations when the established meaning is used goes far beyond the amount of situations in which a new meaning is going to be established. Even though I agree with Davidson that passing theories are crucial for successful communication, I see no reason why we should explain usual communication situations according to such atypical cases as the establishment of meaning. Typical cases of communication can be correctly explained by the conventionalist framework.

5. Conclusion

In this paper, I tried to summarize and evaluate crucial points of discussion about the role of convention in language and communication. I believe that it is possible to reconcile the main points advocated by proponents and opponents of conventions if we accept the distinction between situations in which the meaning of a word is going to be established and situations in which an established meaning is used. If we accept the finite boundaries of meaning and what the speaker intends in situations of meaning establishing as the determinant for the subsequent use, then we can make sense of the language based on conventions and the language change at the same time.

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THE WORD-CATCHER: A CREATIVE WRITING EXPERIMENT

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Nicholas Sparks writes with his TV on as background noise (Charney, “Nicholas Sparks”), Maya Angelou twists her hair (Charney, “Maya Angelou”). My writing routine includes a cup of coffee, headphones and a Swiss ball. To each his own, but who taught them how to write? I have wanted to learn how to write well for years. Guidelines for academic writing were too restraining, and could only partly be applied to writing fiction and poetry. With their rigidity and fossilized format such rules left little space for creativity and individuality; they were an instruction manual for good form but did not allow innovation. I had to find a way and a voice of my own, on my own. What I lacked was a good start, which I then found in a creative writing workshop by Professor Jennifer Cognard-Black. The workshop atmosphere turned out to be the ledge before the skydive.

This paper offers a personal view on writing. It is organized in a series of questions and answers, and provides reflection on important aspects of writing viewed through the scheme of creative writing workshops and their value in establishing a writer’s sense of self. I expound on this significant facet of writerly development at the end of the paper, where I make the connection between voice, style and self. I titled the paper “the word-catcher” because it connects with the idea of what creative writing is. Essentially, creative writing consists of searching for the right word, the precise expression that captures the exact meaning we would like to convey; it is running after the butterfly with a net or, in this case a dictionary, and catching it, if we are in luck.

However, how is creative writing different from “regular” writing? Is not all writing creative?

All writing, be it fiction or non-fiction, is creative. Paradigmatic and syntagmatic processes are involved in the creation of any text. The selection of each word in each sentence is a process that occurs on the vertical axis called the paradigm; the selected words then subsequently enter into sequences on the linear axis or syntagm. This process is a highly creative, however, mostly a subconscious act. All writing involves making choices, whether conscious or not. When it comes to literature, this act of selecting and combining is much more deliberate and careful. And once certain choices are made, then other choices are closed off to the writer. Creative writing courses differ from literature courses in the respect that the in-depth study of literature is directly employed to develop the participants’ own work and establish their own personal style.

But can just anyone write? Can we all write, produce literature?

“There is more in your head than you know and by writing, you can access it. Things will emerge from your memory, from events earlier in the day, from your imagination, from your youth, your victories and troubles” (Morley and Neilsen 13). Everyone has the material for writing and each of us can dabble with words and enjoy the creative process; however, writing, producing literature, especially for print, is something very different; which is why the answer to the question whether everyone can write well is no. There is room for improvement, but not everyone is a born writer.

But do you really have to be born as a writer?

A popular but flawed belief about inborn writing abilities persists; it is believed that talent is innate and good writing just happens (Smith ix). The writing process is obscured by a mist of mystery where “most aspects . . . are inaccessible both to the writer and to outsiders” (*ibid.*). In fact, talent emerges partly from learning particular skills and understanding the craft of literature (*ibid.*).

Can writing literature be taught if even talent can be taught to some extent?

Writing can be taught in the sense that the word, or rather the text, can act as a teacher. The contact with literary examples serves as fertile ground for imagination to run wild. The close and detailed study of literary examples further teaches structure, form, genre, literary devices. In creative writing workshops, the examples are specially selected and used as a template for individual study and progress. The craft as such can be dissected, laid out for observation, taught and internalized; however, what cannot be taught is “the attention to detail and the empathy of imagining and feeling something you have never experienced. . . . Attention and empathy, more than diction, syntax, vocabulary, help us avoid the generic and stereotyped scenes we so often see in ‘good enough’ fiction” (Morley and Neilsen 14). If a person’s mind is not attuned to recognizing details, tracing connections and patterns to construct a character for example, you cannot teach somebody how to do this. If the writer lacks imagination and is not able to see the multitude of ways he could move the plot along and select the one which suits his story most; if he cannot select the most credible outcome, it is extremely difficult to configure this into his train of thought. You cannot use something to effect if you do not understand it, in spite of the example that might be laid out before you.

Is creative writing mere imitation and adaptation, if it is as simple as taking an existing piece of writing for the basis and re-working it?

Employing snippets of literature and various kinds of invocations in creative writing workshops is common practice. Mimicry leads to the improvement of style, and the examples as such enhance our understanding of “just what kind of goodness [literature] performs” (Fish 11). The examples stimulate imagination and are often adapted and reconfigured into new texts. Literary pieces which in this way purposefully emerge are indeed transformations, re-shapings, re-visions of existing pieces and are not strictly speaking original, but they are not necessarily of lesser value than texts created and thought out from scratch either. What is particularly interesting is how intertextuality is actually present in every literary work. “Language always bears the traces of former uses, other contexts and discourses” (Smith xi). Texts will allude to other texts, a certain structure or choice in wording may reveal the flavor of a particular author; the allusions may be infinite without even being planned.

Julia Kristeva, Roland Barthes and others talked about the concept of intertextuality (Smith 65). It describes the intertwining of all existing texts. No text is ever completely new, original or independent of other texts; “writers are always, to some degree, reinventing what has already been written (Wolffrey 120).

Writing is rather like recycling paper, you give the texts you have read another life through the way you reshape them. Or to put it another way, when we write we are constantly scavenging from what we have read in the past, either directly or obliquely. We pilfer (though in the most law-abiding way), not only from literary texts, but non-literary ones such as newspaper articles and a wide range of visual and oral media such as TV or radio. (Smith 65)

A text may connect to other texts intentionally or unintentionally; however, the principle of creative writing remains: “be creative, (but) be critical.” Creative writing is as much relinquishing control as it is regaining it. Imagination is left to wander at will, but is simultaneously tied down by revision. Word choice is always what a creative writer has at the forefront. Not only does a writer think about how the words convey the content and act as vehicles of information, but more importantly how they become representations of emotion, beauty, creativity. Creative writing emerges from creative and, most importantly, also critical thinking. A critical eye eliminates clichés, dead metaphors and any ineffective imagery or vocabulary. Each sentence or verse is intensely scrutinized and observed for ineffectiveness while the prime objective always remains innovation, originality, freshness.

But then why do clichés come so naturally and even creep into writing unnoticed?

The same or very similar environments, similar experiences in life, the same TV programs, the same songs on the radio; frequently heard groups of words, structures – clichés – come to be preconfigured in our brain and seep into our writing without our even thinking about them as something we have heard of or read before. The selection of precise, powerful, original, attractive imagery and words makes for quality writing, and therefore it is absolutely vital as a writer to rid yourself of clichés.

Although we share collective knowledge and experiences, we are ultimately individuals with unique imaginative processes, different backgrounds, experiences and allusions. Everyone sees something different in a densely clouded sky. We generate a multitude of voices when striving for originality, and if we try our hand at writing, dissimilar literary voices emerge. There will never be another Shelley, Eliot, or Henry.

However, does a writer only have one voice?

A writer is considered to have a particular voice and style, and “learning to write is a matter of finding that voice as if it were preexistent” (Smith xi). Style and voice in particular are seen as unalterable, defining features ingrained in the writer’s identity just waiting to be discovered. “In fact a writer does not have one voice but several, and these contrasting voices may emerge in different texts, at different times, or sometimes in the same text” (*ibid.*). The writer’s voice is as such an abstract and fluid notion – a manifestation of the writerly self which partly represents the author’s identity. The author, the man, the person behind the story shapes the voice to suit his needs and the needs of the story. The voice is molded into narrative, characters, motifs; it materializes in a text as the idea or viewpoint the writer generates and can take many forms. It represents the invisible core of a text.

What are style, voice, and self?

Voice comes very close to style. Style is “[t]he sum and substance of all elements of writing” (Cognard 317); that said, the crucial distinction between voice and style is that voice resides in the realm of the abstract while style is more concrete. Style can be observed, analyzed and categorized in terms of figures of speech, devices, sentence length, choice of words and much more. A writer’s individual style is composed of every conceivable aspect of writing he employs. Anything that finds its place in a text and particularly the way it is integrated into that text pertains to style. Everything that makes up style makes up voice as well. Another distinction between style and voice is that style must necessarily include the idea, but it does not originate from it like voice does. Voice is the abstract, the invisible core that encapsulates the idea, and style is its surface or realization. The substance of voice is the idea, but the substance of style is the expression, the aesthetic form.

If we deprive William Carlos Williams' "The Red Wheelbarrow" of its enjambment, its regularity of syllables per line, its Imagist features, and more still could be mentioned, we have taken away its stylistic component. What now remains is the writerly voice with the idea of the poem at its core. The idea involves the red wheelbarrow, the chickens, and even water as objects that could roughly be termed as characters or participants of a kind in the poem. The idea of the poem reaches further and connects to human existence. The critic Peter Barker says the poem revolves around perception and its necessity for life. The poem itself can thus "lead to a fuller understanding of one's experience" (Baker).

Voice and style are indeed "the centerpost[s] of an author's writerly self" (Cognard 317), but they are not the self alone. The writerly self is the identity of the person as a writer. It does not include the speaker, narrator or persona; these are created and contained in the realms of voice and style. The proposed hierarchy thus goes like this: first there was the man, and then there was the writer. The writer generated a voice, the core of which was the idea. The idea surfaced and was realized as style. The French rhetorician Comte de Buffon said that style was the man (Cuddon and Preston et al. 872). His statement internalizes the whole hierarchy from start to finish. "Style is, indeed, the writer, the person, the self" (Cognard 317). The man is the creator and his creation, in addition to the text, is style.

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ENGLISH AS A LINGUA FRANCA: PHONOLOGICAL INTELLIGIBILITY

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1. Introduction

The paper is a review of the developments of English as a Lingua Franca (ELF), especially its implications for pedagogy, in the light of phonological intelligibility. The vast number of existing and constantly emerging varieties of English makes the task of selecting a model for teaching quite a conundrum. The teaching policy has to comprise factors such as usefulness of the variety, social opinions, purpose of learning, students' attitudes and many others. ELF was supposed to be a neutral solution used by non-native speakers only. Unfortunately, its neutrality is undermined by its fundamental assumptions – non-native speakers already form a separate variety of English.

Section 2 outlines the global status of the English language. Sections 3 and 4 sketch a linguistic approach to what a language is, what it is made of and how it works. English, Polish and Japanese grammars are compared to illustrate what points ELF proponents might potentially take into consideration. Section 6 briefly summarises what propositions concerning ELF pronunciation teaching have been already made and checks them against the grammatical differences between Polish and Japanese. Section 7 is a rather long question of whether ELF is a variety of English or an entirely different language (a pidgin). Finally, section 8 summarises the discussion and attempts to answer the question of section 7.

2. The ownership of English

It has been long observed that the English no longer enjoy exclusive rights to the English language. Shortly after the revolution Americans fostered the separation of their language from the one of the British. English remained the first language of millions of Americans despite a number of pronunciation changes (Fisher 61).

In the colonial times, English spread throughout the world making its (un)natural habitats in countries of different linguistic environments (first Wales, Ireland and Scotland, then further to South Africa, South Asia and Australia). It is noteworthy that the language brought to the colonies was far from a uniform standard – representatives of the then numerous English dialects transferred this diversity to different colonies or even within them (Burchfield 5–6).

Such a diversity of English varieties was enough a reason to doubt the superiority of one variety over another giving rise to the emergence of “Englishes” (see works by Crystal; Jenkins; Kachru, Kachru and Nelson; Mesthrie and Bhatt; Trudgill and Hannah). Murray and Christison acknowledge that while teaching culture in a language classroom is a part and parcel of a foreign language course, it is difficult to find a compromise between the teacher's culture, the students' culture (especially in a heterogeneous group) and the target language's culture (43–53). Further, what is the culture that should be taught in a course of English? Their conclusion is somewhat diplomatic avoiding a straightforward answer; instead, they propose a set of strategies of creating a friendly atmosphere for intercultural appreciation and successful negotiation of meaning. Crystal writes about “English-speaking culture” but without a fine-grained definition (or any definition for that matter) (105). Thus, the English language as well as the culture associated with it do not belong exclusively to the English.

3. Language, communication and intelligibility

Definitions of language might differ substantially from one another but they all preserve one characteristic: it is a means of communication (c.f. Brown 5–7). The seminal work of Ferdinand de Saussure struggles with the definition of language just to reach the conclusion that language is a many-layered complex phenomenon (7–11). Fromkin, Rodman and Hyams explain that to know a language means to be able to emit a signal (primarily auditory) which is subsequently interpreted by the interlocutor with the intended result (3–29). Both parties must be equipped with the impeccable subconscious knowledge of the complex mechanisms of grammar.

An attempt to communicate to be doomed to failure. What the hearer receives is not a message but a stream of speech sounds (frequently unfamiliar) whose intended meaning is irretrievable. However, such an utterance is far from “white noise”. The hearer might occasionally come across a word or a phrase which sounds similarly to a phrase in their language and carries the same meaning. Thus, although effective communication in two separate languages is unconventional to say the least, it is not inconceivable.

Intelligibility, i.e. the possibility of cross-language communication is quantifiable but the variables involved (divergence of languages examined, separate approaches to different elements of grammar, and inconsistency of methods) contribute to analyses of poor theoretical uniformity and applicability. Throughout his book, Casad presents a digest of methods applicable to measuring intelligibility of dialects of various divergence degrees. The above description, where users of languages A and B cannot understand each other, represents language isolates. Language chain is when A understands B, B understands C and C understands D but A might not understand D. A language where A, B, C and D are mutually intelligible to a greater or lesser extent is called homogenous.

Nevertheless, it is erroneous to assume that dialects of a homogenous language should be treated as derivative of one superior dialect. They rather constitute grammatical systems of their own and should be analysed as such (c.f. Chambers and Trudgill 4–5).

Nelson claims that in order to maintain a sound level of intelligibility, speakers must become familiar with the variety they want to understand (3). However true this might be, it is far from correct! It is true that if we are familiar with another dialect, we are likely to understand it but it is incorrect to assume that if we hear a dialect we have never heard before, it will be unintelligible. What makes for different intelligibility degrees is the systematic (semantic, pragmatic, syntactic and phonological) differences between the dialects involved (Casad 2).

4. Phonology and phonologies

Phonology is the part of grammar organising and governing the principles of production and comprehension of speech (as an acoustic signal). Since two dialects of a language are two separate grammatical systems, they have two independent phonologies. Therefore, it is perfectly possible to compare two dialects of English as if they were two autonomous languages. For example, General American is a rhotic dialect ([r] is pronounced in every position) whereas Received Pronunciation is a non-rhotic one ([r] is pronounced only before a vowel (Wells 662–663) and it does not cause intelligibility fluctuations. Let us now compare a selection of aspects of three phonologies: RP English (Cruttenden), Polish (Sobkowiak) and Japanese (Bada, Case):

(1)

| | final devoicing | r/l contrast | consonant clusters | h |
|----------|-----------------|--------------|--------------------|---|
| English | × | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ |
| Polish | ✓ | ✓ | ✓ | |
| Japanese | ✓ | × | × | ✓ |

First, English contrasts voiced and voiceless consonants in the final position (2a). Second, it has two liquids which might appear in initial, medial and final position (2b). Third, consonant clusters of various sorts are found in abundance (2c). Fourth, English has a glottal voiceless fricative in syllable-initial position (2d).

| (2) | spelling | RP | Polish | Japanese |
|-----|----------------|-----------|-----------|--------------|
| (a) | <i>rip</i> | [rɪp] | [rɪp] | [ripu] |
| | <i>rib</i> | [rɪb] | [rɪp] | [ribu] |
| | <i>let</i> | [let] | [let] | [retu] |
| | <i>lead</i> | [led] | [let] | [redu] |
| (b) | <i>spill</i> | [spɪl] | [spil] | [supiru] |
| | <i>belt</i> | [beɪlt] | [beɪlt] | [beruto] |
| | <i>Collin</i> | ['kɒlɪn] | [kɔlin] | [korin] |
| | <i>lie</i> | [laɪ] | [laɪ] | [rai] |
| (c) | <i>brake</i> | [breɪk] | [brejk] | [bureiki] |
| | <i>snack</i> | [snæk] | [snak] | [sunakku] |
| | <i>test</i> | [test] | [test] | [tesuto] |
| | <i>rank</i> | [ræŋk] | [reŋk] | [raŋku] |
| (d) | <i>hammer</i> | ['hæmə] | [xamɐ] | [hamaru] |
| | <i>perhaps</i> | [pə'hæps] | [pɛrxaps] | [puruhapusu] |

Polish phonology allows only voiceless segments in the final position hence there is no contrast between *let* and *lead*. Japanese, on the other hand, does not devoice final consonants for they are disallowed in this position whatsoever – Japanese phonology forces syllables to be open (i.e. end in a vowel). As far as English liquids are concerned, the only problem for Polish speakers is the lack of the so-called “dark l” but the r/l contrast is preserved unlike in Japanese which possesses only one liquid. Further, while Polish phonology has no problems with consonant clusters in whatever position, Japanese breaks them up with a vowel. Finally, while Japanese phonology is equipped with a glottal fricative [h], Polish speakers of English substitute it with a velar [x].

As we can see Polish and Japanese phonologies, which served as examples, make different responses to the English input (Major 66). Section 6 deals with the answer to the question why Polish rather than Japanese pronunciation of English should be more intelligible (for an English ear).

5. English as a Lingua Franca

The previous section assumes communication between a native speaker and a foreigner. Nonetheless, there is a new trend to italicise the term *native speaker of English*, since, as indicated in section 2, establishing who that person could be presents serious problems. This

global character and global usage of English brought the phenomenon of English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) into existence. ELF, as opposed to English as a Foreign Language, is a development of language contact between speakers sharing English as a means of communication. Substituting one's native linguistic features for those of the target language is no longer seen as a deficiency in language acquisition but as a necessary process in language development (Jenkins, Cogo and Dewey 290).

The intention of this paper is not to define ELF (for definitions of ELF see Jenkins 143–151, Seidlhofer 339; Čeh 62 and Jenkins, Cogo and Dewey 283) but to test its basic assumptions concerning teaching pronunciation. Some ELF pronunciation features are listed below (Jenkins 147–148 and Zoghbor 285):

- (3) (a) important (core) features:
 - vowel quantity (*fit* vs *feet*)
 - most consonants (except θ , δ and ʃ)
 - consonant clusters (*Clyde* vs. *collide*)
 - sentence stress (*He was a THIEF* vs. *He WAS a thief*)
- (b) unimportant (non-core) features
 - vowel quality (*pet* vs. *pat*)
 - dental fricatives (θ and δ)
 - weak forms (*It's for you* vs. *It's FOR you*)
 - connected speech (*There were teM boys* vs. *There were teN boys*)
 - word stress (*REcord* vs. *reCORD*)

Jenkins suggests forfeiting the non-core (or even some core pronunciation features depending on what first-language features the interlocutors might share) promoting only the core ones (148). A phonology constructed in such a way should be considered a regionalism rather than an error or a distortion in the process of language acquisition. Moreover, such a pronunciation should be viewed not as a point on the way to achieve the desired model pronunciation but as the model itself.

6. Could you repeat, please?

Pronunciation attitudes might be two-pronged nowadays: (a) preserving L1 features to preserve one's cultural identity and (b) acquiring L2 features to accommodate culturally with the interlocutor (Ellis 39). ELF propositions are clearly those favouring identity preservation since they promote retention of as many L1 pronunciation features as possible.

We have already seen that preserving some L1 features does not introduce confusion. For example, English does not contrast clear and dark [ɪ], thus using Polish [bɛɫ] instead of [bɛɫ̥] (vowel quality ignored) would not be confused with another English word, say **bellt*. Similarly, English has only one dorsal fricative [h], therefore an item like [xɛlp] would be most probably recognised as *help*. For all that, neither [bɛɫ] nor [xɛlp] would sound native-like. Having said that, let us try to interpret Polish pronunciation [rip] – it could be *rip* or *rib* (because Polish does not contrast voice finally) or it could be *reap* (because there is no vowel quantity distinction). If there were an English word **reab* [ri:b], interpretation of Polish [rip] would be a hugely perplexed task. Further, English dental fricatives contribute lexical contrast and cannot be substituted with other consonants. Compare *thought* with *fought*, *thinker* with *tinker*, *think* with *sink*, *though* with *dough*, *leather* with *lever* or *then* with *Zen*. Clearly, negligence of the dental fricatives would result in ambiguity. A simple conclusion can be drawn, if a feature contributes lexical (phonemic) contrast, it cannot be forfeited.

Coming back to ELF features, vowel quality contributes lexical contrast. Words like **[front]* and **[tʃeriti]* are nonexistent, so they cannot introduce confusion. Were *fronnt* and

cherrity to acquire meanings in English (which, however unlikely, is perfectly possible³), such lexical oppositions would arise. What is more, the list of lexical items contrasting in stress placement is vast: *addict*, *contract*, *fragment*, *impact*, *pervert*, *suspect* etc. Stress placement distinguishes nouns from verbs in these examples but there are items entirely differentiated by stress. Concerning the comparison in (1), Polish seems to have only one intelligibility problem, namely final devoicing (note that x/h contrast is not phonemic), while Japanese has three – final consonants, r/l contrast and clusters.

As for connected speech, Gilbert (in *Clear Speech* and *Teaching Pronunciation*) observes that understanding English as a foreign language (neglected by most pronunciation courses) depends on it very much. Learners of English have no obligation to implement the rules of connected speech if they want to be understood but their understanding of English is severely impaired without it.

Consequently, assumptions in (3b) are misguided. Mastering these features of pronunciation is crucial for both understanding English and being understood speaking it. Thus, whatever we achieve by resorting to propositions in (3) results in anything but intelligibility increase.

It is only logical to assume that emphasising phonemic (or phonological) contrast should be promoted over the allophonic (or phonetic) in teaching a foreign language (c.f. Munro 203–209). Moreover, if negligence of a pronunciation feature leads to decrease of intelligibility (e.g. connected speech), it should be treated as phonemic.

Is learning ELF learning English or something else then? Szpyra-Kozłowska pointed out that learners of ELF must face a ridiculous choice: do we learn English to communicate with non-native speakers or with native speakers? The preferable answer would be *both*. Unfortunately, ELF, having been created to enable communication between non-native speakers, is ill-equipped to handle comprehension of certain “native Englishes” features as well as production intelligible to a speaker unfamiliar with the native grammar of the ELF user.

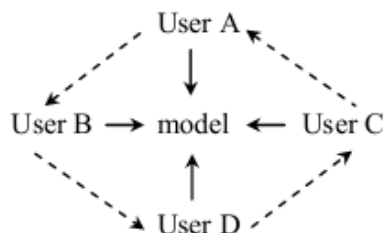
8. Conclusion

English has gained a status of an international language whose knowledge has become almost indispensable in the 21st century world. Due to the enormous number of speakers of English, it has developed a considerable variety regional and social dialects, which inevitably leads to linguistic dilemmas: Which variety to teach at schools? Should we learn the “local English”, the “British English” or the “American English”? The notion “English as a Lingua Franca” emerged as an answer to these questions – we should acquire English not as a flawless system used by an ideal native speaker but as a flexible language used for the purpose of communication.

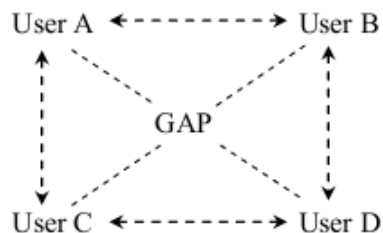
However, learners of English use their native phonologies to accommodate English pronunciation creating ambiguous, confusing or even incomprehensible utterances. What seems to cause intelligibility problems is lack of phonemic contrast rather than native-like pronunciation. In order to establish what contrast is indeed phonemic, we have to contradict our pronunciation with a model, which is represented graphically below:

³ The [bett]~[belt] opposition, on the other hand, has to involve a change in grammar in order to become contrastive in meaning

(4) (a) intelligibility with a model



(b) ELF-guideline intelligibility



The diagrams illustrate the assumption that users of English who rely on a common model (4a) should be intelligible to each other even without any prior communication between themselves. The model works as a gravity field around which the varieties revolve. However, those users without a common model (4b) will have intelligibility problems unless they have created a common ELF before. Thus, in order to maintain English a homogeneous language, we should agree on a model of pronunciation otherwise it will become a language chain of multiple ELF pidgins unintelligible for an outsider.

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BUSINESS ENGLISH TEACHER COMPETENCIES IN THE LIGHT OF CORPORATE REQUIREMENTS*

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1 Introduction

The increasing importance of English language in professional contexts gave rise to specialized language training in the form of English for Specific Purposes (ESP) programmes and courses worldwide. As the use of English for Business Purposes (EBP) or Business English (BE) has become even more frequent and significant in international business, it has become indispensable for business professionals to master a high level of BE. In the past 25 years these trends have resulted in the increase of in-company BE training courses in Hungary, which have placed a demand on the ELT market for BE language teachers who are able to accommodate the multinational company culture, meet the requirements of these organisations and the BE learners, and deliver specific, tailor-made BE courses for business professionals.

BE, like any field of ESP is a “strange and uncharted land” (Hutchinson and Waters 158) for most language teachers, who often resist pursuing a BE teaching career mainly due to the lack of specialized teacher training and the challenging, ever-changing nature of ESP teaching (Belcher 165; Chen 390; Wu and Badger 20). Although recent developments in the field of ESP have led to an increased interest in the difficulties of ESP teachers’ professional development (see Belcher, Chen, Hüttner et al., Jackson, Sifakis, Wu and Badger, for example), no research has been done on mapping the corporate requirements imposed on BE teachers, hence no up-to-date assessment of BE teacher competencies, as expected by the business community, is currently available.

The aim of this paper is to reveal the specialized competencies of BE teachers as seen by BE learners at multinational companies (MNCs) in Hungary. Therefore, the study explores the perceptions of BE learners regarding special knowledge, skills and qualities needed in the field, and the requirements imposed on BE teachers in the Hungarian context by in-company BE learners (i.e. business professionals). A further aim of this study is to validate the research instrument for a forthcoming large-scale research project.

2 Business English Teacher Competencies

2.1 Knowledge of the Business English teacher

As part of their general language teaching background, BE teachers should have a high level of proficiency in English, and thorough knowledge of applied linguistics and ELT methodology. However, many practising ESP teachers and researchers have reported cases when the teachers could not answer students’ content or topic-related questions due to their unfamiliarity with the subject matter, professional genre and discourse conventions (Chen 392, Wu and Badger 24). Consequently, a key question widely discussed by BE experts and teachers is whether BE teachers should know anything about the world of business or not. Provided that some sort of business knowledge is required, the question is: what depth of business knowledge is necessary and how can BE trainers acquire this expertise?

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There seems to be a consensus among authors (see Donna, Dudley-Evans and St John, Ellis and Johnson, Hutchinson and Waters, Frendo, Harding, for example) that BE teachers are not business professionals and they do not need to be one. Most BE trainers have a general language teaching background and do not have hands-on experience in any field of business. Seldom have teachers actually studied business disciplines or had a business career. Therefore, BE authors share the view that BE teachers do not have to be experts in any particular area of business. Unlike in general English teaching scenarios, where the teacher knows much more about the subject he or she is teaching, in BE training “the teacher is not in the position of being the ‘primary knower’ of the carrier content of the material” (Dudley-Evans and St John 13). Due to the fact that BE students often know more about the business they are working in (e.g. business organisations, policies, functions, processes, products, markets, competitors, partners), BE teachers are required to work in partnership with the students. In fact, Frendo calls it a *symbiotic relationship* between the teacher and the learner, where the teacher has the knowledge about language and communication, while the learners know more about the subject area (4). This partnership between the BE teacher and learner assumes a completely different attitude towards BE teaching, which has to be accepted by both parties.

2.2 Skills of the Business English teacher

Some special skills are considered to be critical for BE teachers (see Donna, Dudley-Evans and St John, Ellis and Johnson, Frendo, Jackson, Robinson, for example), which may be of equal importance with business knowledge in BE teaching contexts. BE teachers should share an interest in economics, management and business issues and should be willing to learn about the particular industry as well as the everyday professional activities of their BE learners. Not only should BE teachers be open to business topics and other disciplines, but they need to be able to do so continuously day by day, as they train business professionals from various companies in different industries, performing a wide range of activities. This requires “the ability to adapt to a particular teaching context” (Frendo 5) and the ability to change from one context to another. Jackson (151) highlights the importance of adaptability, creativity and resourcefulness of the BE teacher, which seem to be key qualities for success. Readiness to change is another key skill that BE trainers should possess. Any time during a lesson or a course changes may arise that can affect the training process, learning goals, teaching methods, topics, activities, materials or scheduling of the course. BE teachers need to be ready to respond to these changes quickly and effectively. This frequently involves on-the-spot decisions, which may require that teachers be flexible and take some risks in their teaching.

Relatively few research studies (see Dudley-Evans and St John, Hughes, Jackson, Jármai, for example) seem to mention general business skills that are inevitable for teachers within the business world. The term ‘soft skills’ is frequently used in business for the abilities that people need in order to communicate and work well with other people; and in the case of managers, to manage people tactfully. Group facilitation, team-building, problem-solving, motivation, communication skills, meeting and negotiation skills, presentation and speaking skills, management and leadership skills, time and task management are some of the many soft skills applied in business contexts. As BE teachers work with business professionals who are often masters of the above listed skills and abilities, BE trainers are advised to study these soft skills thoroughly. Not only should BE teachers know about these soft skills, but it may also be useful for them to apply some of their elements in the BE classroom, (e.g. manage groups, activities, time; build teams; motivate students), and eventually be able to perform some of these skills themselves (e.g. giving presentations, negotiating) (Dudley-Evans and St John 71).

2.3 Personality of the Business English teacher

Every teacher has their own personality and it is rather difficult to provide a definite description of the attributes of the BE teacher. Although individual differences of BE teachers cannot be overlooked, some significant personal qualities may be beneficial for the BE teacher for pursuing a successful BE teaching career. Most authors (see Dudley-Evans and St John, Ellis and Johnson, Hutchinson and Waters, for example) seem to concur that BE trainers need to be outgoing, open-minded, curious and genuinely interested in business issues. Furthermore, BE teachers should be tactful, sensitive to the learners' needs and be willing to listen to the learners. As personal contact is of considerable importance in the case of a one-to-one situation and in small groups, BE trainers are expected to have excellent communication skills, be capable of building a good rapport with the learners and like working with people (Dudley-Evans & St John 71, Ellis and Johnson 27). Ellis and Johnson also point out that it is "invaluable (for teachers) to have a sense of humour, but it is also vital that the trainer should be seen to be taking the course seriously" (27).

3 Method

Based on recent developments in the literature and previous research, this study set out with the aim of finding answers for the following research questions.

- What specialized competencies (qualifications, knowledge, skills and personal qualities) are needed for Business English teachers in order to be successful in their Business English teaching career?
- What requirements do multinational companies operating in Hungary set for Business English teachers working for them?

3.1 Participants

The study involved business professionals (N=87) working for companies that are legal entities registered in Hungary and are important players in the Hungarian and European economy. The participants showed a wide distribution in positions, job titles, business experience, and the types of companies and departments they worked for. The majority of the business professionals were men, with the male–female ratio of 54:33 (62% male, 38% female). A considerable number of respondents consisted of junior and senior professionals (59.8%, n=52) and middle managers (20.7%, n=18), while the remaining part of the sample comprised top managers (10.3%, n=9) and administrative personnel (8.0%, n=7)⁴. As regards the department areas, a large variety of departments were represented (e.g. Sales, Marketing, Production, Finance, Accounting, IT etc.). The majority of the participants had extensive work experience: 59.8% (n=52) had more than 11 years of work experience, while 18.4% (n=16) of the business people had spent 6–10 years in the field and only 21.8% (n=19) had worked less than 5 years. Their language proficiency ranged from beginner to proficient, with the majority being at intermediate or upper-intermediate level (70.1%, n=61).

3.2 The instrument

The instrument to be used for the present research was constructed based on the questionnaire administered at a preceding study done by the author (see Mészárosné Kóris). The content areas as well as the constructs were determined based on recent developments in the field and

⁴ Missing data 1.1%, n=1

the researcher's personal experiences. After having made some modifications to the earlier version of the instrument, an improved, updated questionnaire was available for this study.

The questionnaire comprises four parts. Part 1 includes 22 items inquiring about the frequencies respondents use BE for their work. In Part 2, participants are asked to rate the importance of 30 items about the requirements imposed on BE teachers with regard to their professional qualification, language competence, business knowledge, professional experience, skills and personality traits. The last two parts of the instrument contain multiple-choice questions on the respondents' personal and corporate background.

3.3 Procedures

Having prepared the new updated version of the instrument, an expert consultation was carried out to ensure the *content validity* of the questionnaire. Prior to administration, the instrument was tested for *response validity* by conducting think-aloud protocols with two business professionals. As regards the selection procedure of the participants, the controlled selection method of stratified sampling was opted for to make sure that companies from different industry sectors, business background, company size and headquarters' locations etc. were represented. However, it is vital to acknowledge the limitations of the sampling procedure as companies were selected on terms of accessibility and availability, hence companies beyond the reach of the researcher could not have been considered.

Consequently, one-to-one questionnaire administration strategy (Dörnyei 67) was used, although some of the questionnaires were distributed and filled in by the participants electronically. Prior to the start of the research and data collection procedures, the managements of the participating companies were informed about the aims and procedures of the study, and official permissions were obtained. Data management and analysis was performed using SPSS 17.0 for Windows (Statistical Package for Social Sciences).

4 Results and discussion

4.1 The definition of the latent constructs

The first set of analyses aimed at creating the latent constructs and verifying the reliability of each scale by calculating Cronbach's Alpha coefficients. As shown in Table 1, Cronbach's Alpha values of three constructs (Language use, Skills, Personality traits) turned out to be high, which confirmed that these constructs were reliable. Internal consistency indices of two scales (Language competence and ELT qualification, Business knowledge and qualification) were slightly lower, both of which were still in excess of 0.60 and can be considered reliable.

Table 1 Reliability and construct validity

| Constructs | Variables | Cronbach's Alpha |
|---|-----------|------------------|
| Language use | v1–v22 | 0.930 |
| Language competence and ELT qualification | v23–v25 | 0.646 |
| Business knowledge and qualification | v26–v29 | 0.753 |
| Experience | v30–v33 | 0.569 |
| Skills | v34–v41 | 0.850 |
| Personality traits | v42–v52 | 0.838 |

The Cronbach's Alpha coefficient of the Experience scale measuring the requirements of BE learners related to the teachers' experience was computed below the minimal threshold. Therefore, it is apparent from these results that the constructs may have to be refined for future study in order to increase Cronbach's Alpha values, thus the reliability of the constructs.

4.2 Language use

In the first part of the questionnaire, respondents were to mark their answers regarding the frequencies of BE use on a five-point scale (1=never; 2=yearly; 3=monthly; 4=weekly; 5=daily). Descriptive statistical analyses showed that the mean average for language use was 2.73 (SD=0.69) which highlighted the fact that this sample of business professionals seldom used BE for their work. The highest mean values were observed at passive activities which involve reading or writing skills of the learners. Table 2 shows the mean values of the top 5 most frequently used activities.

Table 2 Top 5 items of language use

| Top 5 items | | Mean | SD |
|-------------|---|------|------|
| v10 | Reading business correspondence | 4.24 | 1.03 |
| v11 | Writing business correspondence | 4.00 | 1.21 |
| v12 | Reading business documents (e.g. reports, proposals, contracts) | 3.95 | 1.03 |
| v20 | Reading business and financial news, journals, websites | 3.48 | 1.11 |
| v21 | Watching business and financial news, TV programmes, websites | 3.25 | 1.06 |

The purpose of further data analyses was to reveal any statistically significant differences in language use between genders by conducting independent sample t-tests and between positions using one-way ANOVA. As can be seen from Table 3, the independent sample t-test indicated a significant difference ($p < 0.05$) in language use frequency according to gender. Male business professionals used BE more frequently ($n=54$, $M=2.90$) for their work than female participants ($n=33$, $M=2.52$).

Table 3 Gender/use (Independent Sample T-Test)

| Gender | Mean | Sig. (2-tailed) |
|---------------|------|-----------------|
| Male | 2.90 | 0.022 |
| Female | 2.52 | 0.026 |

The gender-related differences raised the researcher's suspicion that such differences may be due to differences in the positions held by the participants. Therefore, a one-way ANOVA test was executed in order to examine whether significant differences existed between gender and position. Table 4 presents the results obtained from the analysis ($F=4.89$; $p < 0.05$) which confirmed the initial supposition. As the findings suggest, male participants of this sample are in higher positions within the business organisations than their female colleagues. Consequently, business professionals in senior or top managerial positions tend to use BE more in their day-to-day business activities than professionals in lower positions.

Table 4 Gender/position (One-way ANOVA)

| Use | F | Sig. |
|----------------|-------|------|
| Between groups | 4.892 | 0.01 |

4.3 BE learner requirements regarding BE teacher competencies

In the case of BE learner requirements, respondents were to mark their answers on a five-point scale (1=absolutely not necessary; 2=not necessary; 3=nice to have; 4=necessary; 5=absolutely necessary). Descriptive statistics revealed (see Table 5) that expectations related to language competence and ELT qualification received the highest mean average ($M=3.90$, $SD=0.79$) indicating that the participants of this study attached the highest importance to the linguistic professionalism of BE teachers. Mean values of the two other scales (Personality traits $M=3.67$, $SD=0.48$; Skills $M=3.60$, $SD=0.59$) got high scores implying their importance. Business knowledge and qualification received the lowest mean average ($M=3.18$, $SD=0.63$), which denotes that business professionals do not necessarily expect BE teachers to master business content knowledge. However, it is important to highlight the fact that the 3.18 mean average value of Business knowledge indicates that it is a ‘nice-to-have’ competence of BE teachers, hence teachers should make every attempt to familiarize themselves with business content knowledge in order to become more successful in their BE teaching career.

Table 5 The means of constructs

| Constructs | Variables | Mean | SD |
|---|-----------|------|------|
| Language competence and ELT qualification | v23–v25 | 3.90 | 0.79 |
| Business knowledge and qualification | v26–v29 | 3.18 | 0.63 |
| Experience | v30–v33 | 3.37 | 0.57 |
| Skills | v34–v41 | 3.60 | 0.59 |
| Personality traits | v42–v52 | 3.67 | 0.48 |

To answer the question what competencies BE teachers should have based on the requirements of the BE learners, the items with the highest mean average values are ranked in Table 6. Data analyses of the sample population suggested that the top requirements of the participants related to the skills, positive personality traits and general English proficiency of the BE teacher, which all seem to be essential for BE teachers to be successful in their career.

Table 6 Top 5 items of the requirements

| Top 5 items | Mean | SD |
|--|------|------|
| v34 Communication skills | 4.41 | 0.63 |
| v23 General English proficiency | 4.27 | 0.83 |
| v48 Reliability | 4.25 | 0.68 |
| v50 Positive attitude | 4.10 | 0.69 |
| v36 Interpersonal skills | 4.06 | 0.77 |

4 Conclusion

The present study attempted to find out how frequently business professionals use BE for their work and it aimed to reveal that BE teachers are required to have specialised competencies (knowledge, skills and personality traits) in order to run successful BE courses. Thus, exploring the requirements of the business community imposed on BE teachers was the main aim of this study. Another objective was to validate the research instrument and draw conclusions for future larger-scale research.

Results obtained from the study showed that this sample of business professionals seldom use BE for their work and that they mainly use BE for business correspondence and reading business documentation. Descriptive statistical analyses shed light on statistically significant differences between genders and positions in the case of BE language use. Further analyses indicated that business professionals have well-defined requirements imposed on BE teachers, out of which language competence and personal characteristics are among the highest expectations. Although BE teachers are not required to have business knowledge and qualifications, it may be of an advantage for a BE teacher to gain some knowledge of essential business terminology, functions and processes.

Based on the findings of the present research, the instrument will have to be adjusted and updated with some modifications related to the constructs, items and questions. Consequently, the refined constructs and variables are expected to yield increased Cronbach's Alpha internal consistency coefficients, thus the reliability and construct validity of a larger-scale study could be increased. The sample size of the present study (N=87) was limited, therefore a larger-scale research project is planned to be launched in the near future involving a larger sample population of Hungarian BE learners.

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HISTORY, SOCIAL SCIENCES, ECONOMICS

MULTIPLE APPROACHES TO ETHNIC IDENTITY: THE CASE OF THE LEMKOS OF THE CARPATHIAN MOUNTAINS^{5*}

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The ethnos and its culture

Contemporary Europe is facing an issue of growing ethnic unrest. The Carpathian Mountains are among the regions in which strong national or ethnic identities are emerging. Those processes are happening at present and in vivo. The Lemkos, being part of a larger Rusyn group and originally inhabited the south-eastern Poland, are restoring their culture. Ethnic identity can be analysed by means of multiple approaches like primordialism, situationism, constructivism and instrumentalism. This paper is an attempt to address the phenomenon of the Lemko identity from different perspectives in an effort to provide a multi-dimensional view on the issue.

Numerous issues concerning the Lemkos are the subject of an ongoing scientific and popular debate. Due to this, one may face a persisting problem of obliqueness and perplexity when it comes to such matters as naming of the ethnos, homeland, ethnogenesis, the status of the Lemko vernacular, etc. For the purpose of this paper some basic facts about the group need to be presented in the first place.

The Lemkos are one of the east Slavic ethnic groups, originally of rural descent, inhabiting the Carpathian Mountains. According to a number of scholars (see the works of Paul Robert Magocsi as well as Paul Best and Stanisław Stępień), they are a part of a larger group or a nation called the Rusyns or Carpatho-Rusyns. The name “Lemko” derives from a common expression “lem” (“лем”) which means “but”, “only” or “like” in the Lemko dialect (Misiak 81–85).

The motherland of the Lemkos, commonly referred to as Lemkivshchyna (Ukrainian: “Лемківщина”, Lemko: “Lemkovyna”, “Лемковина”, Polish: “Łemkowszczyzna”) is a borderland territory where different cultural influences coexisted and interchanged. Broadly speaking, until the mid-1940's, the Lemko land included the mountain ranges from the Poprad River in the west to the valley of the Oslawa River in the east, i.e. the areas situated primarily in present-day Poland: in the provinces of Lesser Poland and the Subcarpathian Voivodeships (Horbal 39–43; Reinfuss 6–15). The adjacent Slovak region is also populated by a group of Rusyn highlanders that are similar linguistically and culturally, although the ethnonym “Lemko” usually does not refer to them. It has to be noted that the Lemko land is defined differently in the Polish and Ukrainian scientific traditions. The Ukrainian approach embraces a slightly larger area by incorporating some additional villages in the east that have been identified by the Polish scientific tradition as populated by the Boyko people.

The ethnogenesis of the Lemkos is another issue still being discussed by scholars as well as it is the subject of many scientific and popular debates (Nowak 64–65; Trzeczynska 66–67). To name just a few theories: (1) the Lemkos are the descendants of a Slavic tribe known as the White Croats, who arrived in the region around the 5th century; or (2) their ancestors were the Vlach-Rusyn migrants that appeared in the Low Beskids region in the 13th, 14th and 15th centuries; or (3) they descended from the Rus refugees who escaped the Mongol invasion in the 13th century. The prospective Lemko territory was incorporated into Poland in the

⁵ This paper is based on a research towards the master's degree in cultural studies, earned from the Jagiellonian University in Kraków, Poland in July 2013.

medieval Piast times. Due to the works of ethnographers the Lemkos were becoming gradually distinguishable as a group, especially at the time of the Austrian rule in Galicia in the late 18th and in the 19th centuries and definitely in the interwar years of the 20th century. The economically driven emigration from this territory to the Western hemisphere, mainly the US and Canada, began in the late 19th century and continued through the first decades of the 20th century. After World War I, the Lemkos founded two short-lived republics, the Lemko Rusyn Republic (1918–21) in the west of Galicia, which had a Russophilic orientation, and the Komańcza Republic (1918–9) with a Ukrainophilic orientation. The population before WWII was approximately 150 000 (Horbal 124). After WWII a series of events that had a huge impact on the group occurred, such as the forced resettlements, initially to the Soviet Union (about 90,000 people) and later to Poland's newly-acquired western lands (about 35,000) in the Operation Vistula campaign of the 1940's. Those actions were a state-ordered removal of the civilian population that according to an official statement of the communist government was a potential support for the guerrilla war being fought by the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (Українська повстанська армія) in south-eastern Poland (Horbal 419–423, 430–440).

Apart from the historical issues, some cultural facts also need to be mentioned. The Lemkos' language is considered by the Ukrainian linguists to be the most western of the Ukrainian dialects. One of the main differences is a fixed word stress. The homeland occupied by the Lemkos was not politically a part of the Ukraine, and their tongue has been influenced greatly by languages spoken by the neighbouring or ruling peoples. Some scholars state that the Lemko language is the westernmost dialect of the Rusyn language. Besides the heavy Ukrainian influences, Lemko speech includes some patterns matching those of the neighbouring Polish and Slovak languages as well as Hungarian loanwords, leading some to refer to it as a transitional dialect. The dialect is taught in a small number of schools as a non-obligatory subject. The scripture system is Cyrillic (Misiak 81–130; Horbal 140–158).

In terms of religious denomination, the Lemkos are characterised by a deep commitment to the East Christian tradition, which was introduced to the Eastern Slavs from Byzantium via Kiev through the efforts of the Saints Cyril and Methodius in the 9th century. Subsequently, they entered into a union with Rome at the end of the 16th century (the Union of Brest). Today most of the Lemkos are Eastern-rite or Byzantine-rite Catholics. In Poland they belong to the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church and in Slovakia to the Ruthenian Catholic Church (Slovak Greek Catholic Church). A substantial number of them belongs to the Eastern Orthodox Church (Stachowiak 22–35; Horbal 238–269; Trzeczysńska 68–69).

Theoretical framework of ethnic identity

It is obvious that identity is an extensively popular concept, even a new paradigm, especially nowadays when cultural change, autonomy, individualism and collective/group identity are in the focus of studies of social scientists. For the purpose of this paper it can be stated that one's identity is a basic knowledge about oneself and ethnic identity is connected to one's ethnic background. An ethnic group (Fenton 35) is a group of people classified together because of their descent and culture; it is characterized by three distinctive features: (1) it is a form of a subset in a nation state; (2) it is distinguished by its culture (more than by physical appearance); (3) it is perceived as “different” (alien, exotic, a minority group) in contrast to the majority (called and referred to as “non-ethnic”).

In this study, four theoretical approaches to ethnic identity were utilised in an attempt to apply them to the Lemko ethnic group. The first one is primordialism. It concerns ideological primary groups and highlights the importance of blood ties (Shils 142–143). A more detailed question follows: is this ethnic identity (the notion of being a part of a primary group due to blood ties) driven or determined by some deep cultural, psychological or biological human qualities? The primordial answers to the question of how ethnic identity is created are: (1) the

human culture creates the meanings which determine the perception of reality (the ethnic identity arises as the experience of different meaning systems); (2) deep psychological attachments to the natal community are sources of ethnic identity; (3) acting on biological instinct forms kin bonds that constitute ethnic identity (Tilley 499–503).

The situational approach (situationism) believes that between groups there are boundaries and the existence of those boundaries is stable, although it is possible for individuals to transcend from one group to another as well as it is possible to maintain social relations across those boundaries. This means that despite mobility, contact and information flow, some discrete categories exist. The persistence of those mutual dependencies makes the intergroup differences stable and boundaries fixed. This is how Barth puts it: “Interaction in such a social system does not lead to its liquidation through change and acculturation; cultural differences can persist despite inter-ethnic contact and interdependence” (10). Following this way of thinking, ethnicity is “happening” due to those inclusive and exclusive processes and identity depends on a social and historical context.

Another utilised approach is constructivism (Tilley 511–515). This theory seems to prevail nowadays. According to this approach ethnicity and ethnic identity are treated as an idea or a discourse. When it comes to the emergence of ethnic identity, two perspectives can be distinguished: (1) anthropological perspective: “ethnic identity [is understood] as reflecting ideas interwoven throughout the entire framework of meanings sustained in the society” (Tilley 512); (2) intellectual/instrumental perspective: the role of influential intellectuals as propagators of ethnic identity is of vital importance to the emergence of ethnic identity. This notion is reflected in the works of Anderson and the concept of imagined communities as well as Hobsbawm and Ranger’s idea of invented traditions, also somehow connected to instrumentalism.

Instrumentalism (Tilley 506–511) is the last approach applied in this study. According to it ethnicity is a purely political phenomenon. Culture does not contribute to the formation of ethnic identity, although some selected customs are used as emblems to legitimize ethnic claims in the public domain. Due to this the original culture (or some element of this culture) as well as its members may suffer. Ethnic entrepreneurs are those who try to achieve political or economic goals by, for example, propagating a particular culture as distinctive.

The aim of this paper is to address the phenomenon of the Lemko identity from those theoretical perspectives in an effort to present a multi-dimensional view on this issue. To achieve this, an extensive survey of literature and additional field studies were conducted. The free interviews were undertaken mainly in Zyndranowa and other villages in the Lemko region: Tylawa, Lipowiec, Czeremcha, some of which ceased to exist after the forced resettlements. However, it needs to be mentioned that the interviews are treated only as an additional source. During the field visits it was noticed that the population displays symptoms of fatigue when faced with the topic. Some of the informants participated in numerous ethnological and sociological research projects in the past.

Multiple approaches to ethnic identity in the case of Lemkos

A phrase that one may come across quite often when visiting the Lemko region is: “Лемко зпід Бескіда з діда прадіда” (“I am a Lemko and my ancestors had lived in the Beskids for ages”) – it is an expression that sounds especially neat in the Lemko dialect and reflects the basic assumption of primordial ethnic identity – the blood ties with ancestors that lived in the Beskid mountains. The importance of homeland and the feeling of being local are marked here as well. This primordial perception of ties can be identified as a psychological one. On the other hand, the issue of actual ancestry, as mentioned earlier, is still under debate. From a political point of view, if one considers the Lemkos as a part of the Ukrainian nation, the group needs to be treated as a national minority. If the Lemko people are a separate group,

their status is similar to other ethnic minorities in the country. It should be noted that this argument is not considered important by a substantial part of the Lemko population (Sobieraj 197).

According to the situational approach, it is the contacts with other domestic and foreign groups in times of peace and war that constitute the context of ethnic identity formation. The Lemkos were ethnically always a part of Galicia which was a place of “tutejszy”, “ludzie stąd” vs. “obcy” – indigenous people who live here as opposed to those who are alien (came from outside). Throughout the centuries, on a number of occasions, the Lemko people had a chance to learn about their identity due to inter-ethnic contacts (Michna 33–34). Those relational processes that the Lemkos took part in are as follows: the contacts due to administrative duties, trade, migrations, compulsory enlistment into the armed forces, German occupation and pseudo-scientific anthropological research during WWII (the works of Institut für Deutsche Ostarbeit), resettlement in the 1940's, post-war social contexts encountered in the environments of Poland's western lands and the Soviet Ukraine, social and political changes due to the fall of communism.

The next approach seems to be very useful in gaining a better understanding of the Lemko identity. Constructivism is helpful when describing diverse attempts undertaken by activists and intelligentsia of different national orientations since the second half of the 19th century as well as by the broad Lemko community. Some poets and priests should be mentioned, although not all of them wrote in the Lemko dialect: Wolodymyr Chylak (1843–1893), Bohdan Ihor Antonych (1909–1937) (Misiak 96–106). Especially Chylak was of great importance as he is considered as an awakener, similarly to another poet born in the Slovak part of the Carpathians – Alexander Dukhnovich – whose works are essential for the identity forming of Carpatho Rusyns. Chylak used Iazychie, which was an artificial language, although it can be treated as a stage in the evolution of the Lemko vernacular. Antonych wrote in Ukrainian, however, he is regarded as a crucial writer for Lemkos as well. These authors are portrayed in popular and even the scholarly discourse as Lemko, even though they used languages that differ from the Lemko vernacular. Although the intentions and influence of these writers are beyond question, they may also be put in some other canon of literature, especially Antonych, who is considered as a representative of the Ukrainian literary tradition.

Moreover, emigrants have a huge role in creating the Lemko identity. This happened due to the process that can be called “an importation of identity” from abroad, mainly the US and Canada (Nowak 175–196). The process of Ethnic Revival needs to be mentioned as well – it occurred at the end of the 1980's and at the beginning of the 1990's. In the new reality of post-communism, the Lemko culture can flourish: new places which are important for the collective memory are established, memoirs and village monographs are published, and homesickness and grief are expressed freely. Finally, the new media including the internet (such as the online radio station lem.fm) play the main role in strengthening the Lemko identity at present.

The last approach, instrumentalism, cannot be fully utilised in case of the Lemko identity. There is a lack of purely political claims among the Lemko activists nowadays. Historically, as mentioned, one can find attempts at forming a self-governed autonomy or state. Moreover, the factions representing diverse national orientations were fighting for prevalence in Galicia across the 19th and the 20th centuries. Nevertheless, the instrumental approach is useful for getting an insight into the situation that occurs in the adjacent Ukrainian territory of Carpathian Ruthenia (Закарпаття), where efforts to build up the political capital are made by some Rusyn leaders like Dmytr Sydor. Those actions are aimed to strengthen the position of Carpatho-Rusyns in the process of the European integration (Boksański 99). Living in Poland, which is a part of the EU, puts the Lemkos in a better position in terms of, for example, the policy towards the minorities.

Conclusion

The aim of this paper was to give a brief introduction to the issue of the ethnic identity of the Lemko-Rusyn group and to highlight the fact that this part of Europe is also an interesting area when one takes into account ethnicity and identity. The theories of ethnic identity, both the classical one by Shils and Barth and the more contemporary ones developed within the framework of constructivism, appear to be useful when describing the given case. A well-known Polish sociologist, Szacki (17) claims that it is vital not only to develop elaborate theories of national/ethnic identity, which has already been done, but also to empirically test those theories. In other words, he calls for an appropriate exemplification and application of constructs. This paper was a humble attempt to answer this call.

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THE ISSUE RESEARCH OF MEDIEVAL SETTLEMENTS OF SLOVAKIA

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As the title itself suggests the following brief essay is not addressed to the issue of settlements in Slovakia as such, but it focuses on analyzing primary sources for research of medieval settlements. This work focuses primarily on written sources, but briefly we approach the possibility to use the knowledge of other disciplines. However, a complete and satisfactory picture of the development of settlements in Slovakia can be reconstructed only with the use of knowledge of several disciplines, therefore at the end of the essay we highlight the importance of interdisciplinary collaboration.

Written sources for research of medieval settlements

Written sources provide us the most numerous and the most specific information regarding the population of Slovakia in the Middle Ages. The most extensive knowledge about medieval settlements can be obtained from the critical evaluation of written published or archived materials, with the help of historical methods. Although the source base of medieval written sources is quite varied, its multiplicity and capacity is less than we can find in subsequent periods (Marsina, "Listiny a ich význam" 54; Uličný, "Dejiny osídlenia Liptova" 42; Uličný, "Fenomény slovenských dejín" 38).

Charters have the greatest importance to research medieval settlements from contemporary written sources. There are messages of towns, villages, settlements, castles and monasteries which are related to settlement. But only few charters were saved in Slovakia till the turn of the 12th – 13th centuries. This condition is caused by the fact that writing down of important legal acts in Hungary became binding norm only during the 13th century. We must not overlook the fact that what has been preserved to this day, represents only a fraction of what was actually issued (Žudel, *Osídlenie Slovenska* 24; Marsina, "Listiny a ich význam" 44–46; Lukačka, "Z dejín" 60; Marsina, "Štúdie" 6). For the researcher who has been researching the history of settlements it is a huge advantage if the material needed for the study came in the form of edited sources. Conditions of published sources compel us to work with private, still non-registered archival material stored in the archives in Slovakia and abroad. Like almost every other country in the world, also Slovakia has recently been working on digitization projects. These should facilitate the future work of the historian with archival material (Marsina, *Príprava vydávania* 5; Lukačka, "Pramene a možnosti" 44–45; Sokolovský 26; Mareta 17–31).

Urban books are a very important source for learning about the development of towns in the Middle Ages. The urban books provided legal help for the population and records management of self-government as a whole (from a substantive point of view we can find there many records of the urban law, justice, accounting, testaments etc.), they represent an extremely important source for the pursuit of the economic, social and demographic development of medieval towns in Slovakia. The oldest preserved town books in Slovakia come from the second half of the 14th century. But not all medieval towns in our country have preserved town books and even those which are maintained can be considered only for a fraction of the total number of books in Slovakia. Despite the fact that towns book were used in the past and they are still used in the present, only short parts are known from them (Lehotská 325–326; Bodnárová 22–35; Židlík 550).

Other valuable sources for the documentation of a medieval settlement and the development of rural settlements are ports censuses. They were used for the collection of state taxes. In the case of port census, “porta” as a tax unit was a gateway to entered into a farmhouse. Homes for ports, however, could be more, as well as settlers. Despite the fact that the port census in our area was introduced in 1336 by King Charles Robert, the oldest surviving port census from Slovakia comes up from the 1420s. A huge disadvantage of port censuses was the fact that not all villages were subscribed there, only those whose population was subject to taxation (Žudel, *Osídlenie Slovenska* 24–25; Oslanský 397).

Important historical sources for historical research of the population with high explanatory power are landowner’s books. They originally arose from the need to register the payments and benefits accruing to owners of estates from the feudal estates. In time they became essential tools in the management of estates. Therefore, their data contain a high level of credibility. In the population research, these books are particularly important because they provide information about a broad spectrum of social life (Oslanský 397; Rábik 70). From the medieval period, only four landowner’s books have been preserved in Slovakia – from the estate Dobrá Voda (1401), two landowner’s books of the Makovica estate (1507) and the castle estate Beckov (1522) (Žudel, *Osídlenie Slovenska* 24).

The settlement research in the Middle Ages can rely on data of canonical visitations. Since the reason for visitations was that ecclesiastical authorities wanted to know the overall condition of the ecclesiastical establishments, we can learn from their scripts a lot of important information, not only about sacral buildings, church officials, economic or financial circumstances of individual pastors and churches, but also the population of the settlements, their landlords and other details. However, only one canonical visitation concerning the territory of Slovakia was maintained from the medieval period. It was the canonical visitation of the Archdiocese of Esztergom from 1397. No more news about canonical visitations in the Middle Ages are preserved, but it is very likely that they happened (Lopatková 98–104; Rábik 73).

Research of medieval settlements of Slovakia can also use data of congregational documents. The core of these documents presents the reports from meeting of the coronation nobility, also called general congregations. Congregational documents contain records of various matters from public life in the area of the relevant county. They have immense importance for research into the history of settlements as well as for the understanding of economic, social, political, religious and cultural conditions in individual counties (Churý, “Pramenná hodnota” 92–93; Churý, “Pramene k dejinám Liptova” 330).

Other useful sources for research of medieval settlements

The aristocracy participated significantly in the economic, political and cultural development of the country during the Middle Ages, therefore the knowledge of genealogy as a science is very useful in settlement research (Novák 7; Lukačka, “Pramene a možnosti” 43). But genealogy as a science could not develop freely during the communist regime, because rich community sphere was considered for class enemies. It was so, because many problems of medieval settlements would be explained only thorough genealogical research. Currently, Slovak genealogy is struggling with the problem of uneven investigatory coverage of individual regions of Slovakia (Novák 5–7; Sedlák, “Slovenská historiografia” 396; Lukačka, “Pramene a možnosti” 43).

Archaeology represents an essential source of information about the development of our settlement area until the 11th century (Čaplovič, *Včasnostredoveké osídlenie* 8; Šalkovský 14; Štefanovičová 402). The knowledge of archaeology is invaluable especially in studies of medieval towns, fortified settlements, extinct medieval villages, in defining and demarcating of urban or rural land areas. With the help of archaeology we can get a lot of valuable

information about the ethnic composition and social stratification of the population (Čaplovič, and Slivka 16; Polla 26; Habovštiak 226–229; Marek 9). Written sources are completed or improved by monuments of material culture from the Middle Ages, but in many cases, when the written sources are absent, monuments of material culture even directly replace them. But the fact remains that archaeology itself is not yet able to deal with complex issues of the medieval period (Polla 22–23, 41).

Another related discipline whose knowledge can be applied to the research of medieval settlements of Slovakia is linguistics. The actual names of towns and villages in themselves often conceal information not only about the early history of sites, but often also on the history of the whole region. In addition to the names of cities and towns a lot of valuable information about the history of the settlement can be obtained by studying topographic, hydrographic or land areas' names (Marek 9; Krajčovič 50; Varsik 44). Moreover, linguistic interpretation of the name can provide many valuable insights not only about the origins of the investigated place. The various difficulties with settling, the social division and participation in the production are often captured in local terminology (Uličný, "Multidisciplinárny postup výskumu" 77; Sedlák, "O dôležitosti vydávania" 78).

Knowledge of art history, especially the history of architecture can also be used in settlement research. The criteria used by art history are applied in assessing and classifying buildings in terms of their layout, decoration and architectural elements. In some cases, the preserved parts of medieval architecture became even the oldest sources regarding the history of the particular settlements. It hardly ever happens that the dating of buildings, on the basis of its architectural design and construction technology of its oldest parts, is older than the historically demonstrable origins of the examined settlement (Uličný, "Multidisciplinárny postup výskumu" 77; Habovštiak 32).

Knowledge of ethnography can also be used in research of medieval settlements, especially in medieval villages. Ethnographic sources allow historians at the base of the continuity of folk culture obtain more concrete ideas of the appearance and function of the parts of medieval buildings which were not preserved for short-lived material. Ethnographic sources have considerable importance in discovering and explaining the functions of various objects, equipments or various objects of everyday use. However, conclusions can be formulated only in that case if the continuity of the ethnic group can be clearly demonstrated in the study area (Habovštiak 32).

The iconographic sources such as books paintings, coats of arms, murals, sculptures and engravings are good, but still underrated for research into the history of settlements in our country. Iconographic sources have great importance, mainly in studying fragmentary preserved monuments with the ever-accelerating process of destruction. They allow us to determine the historical character of particular architectural monuments, but they often describe by now non-existent entities, or detailed elements of historical architecture (Bóna 193; Habovštiak 33).

In specific cases, various legends and tales that have been preserved in the memory of the local population can help to clarify the past of some locations. In their critical assessment and comparison with other kinds of sources, sometimes it is possible to find their original historical core (Habovštiak 28–29).

The knowledge of geography as a natural science has most relevance for the research of medieval settlements. Since the development and structure of a medieval settlement is greatly influenced by the natural environment, therefore the appropriate knowledge of the geographical environment is extremely important in the research of medieval settlements (Marek 12; Uličný, "Multidisciplinárny postup výskumu" 77; Habovštiak 50). The position of medieval settlements depended on the flow of waterways, area topography, composition and density of forest cover, distance from neighbouring residences, road network, size and type of

agricultural land or the possibility to exploit natural resources (Maliniak 209; Habovštiak 54–55).

The geography is very closely related to maps. Maps, whether historical or current are the source of many important pieces of information about the monitored area. Firstly, they inform us about facts such as the geographic position of the observed location, and its plan type. Secondly, they provide the most important information about land area borders for the research of medieval settlements. Comparing the old map data with those available at present, we can also get a vision about the changes in the landscape over the centuries (Habovštiak 28, 225–226; Chrastina 121–126).

The knowledge of environmental history is recently increasingly used for the research of medieval settlements. It is a young, but in Slovakia still emerging scientific discipline, standing at the interface of natural and social sciences. It is dedicated to learn about relationships and processes in the history of the country. Environmental history seeks to look at environmental conditions and the impact of human activities on land, but it is trying to find answers to many problems of the present, particularly their causes (Chrastina 121–122; Maliniak 7–8).

The importance of interdisciplinary collaboration in the research of medieval settlements in Slovakia

One researcher understandably may not be an expert in all of the above sciences. He is not able use them all equally and appropriately. Each researcher should use in his work those methods he specializes in, but he should also be familiar with other scientific disciplines to such extent that he is able to assess the predicative value of their sources (Habovštiak 28).

In the past, Slovak historiography was strictly sticking to written sources in the research of the development of settlements. However, modern research of medieval settlements cannot be even imagined without the use of the practices and knowledge of several disciplines (Chropovský, and Ruttkay 259; Uličný, “Multidisciplinárny postup výskumu” 75; Marsina, “Význam výskumu osídlenia” 10; Marek 8). It should be noted that all kinds of sources have their individual specifications, advantages and determinants. Consequently, the views of individual disciplines are not always identical in their interpretation. Due to the effects of this “data disharmony”, significant problems arise in interdisciplinary relationships (Habovštiak 229; Ratkoš 116). But in most cases, the results of the various disciplines influence and complement each other. Therefore, we can reach a more objective result in the research of medieval settlements by using an interdisciplinary approach (Varsik 35; Beňko, “K problematike osídlenia” 30; Beňko, “K niektorým otázkam” 48).

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INHABITANTS OF THE BORDERLAND – THE CASE OF POLES LIVING IN THE VILNIUS REGION

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The new political reality of today, which is very dynamic and still has not reached its final form, requires adaptation from everybody. Scientists are no exception. To understand the changing reality we have to find new research perspectives or a way how to innovatively use traditional methods and perspectives.

The European Union reminds us of a jigsaw puzzle – it consists of many differently shaped parts, which together create a beautiful, interesting, but very fragile entirety. A deep understanding of all processes which take place in society is necessary to make it work. Migration is an example of a process that has a strong, direct impact on the majority of European regions, both in the form of internal and external migration. More and more regions become multicultural because of migration and have to deal with a number of associated phenomena. In this situation research on traditional multicultural societies may be very helpful. This explains the relevance of my topic – the identity of the inhabitants of the borderland.

To begin with, we should describe the concept of the borderland. The most common meaning of the word “borderland” refers to the geographical space around some territorial border. This is the definition of the geographical borderland. But in social sciences we also use the term “cultural borderland”, which describes a space or zone where different cultures, languages and religions are mixed (Kłoskowska 125). A cultural borderland is not always a geographical borderland, but geographical borderlands are almost always cultural borderlands. What is important, some researchers in defining the cultural borderland emphasize the meaning of the autonomous identity of borderland inhabitants, which emerges as a result of diffusion and coexistence of many cultures (Wojakowski 194).

This paper focuses on the Vilnius Region. It is very difficult to define the boundaries of this area as it is not the same as the administrative unit of the same name in contemporary Lithuania. I use the term “Vilnius Region” to describe the territory around and including Vilnius, populated by a significant Polish minority. Nowadays this is not a geographical borderland, but in the past it was located near the borderline. What is more, in different periods it was on both sides of the border. Because of the complicated history of this part of Europe, the Vilnius Region became and remains a cultural borderland.

A Polish minority has been present in Lithuania for many centuries. The Grand Duchy of Lithuania and Poland were not only neighbors – in the 14th century these two countries were connected by a personal union and in the 16th century they created the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth. Because of the natural proximity of both countries, Poles began to settle down on the territory of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. What is more important, Polish culture and language began to dominate among educated people. Almost all of the noble class in Lithuania adopted the Polish language and identity (Gudavičius 26).

In the interwar period the Vilnius Region became a source of conflict between Poland and Lithuania, as it was populated by a Polish minority, but in the Soviet–Lithuania Treaty of 1920 it was recognized as a part of Lithuania. Poland created a puppet state of Central Lithuania on the territory of the Vilnius Region and later incorporated it. The loss of the historical capital was for Lithuanians a difficult experience. Poles inhabiting the Vilnius Region were Polish citizens for two decades.

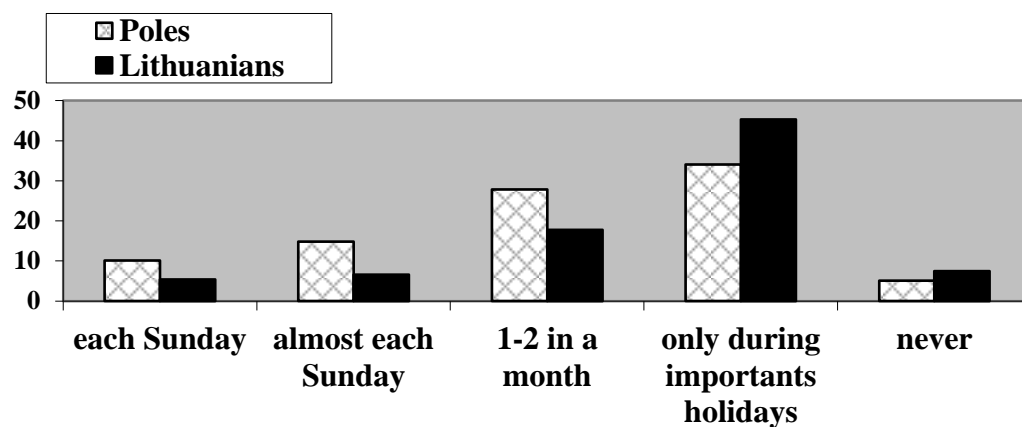
After the Second World War the Vilnius Region was returned to Lithuania. The Polish minority had suffered because of warfare as well as deportations to Siberia. Many Poles left for Poland right after the war. Because of these processes the Polish minority became the worst educated ethnic group in Lithuania without a mature national identity. According to the Lithuanian census of 2011, the Polish minority numbered 200,317 persons, or 6.6% of the total population of Lithuania. It is the largest ethnic minority in the country (“Population by ethnicity”).

There are many factors shaping national identity, although they are not of the same weight. One of the most important factors for borderland inhabitants’ identity is attachment to the living area. Polish researcher Stanisław Ossowski introduced the distinction between ideological and private homeland. The first one refers to the area where the whole nation lives, while the second one means the closest environment in which one lives (Ossowski 219). This private homeland is very important for people living in borderlands as they often cannot easily determine to which nation they belong.

In *ENRI-East Research Report* we can read that the “regional identity of Poles in Lithuania is a very strong one. The connection to the region and country they have been born into is considered as a characteristic feature of Polish identity. Belonging to the Vilnius region is connected to belonging to a locality, the village or city people live in as well as to the place where they were born. It is constructed in many ways and using a lot of different resources – emotional ties to place, belonging to family and community networks, work and everyday life networks, parish life, regional cultural and religious traditions, family “roots”, etc.” (Matulionis 65).

The next important factor which is always present in research on Poles living in the former Soviet Union is religion. However, the Lithuanian case is different. In the majority of Soviet republics Catholicism was extremely important in shaping the Polish identity as the rest of the society was Orthodox. Lithuanians are also Catholics so it seems that religion does not play such a crucial role for Poles in the Vilnius Region. But when we look at the statistics on frequency of religious practice we can see clear differences. The next chart presents these differences – Poles more frequently participate in the mass than Lithuanians do. As Poles are very religious, they also are more attached to traditional values.

Figure 1 Frequency of participation in the mass



Source: Irena Mazūrienė and Lucjan Adamczuk, *Litwini w Polsce – Polacy na Litwie – 1994* (Warszawa: Główny Urząd Statystyczny; Wilno: Departament Statystyki Litwy, 1995) 88. Print.

The next factor which should be discussed is the mother tongue. For people from homogenous societies it is difficult to imagine that one's native language and national identity can be different. However, this is possible. The following table shows that although in 1959 almost all of the Polish population stated Polish as their mother tongue, in 2011 this number dropped to 79%.

Table 1 Percentage of Poles in Lithuania stating Polish as their mother tongue (census data)

| Census year | 1959 | 1970 | 1979 | 1989 | 2001 | 2011 |
|-------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| Percentage | 96.8% | 92.4% | 88.3% | 85.0% | 80.0% | 79.0% |

Source: Marcus Roduner, *The Polish language education in Lithuania*. Mercator – Education information, documentation, research, 2006, Web, 25 August 2013.

We can see that approximately 20% of people in this group do not identify their nationality with their native tongue. To analyze this issue researchers have distinguished three different categories: native language, language of thought and language used at home. The next table presents data on this topic. We can see that even those who state that the Polish language is their mother tongue do not necessarily use it at home or think in this language. Instead Lithuanian or Russian is used. This is the result of ethnic policy during the Soviet period and the common phenomenon of mixed marriages. On the basis of these statistical data we can conclude that in the space of the cultural borderland language is not the only factor of national identity and for a quite significant part of the population it is not the most important factor.

Table 2 Language usage in Polish minority

| Language: | Language of thought | Language used at home | Native language |
|------------|---------------------|-----------------------|-----------------|
| Lithuanian | 10,9 | 9,4 | 5,4 |
| Polish | 73 | 77,6 | 89,8 |
| Russian | 15,3 | 12,4 | 3,8 |
| Other | 0,7 | 0,7 | 1 |

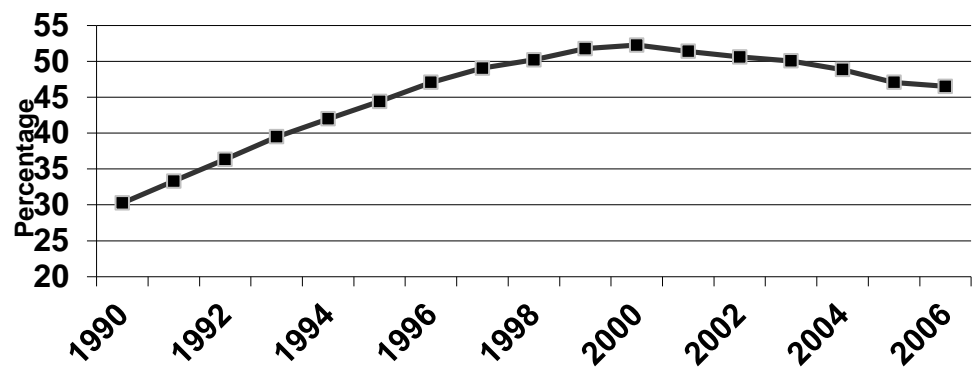
Source: Irena Mazūrienė and Lucjan Adamczuk, *Litwini w Polsce – Polacy na Litwie – 1994* (Warszawa: Główny Urząd Statystyczny; Wilno: Departament Statystyki Litwy, 1995) 79. Print.

The next issue, education, is closely related to native language. In comparison to other countries where people of Polish nationality live, Lithuania has a very well-organized system of national minority schools. In September 2003, there were 75 Polish-language general education schools and 52 which provided education in Polish in a combination of languages (for example Lithuanian-Polish, Lithuanian-Russian-Polish). These numbers fell to 49 and 41 in 2011, reflecting a general decline in the number of schools in Lithuania (ENRI-East 18). Since 2007 students can also continue their education at university in Polish as a branch of the Białystok University was opened in Vilnius. As it was mentioned before, Poles were the worst educated ethnic minority in Lithuania, however, now the situation is changing. Nonetheless, Poles will probably reach the national average only in the middle of this century.

Education in the mother tongue is of great importance for each minority as it is a possibility to preserve national culture and to pass it on to future generations. As we can see from the chart below, despite the high number of Polish-language schools less than 50% of children from Polish families attend these schools. This percentage was much lower in the beginning of 1990s, when only a third part of Polish families used to choose Polish-language

schools for their children. The rest was attending Russian or Lithuanian schools. However, since 2001 this percentage is again dropping. This is alarming for people worrying about the Polish identity as outside the school it is difficult to maintain continuous contact with the national culture.

Chart 1 The percentage of children from Polish families in Polish schools



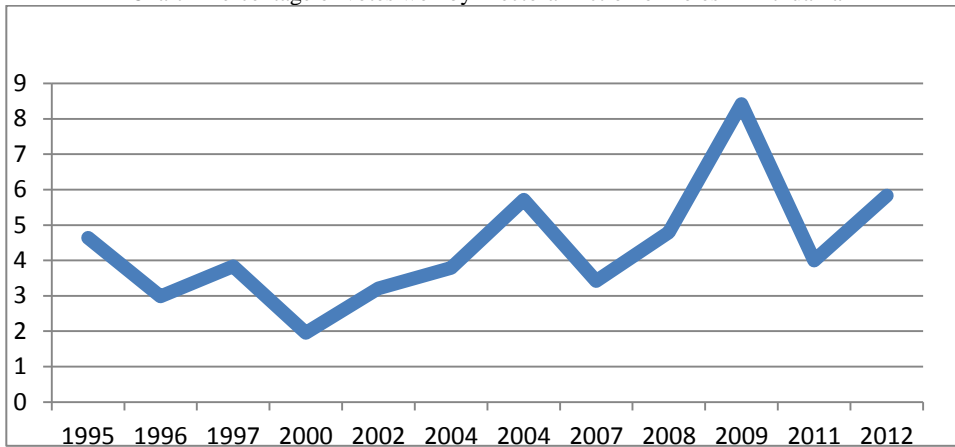
Source: Jerzy Wołkonowski, “Polska młodzież na wyższych uczelniach Litwy: sukcesy i porażki”. *Rocznik Stowarzyszenia Naukowców Polaków Litwy* (Wilno: SNPL, 2006) 24. Print.

Polish-language schools were at the centre of political debates in the last few years in Lithuania. The Lithuanian Parliament decided that some school subjects, like history or geography, should be taught in Lithuanian also in schools of national minorities. Additionally, students from schools of national minorities are obliged to pass the same Lithuanian language exam as students from Lithuanian schools (before, the Lithuanian language exam was also compulsory, but different). This decision was contested by the Polish minority – there were organized mass demonstrations and signatures collected against the new law. Polish representatives claimed that this is a limitation of the rights of national minorities. Paradoxically, this decision, unfavorable for Poles, to some extent strengthened the Polish minority and made it more proactive.

The last factor I would like to discuss is political activity. There is one political party representing the Polish minority – the Electoral Action of Poles in Lithuania (Akcja Wyborcza Polaków na Litwie). They position themselves as a Christian democratic party. At the moment the party has eight seats in the Lithuanian Parliament, one seat in the European Parliament and eleven seats in the ruling coalition in the Vilnius City Municipality. However, the Electoral Action of Poles in Lithuania was not always so successful – the last election to Seimas was the first time when it managed to break through the 5% threshold. The result qualified this party for proportional representation seats. What is more, AWPL joined the governing coalition and obtained the seat of the Minister of Energy.

The chart below illustrates the percentage of votes won by the Electoral Action of Poles in Lithuania in different elections (parliamentary, presidential and municipal) during the last 18 years. The best result was reached in 2009 during the elections to the European Parliament, when EAPL won 8,2% and one seat thanks to the great mobilization of the Polish minority. In 2012 it won 5,8% votes, which is only a bit less than the percentage of Poles in the population of Lithuania. This is one of the signs that the Polish minority can be characterized as a quite mature national group, aware of their own needs and able to fight for them.

Chart 2 Percentage of votes won by Electoral Action of Poles in Lithuania



Source: *Rinkimai pagal data*, Lietuvos Respublikos Vyriausioji Rinkimų Komisija, Web, 25 August 2013.

In conclusion we can try to answer the question whether Poles living in the Vilnius Region have an identity typical for the borderland inhabitants or are they just a minority living in the neighboring country. As always, the answer is somewhere in between. We cannot say that Poles in the Vilnius Region have some kind of separate identity, like Basques. They are very attached to the Polish language and culture and put a lot effort into preserving it. On the other hand, the influence of the cultural borderland should not be underestimated. The identity of Poles in Lithuania has some new quality in comparison to the common model of Polish identity.

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MODERN MYTH BUILDING AFTER THE 2010 PRESIDENTIAL AIR CRASH

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In 2010, president of Poland, Lech Kaczynski died in an air crash near Smolensk in Russia. The image of the dead president, as portrayed in various media, has changed the moment this disaster struck. From a much disliked figure with a very low public support he was transformed into a hero. This paper examines his biography, as retold after the crash, and compares it against Joseph Campbell's benchmark of a hero's journey (from a book "The Hero with a Thousand Faces"). The paper also examines how the myth building is augmented by other means, such as the use of places of special national significance (in this case the Wawel royal castle and the Jasna Góra monastery).

The horrific air plane crash of April 10th 2010 was reported by all major networks all over the world. The plane that went down near the military airstrip of Smolensk in Russia, carried the president of Poland, Lech Kaczynski and 95 other passengers, including his wife, chiefs of staff of the Polish military, members of parliament, including its deputy speaker, as well as many other top level officials from a variety of institutions. Given the historical nature the Polish–Russian relations, the reaction was, after the first shock and disbelief, suspicion: "The President is dead – is that just an accident? I think it was terrorists or Russians". This question and answer appeared two hours after the crash on the Internet, on zapytaj.onet.pl, a Polish service similar to Yahoo Answers, and the best answer chosen by users was: "I totally agree". Another interesting reaction comes from the blog of Zbigniew Girzynski, an MP who had this to say the morning after the crash:

God took Him, because good men were needed there. Took Him, so that the ones who did not understand Him and were destroying Him would stop doing so. Here, everything He held dear and holy was ridiculed. They derided his patriotism, the love for his Mother, wife and brother. He was not respected not as the holder of the high office and not even as a human being. The main aim of His presidency – to bring back the memory – was presented as a symptom of his pettiness and parochialism. They were counting down the minutes until, they thought, his mission would come to an end. But God undid it all. God gave him a death so full of symbolism, which crowned the work of His life with martyrdom on the Altar of Motherland. God garlanded His temples with the crown of thorns, so that we may understand the meaning of His life!

This blog entry, in its content, is representative of the ideas which started to circulate on the Internet and in certain newspapers. What is interesting about it is the fact that its author is not only an MP but a holder of a Ph.D. in history from one of the best Polish universities. It goes to show just how widespread the mythical thinking is and that it does not depend on whether a person is educated or not. The ideas present in this blog entry, either said outright or alluded to, are going to be repeated and used again and again in the weeks, months and years to come. Given their vivacity, it is important to ask oneself why? Why are these ideas, seemingly, so potent? Why do they persist?

A very important element of this mythical puzzle is the place where the accident happened: Smolensk in Russia. Or rather, the place it is close to, the final destination of the president and the accompanying officials, the one they never reached: Katyn. The military airstrip of Smolensk was the closest landing place to Katyn, where 70 years earlier, the Soviet NKVD –

Stalin's political police – murdered more than twenty thousand Polish nationals. They were mainly police or army officers and NCOs first detained in 1939 after the joint Soviet-German invasion of Poland, which had started the second World War. After the end of the war, when Poland found itself in the Soviet-dominated part of Europe, Katyn was a forbidden topic. The victims' families could not talk about what happened to their loved ones. The story of Katyn could only be whispered. It all changed after 1989, when the Solidarity brought about the crumbling of the Iron Curtain.

President Lech Kaczynski was going to where the genocide had been committed because Katyn was always of special interest to him; he regarded it as a “corner lie” in the creation of the People's Republic of Poland. The crime which was, in his words “a key element in the plan to destroy independent Poland: a country which stood – since 1920 – in the way of the conquest of Europe by the communist empire” (Kaczynski 14; my translation). These words come from a speech he never delivered in Katyn; it was printed in the press after the crash. Because Lech Kaczynski died at the Smolensk crash site so close to Katyn, and on the 70th anniversary of the genocide, the words Smolensk and Katyn became linked. And it is not just the words that become connected, a link is formed to the place's history and symbolism. And once a link like that is made, then the list of similarities opens up further, because if Smolensk is like Katyn, then if Katyn was genocide then Smolensk was an assassination, if it was Stalin who gave the order for the Katyn genocide, then it is Putin who is behind the Smolensk crash...

The Katyn-Smolensk link is where the transformation of historical into mythical begins. Many researchers have pointed out the fact that once a person is dead, his biography is torn down and then reassembled again. This new biography is similar to so many others, because it is a story of a hero's journey. Joseph Campbell in his book “The Hero with a Thousand Faces” had this to say:

The standard path of the mythological adventure of the hero is a magnification of the formula represented in the rites of passage: *separation-initiation-return*: which might be named the nuclear unit of the monomyth. *A hero ventures forth from the world of common day into a region of supernatural wonder: fabulous forces are there encountered and a decisive victory is won: the hero comes back from this mysterious adventure with the power to bestow boons on his fellow man.* Prometheus ascended to the heavens, stole fire from the gods and descended. (30) (emphasis by Campbell).

What will now follow is not a factual account of president Lech Kaczynski's life, but how he is seen through the eyes of the “natives”. It is based mainly on the exhibition (by Chojnowski) about his life and death that was presented in the cities in Poland around the second anniversary of the crash, but some information comes from other sources as well (these will be pointed out).

The hero's birth is usually accompanied by some signs, omens or even miraculous events. Polish Wikipedia offers a few of those. Not only was it a twin birth (his identical twin Jaroslaw is now the leader of the biggest opposition party), but also the midwife was a mother of a poet who died in the Warsaw Uprising. This poet, through his poetry and death exemplified the romantic and patriotic ideas. If such a detail is being presented, it is important for some reason. It is not difficult to see why. Lech Kaczynski is marked with these romantic and patriotic values at birth. His life (and possibly death) are going to be influenced, if not determined, by them.

An important moment in every hero's life is what Campbell calls the call to adventure. For Lech Kaczynski it was the Solidarity movement. The tableaux of the exhibition show him to be the giant of the era (although in reality his importance was next to none). The following quote, for example, builds him up to being a founding figure of Solidarity: “On 17th of

September 1980 he gave his support to the idea . . . that all newly formed unions should unite to form one Poland-wide union of *Solidarity*” (Chojnowski; my translation). Interestingly, Lech Walesa is not mentioned anywhere, nor is he shown on any of the photos, perhaps because Kaczynski and Walesa later became bitter antagonists.

The hero, during his journey must go through the road of trials, each one greater than the last, until he finally comes to the most difficult one. For Lech Kaczynski it was his trip to Georgia in the middle of the Russian-Georgian war in 2008. He had this to say during a rally against the Russian involvement in Abkhazia:

We are here, to express out total solidarity. We are the presidents of five countries: Poland, Ukraine, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. We are here to take up the fight. For the first time in a long time our neighbour from the North, for us from the East also, showed us its face that we have known for hundreds of years. This neighbour thinks that the nations that surround them should be their subjects. We're saying “no!” This country is Russia. This country thinks that the times of the fallen empire which fell almost 20 years ago are coming back; that this region will be dominated. But it won't be! (Chojnowski; my translation)

Lech Kaczynski tried to unmask the true motives of Russia and its imperial nature. To him, it does not matter whether tsarist or soviet or contemporary, Russia still employs the same methods and poses a real threat to European and world security. This speech links the past with the present. It points to a connection between the tsars, Stalin and now Putin. (And if Stalin is like Putin, to continue this train of thought past the crash date, the Smolensk catastrophe becomes something else: a present day version of the Katyn genocide.)

Being quite vocal with such opinions, it is easy to see, makes him an enemy of Putin, and a target of assassination attempts. The first one happened already in Georgia. President Kaczynski's detractors of course discounted it as just some random shots (this is to be expected, they said, when you travel into a war zone) fired next to the motorcade in which he and the president of Georgia travelled, but the “believers” know better. His fate was already sealed and the final chapter of that story is the Smolensk airstrip two years later. The earthly journey of the hero comes to an end.

But that, of course, is not the end. “The full round, the norm of the monomyth, requires that the hero shall now begin the labor of bringing the runes of wisdom, the Golden Fleece, or his sleeping princess, back into the kingdom of humanity, where the boon may be redound to the renewing of the community, the nation, the planet, or the ten thousand worlds” (Campbell 193).

From this moment on Lech Kaczynski, the president, becomes a mythical figure, but his gift will not renew “the planet” or “the ten thousand worlds”. This special gift is reserved for Poles alone; unlike Buddha or Jesus, he is a local hero who reinterprets the tradition, in this case the ideas of the Polish romanticism. Lech Kaczynski's life becomes a guiding post for many, or as Zbigniew Girzyński, the Polish MP quoted above, loftily put it: “God garlanded His temples with the crown of thorns, so that we may understand the meaning of His life!” (my translation)

To a great surprise of many, Lech Kaczynski was buried in the crypts of the Wawel royal castle, which is a very special place for Poles. The decision was divisive, but the “believers” were overjoyed. The Wawel castle became, in itself, an argument for his mythical status. The castle's cathedral is a resting place of kings, great poets and national heroes who fought for independence. The president and his wife share a crypt with Jozef Pilsudski, a great and most recent national hero, who after the first world war was instrumental in regaining the independence for Poland after the 123 year long period of partitions and then soon after, as the commander-in-chief defeated the Soviet invasion that sought to subdue Poland and make it a

satellite, and communist, state. Again, the physical proximity (like Smolensk and Katyn) becomes a flash point for analogies. If Lech Kaczynski is there, with all these great men, then he is also great. By using a place of special significance to the Polish nation, like the Wawel castle, the myth of Lech Kaczynski taps into the place's symbolism and history and through it connects with the history of the nation and the romantic ideas that every Pole is familiarised with during his education from the earliest years.

Besides Katyn and the Wawel castle, there is one more place that is being heavily appropriated by the Smolensk mythology. It is the monastery of Jasna Góra in Czestochowa (frequently, in the common parlance, the two are synonymous). It is as important to the Poles as the Wawel castle; it is often called “the spiritual capital of Poland”. It is because its history is also heavily connected to Polish history. In Jasna Góra resides the famous picture of the Black Madonna (who is also the country's patron with a special title of Queen of Poland) and many miracles have been reported there. In the seventeenth century a Swedish invasion engulfed the whole country, and the king had to escape abroad. All seemed to have been lost. But it was the Jasna Góra monastery, totally insignificant from a military point of view, that put up a resistance. Its defence became a signal for everyone to join the fight against the invaders.

Soon after the Smolensk catastrophe, a nun brought back from the crash site a piece of the plane and it was put into one of the robes of the Queen of Poland. In 2012 a so called “Smolensk Epitaph” is unveiled by the entrance to the church where the miraculous Black Madonna resides. Lech Kaczynski's identical twin Jaroslaw said at the unveiling:

Centuries pass, the times of triumphs and defeats pass, wars, revolutions, partitions but Czestochowa lasts and so does Poland. If this epitaph was unveiled here today, then it was unveiled for centuries to come, it was unveiled – I believe this deeply – for time everlasting. And this is that special quality, that among others, comes from this place; from the fact that this is the capital of the Queen of Poland, the spiritual capital of our nation (Wiadomosci.wp.pl; my translation)

For building the myth of his dead brother, connecting the dead president to a place everlasting is very important. It is a great way of achieving the connection with the existing national myths. The use of the special places of significance for the Polish nation which to some extent share this “everlasting” quality (such as Katyn and Wawel castle) serves just this purpose.

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‘MISSING WOMEN’ IN MAHARASHTRA – REASONS FOR EXCESS FEMALE MORTALITY IN ADULthood*

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Introduction

In this case study of Maharashtra, the richest Indian state with the highest GDP, I will elaborate on a paradox which indicates that in spite of significant economic growth, particular forms of oppression and backwardness have been maintained in the state. As part of this, I will focus on the ‘missing women’ phenomenon and analyse the deeper determinants of sustained excess female mortality due to proximate causes such as injuries, intentional self-harm/suicides, communicable, respiratory and blood diseases, infectious and parasitic diseases and cancer, all of which result in excess female mortality. I argue that this higher female than male mortality can be attributed to ‘entitlement failure’, domestic violence and patriarchy as deeper determinants. Since most of the research so far has focused on the prenatal period and early childhood, but statistics claim that the highest proportion of ‘missing women’ comes from adult age, I will examine the reproductive age group (15–44 years).

Background

The ‘missing women’ phenomenon was highlighted by Amartya Sen, who claimed that “more than 100 million women are missing” in the world. His concept refers to the lower survival chance of females resulting from their relatively lower status in society. This is clearly reflected in significant female-male ratio imbalances (FMR, i.e. the number of females per 1,000 males) all over the less developed world.

According to World Bank data China, India and Sub-Saharan Africa “together account for 87 per cent of the world’s ‘missing girls’ and excess female mortality” (World Bank 120). Regarding India, research by Anderson and Ray claimed that the overall FMR of 943 females per 1,000 males translates into more than 25 million ‘missing women’. Out of this 344,000 are ‘missing’ from Maharashtra, with 72.6 per cent of all the ‘missing women’ being older than 15 years (87; 90). This has not only led to a growing number of men unable to find a wife, but increased levels of violence against women and levels of prostitution as well.

Literature Review

Maharashtra

Maharashtra, India’s second most populous state with 112 million people is located along the north-western coast of the country. It has improved its overall FMR from 922 to 925 between 2001–2011, succeeded in realising the Millennium Development Goals for maternal mortality and can boast of its fourth rank in India based on Human Development Indicators, i.e. income, literacy and life expectancy. However, there are still significant regional disparities and gender differences within the state (Ministry of Home Affairs 22; Suryanarayana et al. 18).

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Regarding sex ratios, a comparison between the 2001 and 2011 censuses indicates no significant geographic change. Eastern districts with a significant tribal population, namely Gondiya, Bhandara and Gadchiroli, have relatively high FMR, while the most prosperous western districts, Thane and Mumbai have the worst FMR (Bajpai et al. 12; Census 2011; 2001).

Proximate Causes of Female Deaths

More female than male deaths occurred in the reproductive age group due to suicides, injuries and poisoning between 15–24 years, while for 25–44 years infectious and parasitic diseases were the leading death causes (Kulkarni 152). These proximate causes can be clearly linked to my hypotheses. Thus, “low autonomy”, the “lack of health information reduces the opportunity to prevent health risks and seek . . . remedy” for communicable respiratory or parasitic diseases. Moreover, there is a strong relation between domestic violence, “burns, accidents and injuries [at] home”, to be analysed with reference to dowry deaths and suicides (Sardeshpande and Shukla 89).

‘Entitlement Failure’ and Patriarchy

‘Entitlement failure’ has been described as the asymmetric distribution of resources within the household between men and women (Agnihotri 36; Kishor). While poverty generally limits access to resources both for men and women, now I will reflect on gender-based ‘entitlement failure’, that is, on reasons why women have asymmetric access to resources. I argue that ‘entitlement failure’ can explain high levels of female mortality mostly among the poor, rural segments of society between 29–44 years.

Resource allocation is clearly connected to status, age and sex (Chorgandhe et al. 2005: 10; Das Gupta 1998). Low marriage age for the wife and patrilocal marriage, i.e. the tradition that the bride leaves her natal family and moves to the husband’s house all contribute to the lower status of the young bride. Moreover, nutritional food allocation is determined by patriarchal traditions in a way that males and the mother-in-law should be served first, while daughters and especially young brides can only eat after them (Santow 1995: 149, 154). Together with pregnancy, lactation, heavy workloads and fasts, this severe calorie-deficiency results in the high prevalence of communicable diseases and excess mortality at “the peak childbearing years” (Das Gupta et al. 1998: 3; 134).

Statistics also confirm that 40.2 per cent of women suffer from chronic under-nourishment and have their Body-Mass Index (BMI) under the normal value of 18.5 in Maharashtra, which is worse than the national average (Duggal et al. 2005: 42; Government of Maharashtra 2002: 114). Moreover, because of their iron- and vitamin-deficiency, anaemia is more prevalent among women than men (Milazzo 2012). In the age group 15–49 it affects 51 per cent of the rural and around 47 per cent of urban women in Maharashtra (Government of India 2005: 13).

Moreover, differential ‘entitlements’ in health care have resulted in higher female mortality due to ill-defined conditions (9.3 compared to 7.7 for men), and cardiovascular diseases in Maharashtra (Indian Council of Medical Research 2009: 81). Even if women report more illness than men, the proportion of males who receive treatment is four times higher compared to females (Madhiwalla et al. 2000; Nandraj 2001; World Bank 1996). Besides financial reasons and women’s dependence on males, absenteeism, “mistreatment and cruelty” by the health personnel were also mentioned by women, especially from poor and marginalised communities (Kumar et al. 2010: 165). However, it is basically males’ perceived higher economic productivity which leads to gender-specific ‘entitlement failure’ by channelling most of the resources to them (Rosenzweig and Schultz 1982: 814).

Religious Differences – Hindus and Muslims

With regard to Hindus and Muslims it is important to highlight that in spite of the common belief about Muslims' backwardness, Muslim women are not as severely affected by gender-based 'entitlement failure' in accessing health services and nutritious food as poor Hindus, Scheduled Castes (SC) and Tribes (ST), two constitutionally recognized disadvantaged groups in India.

Because of their higher urbanisation rates (70 per cent compared to Hindus with 37.3 per cent), Muslims have easier access to health services (Bhat and Xavier 2005: 390; Patel et al. 2013: 5). This leads to a higher proportion of Muslim women acquiring antenatal care, tetanus injections and drugs during pregnancy. Moreover, the proportion of undernourished Muslim women is significantly lower than that of Hindus. The figures are 24 per cent and 38 per cent respectively.

Reflections on 'Entitlement Failure'

Overall, disproportionate, gender-specific allocation of nutritious food and health services is best captured by the concepts of 'rationing bias' and 'pure bias'. These terms, coined by Iyer, Sen and George (2007) refer to the careful allocation of limited incomes and gender discrimination because of women's lower status respectively.

Overall, patriarchal customs and poverty have an impact on all these communities, but I argue that gender-specific 'entitlement failure' is a deeper determinant of mortality mostly among the poor, rural segments of society. Since quality health care can only be guaranteed to better-off families, rural, poor SC and ST women should be regarded as being mostly deprived "of their basic rights to be healthy" (Kulkarni et al. 2010: 150; Velaskar 2000).

Domestic Violence and Patriarchy

In contrast to 'entitlement failure' which provided an adequate explanation for female mortality among the poor and mostly between 29–44 years, I argue that domestic violence leads to female suicides and dowry deaths especially in the age group 15–29 years (Patel et al. 2012: 2346; Schenck 1986). This is clearly linked to patriarchy and Hindutva, which wish to confine women to traditional roles and the private sphere.

Suicides, Injuries and Dowry Deaths

Similarly to the national level, where 44 per cent of all suicides were committed by men and 56 per cent by women between 15–29 years, suicides in Maharashtra are also among the leading death causes for women in the early reproductive years (Smith and Kethineni 2006: 259). Moreover, Maharashtra ranked third after Andhra Pradesh and Tamil Nadu regarding overall suicide rates (Patel et al. 2012).

With regard to violence against women, Maharashtra ranked fourth among the Indian states in 2001 with 10,875 registered cases (Government of Maharashtra 2002: 111), and among these crimes "cruelty at home or torture" accounted for almost half of all cases with the rate for 'dowry' and 'abetment for suicide' together being as high as 12 per cent in 2008 (National Crime Records Bureau 2011).

In spite of their legal abolition in 1961, dowries are still prevalent and "instead of being one-time payments, [they have even] become continuing obligations" (Smith and Kethineni 2006: 270). Altogether this means a significantly higher burden for the young wife, who is often harassed, beaten in the hope of 'wealth accumulation' (Mies 1986; Matsui 1989). Moreover, not only husbands but relatives and even females, mother-in-laws in 8.9 per cent of

the cases, are perpetrators of domestic violence and dowry harassment (Smith and Kethineni 2006: 259).

Dowry Deaths as Caste Hindu, Middle-class Phenomena

While poor Muslim, ST, and SC households have a higher level of violence against women, the highest proportion of suicides and deaths is the result of dowry harassment, particularly characteristic of the Hindu middle classes. Therefore, I argue that domestic violence and suicides are not an adequate explanation of excess mortality for women in the lower classes. The National Crime Records Bureau also confirms this by putting the number of female and male suicides committed because of poverty to 20 and 140, and because of unemployment to 12 and 238 respectively (National Crime Records Bureau 2011: 226, 228). Moreover, data on the status of women also shows that mostly housewives (3716) and students (507) commit suicide, while the number of suicide cases among illiterate, female agricultural workers is significantly lower.

Therefore, I conclude that even if domestic violence is more common among poorer Hindu, ST, SC and Muslim families, it should be attributed to economic and financial deprivation, stress and high levels of alcohol consumption. The fact that the frequency of domestic violence does not necessarily translate into severity is reflected in the higher suicide and death rates of middle-class housewives. On the other hand, it is also important to mention that these Hindu middle-class women become violent perpetrators as well and commit crimes, torture and persecution against other, mostly Muslim women in line with Hindu fundamentalist ideologies.

Reflections on Economic Growth and Human Development – Conclusion

After outlining the deeper determinants behind excess female mortality, a brief reflection on economic growth and human development is needed. By examining relatively good human development indicators it becomes obvious that economic prosperity did not have a trickle-down effect on human development for the poorer, backward segments of society. Thus, a strong positive impact of economic growth on capabilities and empowerment of women is significantly questioned in the case of Maharashtra.

First of all, statistics show that GDP growth is predominantly generated by the rich, coastal region, which has attracted many investors in the last decade and thus consolidated its economic development. With regard to life expectancy, improvements in health care are a result of improving and spreading private institutions. However, these are mostly out of reach for the poor. Moreover, it is also important to highlight that the success of reduced maternal mortality rates should be attributed mainly to overall declining fertility rates. Regarding literacy, the third main component of the Human Development Index, statistics show that the central districts improved significantly their literacy rate rank in the state. However, this should also be attributed to the success of the private sector which provides twice as many schools as the government of Maharashtra.

Eventually, overall good human development indicators are a result of improvements in services which are becoming expensive “commodities, available only to those who can afford it”, that is, mostly the middle and upper classes (Sardeshpande and Shukla 4). Furthermore, it is also important to stress that slight improvements of these classes add more to the overall indicators than significant, positive changes among the poor segments. This also proves that Maharashtra’s overall good human development indicators obscure significant disparities and the state’s impressive economic growth could not thoroughly change age-old patriarchal traditions which still confine women to private spaces and roles, eventually attaching greater value and status to men.

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RESHAPING SECURITY MECHANISMS IN TIMES OF CRISIS: AFRICAN MIGRANTS IN ATHENS

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Objective and theme of this study

Sentiments towards migrants in European societies can be influenced severely by changing economic circumstances and demographic composition (Ceobanu and Escandell). Both conditions are present in contemporary Greek society: the country's financial problems have escalated into a dramatic economic crisis, while the number of migrants originating from Asian and African countries has risen relatively rapidly at the same time (Triandafyllidou and Maroukis 66–71). These changing dynamics can be understood in terms of 'insecurity': all people living within Greek borders are exposed to multi-layered challenges caused by the economic crisis. People feel insecure about their salaries, their children's future, their communal identity and the country's sovereignty. Security is predominantly studied from a nation-state perspective in the context of international relations or political science, while the implications of insecurity feelings manifest themselves locally and are socially and inter-subjectively constructed (Goldstein 492). It is known that crisis can encourage discriminatory attitudes (Semyonov, Rajman and Gorodzeisky; Barker 116) and even violent actions against migrants (HRW). Since economic analyses are currently prioritized (Arghyrou and Tsoukalas 173), the profound consequences of the economic crisis for the social dynamics of society remain underexposed. Moreover, those subjected to multiple forms of insecurity remain silent due to the classical state-focused approach (Hansen; Huysmans). For this reason, this article will discuss the impact of rising insecurity by exploring the main reasons for a rising sentiment of insecurity among African migrants and the coping strategies that they deploy to face these challenges.

Contextualization

"This is the worst", was an answer I repeatedly heard from Tanzanian migrants who warmly invited me into their community centre when I conducted fieldwork in Athens, in January 2012. They were referring to the social, political and economic turbulence they experience in the middle of a multi-layered crisis. Greece has rather recently developed into a transit and destination country for, in the first place, predominantly Albanian migrants (Drydakis). For a decade, Greece has been receiving a disproportional influx of migrants from a wide variety of Afro-Asian countries (Triandafyllidou and Maroukis). Greece has a fragmented border, with many islands closely situated to Turkey, and a northern border between Turkey and Greece that is constituted by a river (the Évro). These geographical characteristics of the borders make them hard to patrol and makes the 'Eastern route' an attractive alternative for former popular transfer places that are now heavily patrolled (Triandafyllidou and Maroukis). Approximately 90% of all migrants now cross Greek borders in their attempt to reach Europe (FRONTEX). Due to political disinterest and decades of ignorance, migration policies in Greece are ill developed and many migrants find themselves trapped in endless bureaucratic procedures (Baldwin-Edwards and Fakiolas). Greece is obviously incapable and perhaps unwilling to deal with the influx of migrants. This is resulting in overfull detention centres, complex asylum application procedures and hardly accessible citizenship.

Besides these challenging changes in Greek society, the country is deeply affected by the global economic crisis of the past 5 years. The banking sector, public debt rate, personal saving accounts and the European Monetary Union are all severely affected (Mitsopoulos and Pelagidis; Katsimi and Moutos) and subjected to austerity measures of the so-called Troika (International Monetary Fund, European Commission, and European Central Bank). Especially lower and middle incomes witness decreasing salaries while taxes are rising. The Greek unemployment rates skyrocketed up to 27.6% in May 2013⁶, universities are closing and homelessness is on the rise. Inevitably, such an economic crisis has profound consequences for social dynamics in society as well. Obviously, the crisis generates insecurities among all people residing within Greek borders. However, the socio-cultural transitions are underexposed in international media, political intervention and social science. Moreover, the usually applied analytical framework of security is state-focused which does not clarify local security experiences. This essay will explore the narratives of people who find themselves at the junction of increasing xenophobia and the economic crisis: African migrants in Athens. By elaborating upon their understanding of and response to feelings of insecurity, I argue that the classical analytical framework of insecurity needs to be complicated with bottom-up insights.

Methodology

The objective to gain insights into the perspectives and experiences of African migrants in Athens, called for a qualitative approach. Ethnographic fieldwork is at the heart of anthropology and enacted by three methodological devices. First and foremost, I conducted informal conversations with people. Although this method has been received with scepticism (Driessen and Jansen), it has been an invaluable contribution to this study. In a violent and tense context such as Athens, informal conversations were the most suitable methodological tool. This has various reasons, among which is deeply rooted distrust towards white people which I encountered among African migrants. Another reason is the negative association that migrants might have with a formalised interview conversation. Asylum seekers, for instance, often encountered sharp questioning during their asylum application procedure, without a compassionate and understanding attitude on the part of their interviewers (Van Liempt). The objective of such conversations is to detect inconsistencies in migrants' stories, inevitably affecting the tone of such a conversation. Therefore, informal conversations were very insightful.

Sometimes, people are reluctant to speak about certain things because they are illegal (Kovats-Bernat), too painful, practiced unconsciously, socially or politically sensitive etc. (Driessen and Jansen). These practices and their meaning can be revealed by (participant) observation, which will get more focused during the course of fieldwork (Spradley). Eventually, I established a trustworthy relation with some of my interlocutors through my presence and participation and through the confidentiality of conversations. When they were more or less comfortable with my presence I approached them for an interview of a more formal and structured character. This study is based upon 66 observations and 48 conversations with interlocutors predominantly originating from Kenya, Tanzania, Sierra Leone, Guinea, Nigeria and Congo. This network was established through snowballing in the densely populated Athenian neighbourhoods where most migrants reside: Káto Patisia and Kypseli.

⁶ EUROSTAT, website consulted at 20th of September 2013: http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/statistics_explained/images/8/86/Unemployment_rates%2C_seasonally_adjusted%2C_July_2013.png

Causes of insecurity

Economic and political causes for insecurity

The economic and political causes that generate an increasing sentiment of insecurity among African migrants, are mutually intertwined. Obviously, their already precarious economic position has been intensified due to the economic crisis. The Greek economy has always been characterized by a 'Southern-economic structure' – meaning inter alia an extensive informal economy –, inequality and discrimination in which migrants traditionally are positioned in the margins (Kasimis and Papadopoulos). For heavily affected employers, migrants are easily exploitable targets: because of their vulnerable position, employers can deny to pay their *IKA* (health insurance), cut their salaries, or demand to work under unattractive conditions. Most African men had either lost their job or experienced a sharp decrease in wages. As most women fulfil the function of 'house-keeper' – meaning being responsible for all the domestic tasks of a household, including looking after children, cooking and cleaning– and this demand does not seem to be affected by the crisis, most African women maintain their income. Nevertheless, this is often reduced, resulting in complete families relying on one single income.

Their pressing financial situation profoundly affects African migrants' legal status. Work and resident permits are quite expensive in Greece and additional requirements, such as proving health-insurance stamps, are difficult to meet. Moreover, the slow and complex bureaucratic procedures in Greece expose migrants to infeasible requirements (Baldwin-Edwards and Fakiolas). African migrants are sometimes desperately chasing means to finance their new permit in order to avoid illegality. On top of this, organizational structures are weakening. Some African communities were well-organized before the crisis, which is a condition for close cooperation with political parties in their attempt to pursue more rights. These organizations are tearing apart as even their most dedicated members are preoccupied with their own problems. This does not leave enough space for them to actively contribute to solving larger, community-wide problems. The intensification of their marginal economic and political position, is directly generating feelings of insecurity among African migrants in Athens.

Socio-cultural causes of sentiments of insecurity

The socio-cultural changes that cause insecurity are less concrete and evident than the economic and political causes. I will try to illustrate which issues are contributing to the feeling of insecurity of African migrants, by elaborating on three important features in contemporary Greek society. Firstly, African migrants are constantly constrained in their physical mobility due to a recently implemented operation – '*Xenios Zeus*' – named with cutting irony, after the ancient patron of guests. This sweeping operation initiated by the Samaras-administration in their so-called 'fight against illegal migration' simply means that police officers are allowed to demand anyone's papers at any moment in any place. These police officers did not receive a specific training on asylum, permits or the background of refugees. In practice, it means the application of ethnic screening and consistent harassment of people that are physically distinguishable from Greeks (HRW). Africans experience feelings of humiliation when they are under constant suspicion, when they have to show their papers multiple times a week and when they are retained for some hours just to have their papers 'checked'. Moreover, their compatriots repeatedly 'disappear' for hours, weeks or even months. They appear to be (unlawfully) detained in detention camps around Athens, or deported to their country of origin.

Another reason why African migrants feel more insecure is rooted in racist violence. Since the popularity of the Golden Dawn, a far-right wing party, anti-migrant sentiments are expressed unconcealed. Voters for and members of the Golden Dawn are participating in these attacks while the police often collaborates with them, rather than protecting the victims. The frequency of these attacks, the passive attitude of spectators and the fact that the perpetrators go unpunished terrifies African migrants.

Finally, there is the problem of the second generation. Although born and/or raised in Greece, the children of migrants do not get Greek documents. When they turn 18, and due to the lack of officially implemented procedures that provide accessible citizenship, they are assigned to complex and endless bureaucratic procedures that often result in temporary resident or work permits. The requirements to obtain these permits are increasingly difficult for them to meet, given the economic conditions in the country. In 2010, Greece passed a rather progressive law (3838) that would provide access to citizenship. The recent withdrawal of the law, after it was declared 'unconstitutional', leaves approximately 200.000 children waiting in limbo. The unwillingness of the Greek government to ease these procedures for their children frustrates African and other migrants. They perceive it as a clear indication that their presence in society will probably never be accepted by the majority of Greeks. Moreover, they are worried about the future perspectives of their children: what will happen when they are denied citizenship?

Coping strategies

Coping strategies can be described as attuning practices that assist in overcoming obstacles (e.g. Andreotti; Datta et al.; Kasic and Triandafyllidou; Shinnar; Zontini). Commonly, migration from a country of origin to Western countries itself is seen as a coping strategy of African families to overcome the difficulties they experience while living in poverty (Datta et al.). How African migrants cope with difficulties once they are in Europe, is virtually unknown. The causes that generate a feeling of insecurity as outlined above, call for efficient and repeatedly reconsidered coping strategies that enable navigation through the constantly changing challenges they African migrants (Vigh). We can distinguish between more practical mechanisms and mechanisms that consolidate a positive self-image among the strategies that are (sometimes simultaneously) deployed by African migrants in Athens.

Remigration and evasion

The first coping strategy that African migrants deploy is physically moving out of Greece, either to their country of origin or to another European country. Access to information about routes, documents and tactics are of crucial importance, resulting in a constant attempt to fathom the situation. In their sometimes desperate attempt to leave Greece, Africans seem to be prepared to take risks more than ever. Exemplifying is the recently established walking route from Thessaloniki to Macedonia, Serbia and Hungary from which Africans try to enter other European countries. The route involves high risks and is physically extremely demanding.

The second coping strategy is minimizing possibilities to be exposed to racism or violence. Practically, Africans revolve their daily schedule that has become the opposite of the Greek one: they stay inside during the day and live during the nights. Unless it is strictly necessary, Africans try to avoid Greek institutions such as hospitals and police. Even international organizations such as the UNHCR and IOM are distrusted as they are manned by Greeks. As an alternative, they try to solve problems preferably and in a hierarchical order along ethnic, national or pan-African lines.

Ethnic enclosure

The third coping strategy deployed by African migrants is focused on the enforcement of a positive self-esteem. When constantly exposed to a racist and xenophobic rhetoric, a positive affirmation of one's own identity is important. I observed that communities are tightening along national, pan-African or ethnic lines: they try to resolve problems within their communities, organising festivities for pan-African members and circulating information among their own ethnic groups. Africans revert to native customs, religion and emphasize their moral superiority compared to other communities and especially to Greeks. Emphasising moral strength is something that has been observed among other communities that are constantly subordinated to a dominant majority (Kosic and Triandafyllidou).

Conclusion

Despite reports of multiple international NGOs on sharp rise of xenophobia and racially motivated violence in Greece and the reprehension of Greece for its maltreatment of migrants by the European Court of Human Rights, the experiences of those subjected to these attacks and persistent negative rhetoric did not receive considerable academic attention. In this article, I have argued that the (indirectly related causes of the) crisis in Greece generate(s) diverse feelings of insecurity among African migrants. The crisis intensifies the already peripheral economic and political position of African migrants. Moreover, *Xenios Zeus*, frequent racist insults and attacks, and the insecure legal position of the second generation youth, all contribute to increasing feelings of insecurity. In response to these features, African migrants attempt to leave Greece, minimize the possibilities to be exposed to racism and search for a positive affirmation of their identity. Studying the causes of insecurity and the coping strategies deployed by African migrants in response to these challenges from a bottom-up perspective, have contributed to an understanding of the local experience of insecurity. This illumination of an alternative perspective – which otherwise remains outside the scope of normal security analysis – has complemented the usual state-focused approach to security. Moreover, it has demonstrated the previously observed stamina and creativity of African migrants.

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THE ADDED VALUE OF ANTHROPOLOGY TO THE STUDY OF POLICY

A SHORT ARGUMENT

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Introduction

Policies have a pervasive effect on both individuals and society (Shore and Wright “Policy. A new field” 4). They shape our conduct as well as the ways we construct ourselves as subjects. A common assumption, both in mainstream policy science and among the general public, is that policy making is a rational process in which politicians evaluate several policy options and choose the one that addresses the problems at hand in the best way (Shore and Wright “Conceptualising policy” 4–5). Reality, however, as is argued by a growing number of social scientists, is much more complex and diffuse (among others Hall; Shore and Wright; Stone; Kingdon; Fischer; Schmidt). Understanding how the intricate process of policy making exactly works is vital, because policies are the means through which state power is produced and populations are governed (Feldman).

This paper discusses what an anthropological approach can contribute to the study of policy. It starts with a short overview of common approaches in policy science. Then, it gives an explanation of what an anthropological approach consists of and makes the argument that anthropology is indeed of added value. The case of Dutch immigrant integration policy is discussed next to illustrate this argument and, furthermore, to set out the plans for my PhD research. The paper concludes with some general remarks.

Common approaches

Mainstream policy science is grounded in a positivist tradition, aiming to explain policy development through universal theories (Hall and Taylor). These rational approaches explain policy development by studying how the power and structure of institutions determine policy decisions and outcomes. The neo-institutionalist and interpretative turns in policy science in the 1980s and 1990s caused scholars to pay more attention to the variety and complexity of political change (Fischer; Schmidt; Shore and Wright “Conceptualising policy”). The aim of these alternative approaches is to provide a more detailed account of institutional change and continuity by examining the interaction between actors, structures and ideas, with specific attention to issues of framing and discourse.

Problems, for example, are not ‘just out there’, but need to be defined first (Hall; Benford and Snow; Fischer; Kingdon). Social conditions are perceived as problematic, depending on the assumptions and rationales that are provided by a – taken for granted, but highly normative and selective – policy frame. Policies thus never form a clear choice of rational solutions put forward by neutral bureaucratic knowledge. This type of knowledge consists instead of simplifying, rigid and linear qualities that are imposed on, but can never fully grasp, complex and fluid peoples, processes and events (Hall; Scott; Heyman). In this way, policies express the ideas a government has about the society it aims to shape and policies therefore give meaning to the world (Fischer; Yanow).

Besides being normative, policy outcomes are often the result of struggles between different actors. Policy development is not a linear path of civil servants executing the plans of politicians, but a messy process in which several different organisations participate (Stone; Kingdon; Fischer; Heyman; Hoag; Shore and Wright “Conceptualising policy”). Mechanisms

and processes that lead to policy outcomes are therefore unpredictable and ambiguous rather than rational and straightforward.

An anthropological approach

Despite the rise of a neo-institutionalist and interpretative tradition in policy science, the experiences and opinions of people who are actively involved in institutional developments are not often the subject of study (Wedel et al.; Shore and Wright; Schmidt). What is missing is an anthropological approach that studies the viewpoints of individual actors and tries to understand how people make sense of the world. Such an approach focuses on how policy makers attribute meaning to the society they aim to intervene in, as well as to their work. On the other hand, an anthropological study problematizes frames and discourses that are taken for granted, thus balancing between insider and outsider accounts.

Central in an anthropological approach are the ways in which people engage with policy and what they make of it (Shore and Wright "Conceptualising policy"). It focuses on the role that individuals have in larger institutional developments. Because policy creates links between actors, institutions, technologies and discourses it is analytically productive. On an organizational level, moreover, an anthropological approach can elucidate the messy and opaque processes through which policy develops and provide detailed knowledge of how a policy is formed in the interplay between various actors in a policy network. It, furthermore, has an eye for conflicts and power relations in the network of actors.

As Verlot puts it, if we want to understand policy making we have to look "at policy makers as persons . . . rather than depicting them as a homogenous group in institutions creating a uniform product" (347). This entails having an interest for how policy makers are framing changes in society and at the same time are changing the frames through which they observe society. Because policy makers work together in structured contexts, an in-depth study of policy making elucidates how shared discourses about problems and policy solutions become legitimized, institutionalized and formalized in a system of governance (Shore and Wright "Policy. A new field"; Reinhold and Wright). It sheds light on how a new governing discourse is made authoritative.

The case of Dutch immigrant integration policy

A telling example of a (evolving) system of governance is immigrant integration policy in the Netherlands. In this section, the case of Dutch integration policy and how it can be studied anthropologically is discussed. Firstly, a short overview is given of Dutch post-war immigration patterns and consequent policy reactions on the national level. Secondly, important developments during the last decade are highlighted. Thirdly, possibilities for an in-depth approach are given.

The first group of immigrants that is discerned in literature as well as in policy are inhabitants from former Dutch colonies; from Indonesia in the 1950s and from Suriname and the Dutch Antilles in the 1970s (Entzinger; Bruquetas-Callejo et al.; Doomernik). Labour migrants recruited from the Mediterranean (most notably from Turkey and Morocco) came in the 1960s and 1970s. This was followed by family reunification in the 1980s, when the labour recruitment programmes had already come to an end. The labour migration that was thought to be temporary turned out to be permanent. Later to arrive were asylum seekers, who have primarily been coming since the 1990s. A new point of interest for policy makers in the Netherlands is how to deal with contemporary migrants from within the EU, most notably from Eastern Europe, who are difficult to control because of EU regulations. Some of them are staying temporarily and travel between places, while others are settling on a more permanent basis.

Governmental reactions to immigrants and their integration have been volatile. Policy frames that have been changing every decade testify to the intractability of the policy problem (Scholten). The content and underlying rationales of integration policy have been changing and political reactions have evolved into intense debates, a tougher, hyper-realistic political discourse, and increasingly restrictive policies (see among others Prins; Entzinger; Bruquetas-Callejo; et al., Uitermark; Duyvendak and Scholten). Integration policies have seen several paradigm shifts; all in all, four different phases of integration policy can be discerned.

Firstly, the 1970s' ad hoc policy responses to migration (the Netherlands still did not consider itself as an immigration country in this period) changed to increasingly restrictive immigration policies during later decades (Bruquetas-Callejo et al.; Doornik). The first coherent integration policies on the national level were developed in the early 1980s. The overall aim has since been the participation of newcomers – and later also of the 2nd generation – in society by providing the right circumstances for them to build-up a life here. The means through which participation is thought to be achieved, however, have been changing about once every decade. First, the focus was on the emancipation of ethnic or cultural minorities. In the early 1990s, the aim changed to social-economic participation of individual immigrants as citizens. Finally, after the turn of the millennium, integration has been predominantly framed as a problem of social-cultural adaptation.

Especially the last ten years have been epitomized by a politicization of migrants and their integration, which implies that the topic has become less isolated from macro-politics and plays a prominent role in electoral politics (Bruquetas-Callejo et al.; Scholten). This caused a shift in the primacy of integration policy making from technocratic and academic policy makers to politicians. Moreover, the institutional context has seen various developments, such as centralization and later decentralization, a linking with the policy field of immigration, and various organizational settings. Besides, there is a growing influence of the European Union on the development of integration policies in member states.

However, integration policy making in the Netherlands is not only characterized by change; there is also continuity of existing policies addressing for example education, housing and employment of immigrants and their descendants (Bruquetas-Callejo et al.). Furthermore, dominance of a policy frame at a given moment does not mean that some actors might think along other lines. All in all, the world of policy making is complex and diffuse and to outsiders it is unclear how processes exactly evolve.

In recent years, there has been a growing academic interest in the development of integration policy in the Netherlands (see the references mentioned above). This research has elucidated the different reactions, the development of policies and policy frames, the specific discourses in which migrants and their integration have been discussed, and the effects and overall use of integration policies. Less common, however, is a study of the perceptions and reflections of people that are involved in the process of policy making. This holds for policy making in the Netherlands in general, but is specifically interesting for a field of policy that is highly contentious and has been characterized by a period of strong politicization. It raises questions about how this affects policy making and how their own perceptions relate to the dominant political frame.

What can be concluded from this overview is that migration raises important political questions about its causes and impacts, about how best to steer it in order to realise social and economic goals and about who is allowed to be part of the national community. This sparks debate, causing different policy narratives or knowledge claims to thrive. Dutch integration policies are characterized by uncertainty, a volatile political and social context and several disrupting changes. An anthropological study can contribute to the analysis of these developments by focusing on the competing knowledge claims, their origins and how individuals relate to them. Despite the large number of studies addressing Dutch integration

policy, little detailed knowledge exists about the process of policy making, the actors that have been involved and the continuity and change of policies.

The goal of my PhD research is to explicate the field of (national) integration policy making in the Netherlands and assess in detail the roles of the various actors that have been involved in the past fifteen years. It pays attention to both the reflections of policy makers on their work and the policy they develop, as well as to the ways in which they normalize ideas and values about migrants, integration and society. Another important aspect is the technical and bureaucratic organisation of policy making, in combination with the network of involved actors (Shore and Wright; Wedel et al.; Feldman).

The methods by which data are gathered, are analysis of documents and secondary literature, and conducting (semi-structured) interviews. The major shortcoming of my research is that it is very difficult to use the method of participant observation, which is the key feature of doing anthropological fieldwork. Because of the political sensitivity of the work of policy makers, obtaining access is problematic. However, I circumvent this problem by reconstructing cases that took place in the recent past and interviewing people who are no longer involved in policy making and might speak more freely. In addition, I take the wider network of both governmental and non-governmental actors into account. While this could already yield interesting results, possibilities for participant observation may increase when building up more rapport with informants.

The process of policy making is elucidated by studying it through the eyes of policy makers. By familiarizing myself with their worldviews, a better understanding of actors' opinions about society can be acquired. This research unravels where their knowledge about society comes from, how it is put to use and how it becomes institutionalized. It reveals the rationales behind policy decisions, addresses the shared policy language of ideas and values, and elucidates the ways in which individuals relate to those rationales. In this way, it is possible to assess how a governing regime comes into being and how policies serve as vehicles for political change.

Concluding remarks

To sum up, there are three reasons why an anthropological approach to the study of policy is valuable. Firstly, it maps in detail the process of policy making and the network of involved actors, illuminating many more aspects of a policy field than what has hitherto been done. Secondly, only by studying the process of policy making from the inside, through the eyes of the people who are involved, can we gain a full understanding of it. Mainstream approaches may be able to explain a fair deal of institutional development, but in the end institutions such as policy (or 'the state', 'politics', or 'bureaucracy', for that matter) are constituted in the coordinated work of numerous individuals. People make institutions, not the other way around. Therefore, people need to be the object of study. Thirdly, a central aspect of anthropology is studying how people interpret the world and attribute meaning to it. This is especially important when these people have the power to intervene in the world with the help of policy. In short, a detailed anthropological study provides an understanding of how systems of governance come into existence, how these construct subjects as objects of power, how values and norms are institutionalized and legitimized, and how power and governance are organized.

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NORMATIVE TURN IN POLITICAL SCIENCE

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Today's political science is dominated by an empirical attitude. According to this attitude, for political science to aspire for being called science it cannot be based on issues connected with philosophy and connected with ethics. Another reason for the dominance of the empirical attitude is the fact that political science, trying to be objective, wishes to be based only on facts. In this way since the 1950's there has been a tendency which excluded normativity from political science. The source of this artificial division was the behavioural revolution in the science of politics, which on the one hand enlivened and enriched political science internally, on the other hand closed political science away from essential problems. More specifically the problem of the relation between empiricity and normativity was concerned with the problem of value-free science⁷. In the article "A normative turn in political science?" John Gering and Josuha Yesnovitz write:

Traditionally, the scientific study of politics has been associated with a value-neutral approach to politics. One seeks to uncover what is, not what ought to be, in the political realm. This is what distinguishes a "positive" science from opinionizing, social engineering, or for that matter from political philosophy. While Plato and Aristotle sought to identify the characteristics of a good polity, most modern political scientists seek to identify the characteristics of polities, their causes and effects, leaving aside moral judgments about their goodness or badness. In the other corner are "normative" theorists, those engaged in a study of the good—without explicit or sustained attention to empirical realities. Thus is the fact/value dichotomy reflected in the disciplinary subdivisions of political science. Empirical research is about facts, while normative theorizing ("political theory") is about values. The positivistic view of political science seems an apt description of the enterprise at least since the advent of the behavioralist movement in the 1950s (Gerring, Yesnowitz 2006, p.101).

Nowadays the study of politics is sometimes called empirical political science and it is still postulated for political science not to deal with issues of values, norms or and judgements. However the issue of normativity can not be exclude. In the article author attempts to show normative turn using Dahl,s works as an example. In 1961 Dahl wrote:

The empirical political scientist is concerned with what is . . . not with what ought to be. He finds it difficult and uncongenial to assume the historic burden of the political philosopher who attempted to determine, prescribe, elaborate, and employ ethical standards—values, to use the fashionable term—in appraising political acts and political systems. The behaviorally minded student of politics is prepared to describe values as empirical data; but, qua "scientist" he seeks to avoid prescription or inquiry

⁷ The twentieth-century philosophy of science has been postulated to science, which aims to become the rationality and objectivity should be deprived of the value of. Freedom of value should be understood as the absence of valuations, the absence of value judgments – something is good, something is bad, General questions relating to this issue are: Is the researcher may legitimately - as a scientist - formulate value judgments?; Are those judgements are part of scientific knowledge?; What values should be in those judgements considered?

into the grounds on which judgments of value can properly be made (Dahl 1961, p. 770–71).

The basis for my paper and the subject of my analysis are the works of Robert Alan Dahl. The aim of the paper is to illustrate how Dahl conducts his research – it can be called a methodological analysis. To illustrate the research I will use the analysis of the notion of democracy which was conducted by Dahl. My analysis is to be metatheoretical, which means I will not be interested in how Robert Dahl understands democracy but how he conducts his considerations. Additionally I focus on the issues of normativity in Robert Dahl's research.

Robert Dahl is the greatest and most appreciated American political scientist in the world, he has a great impact on the direction and development of political science. Robert Dahl is considered to have developed political science in the second half of 20th c. in USA. Robert Alan Dahl is a retired professor of Yale University in New Haven, USA. He defended his thesis in 1940 and in 1946 he started his academic work at the Political Science Faculty of Yale University. He was the chairman of the American Political Science Association, which is a prestigious institution uniting the best American political scientists. Robert Dahl is classified as behaviorist, he was one of the representatives of the behavioral revolution which took place in the 1940s and 1950s in the United States. In 1953 (together with Charles Lindblom) he coined the term of polyarchy (the government of many), which allowed for differentiating modern societies from classical democracy. Dahl created a classical pluralistic standpoint, developed the radical form of liberalism – neopluralism which was highly interested in the influence of large capitalistic corporations. Robert Dahl is the author of many monographs and scientific articles which by now belong to the classics of political science, among others: *“Democracy and Its Critics”*, *“On Democracy”*, *“Modern Political Analysis”*. In his research he devoted a lot of attention to the issues of the status of political science and to the influence of different mental currents on political science's essence and character. Robert Dahl tends to be called the dean of American political scientists, not only because of his prolific production but also because he was a mentor for many outstanding scientists of political science.

The first example of normative turn in political science deliberation is the analysis of democracy theory proposed by Robert Dahl in his work *“Democracy and Its Critics”*. In the introduction for the book he writes:

I think, that democratic theory is not only a large enterprise – normative, empirical, philosophical, sympathetic, critical, historical, utopianistic, all at once – but complexly interconnected. The complex interconnections mean that we cannot construct a satisfactory democratic theory by starting off from an impregnable base and marching straight down the road to our conclusion (Dahl 1989, p. 8).

R. Dahl asks if it is possible to use both these aspects in one theoretical expression. His answer is he answers: although it is complicated, it is possible. R. Dahl pictures this possibility with a chart which in a few points shows some aspects of democracy theory. Thinking starts with the first point which is philosophical investigation, from searching for the basics of democracy, pointing out the values which characterise democracy. Next the features of associations which make decisions are determined. Moving on, the thought process will be more and more empirical in its character. And so the third point will be about pointing out criteria which distinguish fully democratic behaviour. The fourth point discusses the institutions indispensable for fulfilling criteria from the third point. The fifth point specifies the conditions favourable for development and existence of institutions indispensable for democratic order to exist. Dahl points out some more issues which characterise democracy, however, these few steps helped to show the aims and assumptions of this attitude. Finally he states:

now we seem to have moved into a part of democratic theory where we intend our inquiry to be almost entirely empirical and it may look like a long distance back to the philosophical northwest corner where we started. Yet not of the terrain we have explored lies outside the bounds of democratic theory (Dahl 1989, p. 14).

The thesis that some values should be realised in a/every? political system is an auxiliary hypothesis for determining not only the nature of democracy but also for pointing out why democracy is a good (desirable) political system. As it can be seen, the aspect of normativity in building meaningful political science theories cannot be missed. From democracy theory we move on to determining what democracy is – this is another argument showing the normative turn in political science. It seems to be one of the key issues of political science. On the one hand, no one can imagine today's political reality without democracy. On the other hand, the multiplicity of meanings, the great number of designations of the term of democracy make us lost in the thick of terms, meanings and definitions of what democracy really is. It is worth investigating briefly how the outstanding political scientist defined democracy. However, it is most important to pay attention to the fact that considering the notion of democracy Robert A. Dahl did not avoid normativity. Analyzing democracy in the ideal state Dahl did not present one concise definition of democracy but with the help of criteria he tried to highlight what is the most crucial or, in other words, he indicates the features which are indispensable while discussing democracy.

Dahl poses the question: “What is democracy?” and answers this question indicating the criteria of a democratic process:

- 1) *Effective participation*: Throughout the process of collective decision making, including the stage of putting matters on the agenda, each citizen ought to have adequate and equal opportunities for expressing his or her preferences as to the final outcome.
- 2) *Equality in voting*: In making collective binding decisions, the expressed preference of each citizen (citizens collectively constitute the demos) ought to be taken equally into account in determining the final solution.
- 3) *Enlightened understanding*: In the time permitted by the need for a decision, each citizen ought to have adequate and equal opportunities for arriving at his or her considered judgment as to the most desirable outcome.
- 4) *Final control over the agenda*: The members must have the exclusive opportunity to decide how and, if they choose, what matters are to be placed on the agenda. Thus the democratic process required by the preceding criteria is never closed. The policies of the association are always open to change by the members if they so choose. (Put in another way, provided the demos does not alienate its final control over the agenda it may delegate authority to others who may make decisions by nondemocratic processes.)
- 5) *Inclusion of adults*: the demos ought to include all adults subject to its laws, except transients. All, or at any rate most, adult permanent residents should have the full rights of citizens that are implied by the first four criteria.

However, as Dahl mentioned, democracy is the term which is differently understood (E.g. Joseph Shumpeter, William H. Riker, Adam Przeworski – minimalist theory of democracy; David Held, Daniele Archibugi – cosmopolitan democracy; Any Gutmann, Dennis Thompson – deliberative democracy). He also pointed out that his task is to design the set of rules and regulations regarding the ideas considering democracy. However, when we look more deeply there seems to be one more criterion which can be described as a meta-criterion. Dahl characterizes it by one elementary rule:

all members must be treated as if they were equally qualified to participate in the process of decision making by association. Whatever other solutions are, in governing the association all members must be treated as politically equal (Dahl 2000, p. 39).

Although eventually there are many questions of what this political equality is, Dahl points out that if association/state is to be governed democratically, it must fulfill all four criteria for all its members to be politically equal.

Specifying the criteria of democracy Dahl answers the question: “Why democracy?” by listing ten desired consequences of democracy: 1. Avoiding tyranny – democracy helps to avoid the reign of cruel and vicious autocrats; 2. Basic laws – democracy guarantees the citizens many basic laws which are not and cannot be allowed by undemocratic political systems; 3. General freedom – democracy guarantees its citizens a wider range of individual freedom than any other form of government; 4. Deciding upon your destination – democracy helps people accomplish their basic interests; 5. Moral independence – only a democratic government can assure maximum possibilities for individuals to decide on their faith themselves which means to live according to the laws of their choice; 6. Man's development – only democratic government can provide maximum opportunities for people to be morally responsible; 7. Protection of individual personal interests – democracy aids human development more than any other possible form of government; 8. Political equality – only a democratic system supports relatively large political equality; what is more, modern democracies bring; 9. Peace – modern representative democracies do not wage wars with one another; 10. Prosperity – countries with a democratic system prosper better economically than the ones with undemocratic governments.

It seems that some desired consequences of democracy mentioned by R. Dahl raise doubts, modern political reality shows that some are to be discussed – at least the last one. However, as R. Dahl puts it:

It would be a serious mistake to demand too much from any form of government, also from a democratic one. Democracy cannot make its citizens happy, wise, peacefully oriented and just. This cannot be achieved by any democratic government. Despite the drawbacks we cannot forget the advantages which make democracy more desirable than any other form of government (2000, 60).

The in-depth analysis of the topic is beyond the scope of the present work. I am aware that the opinions of R. Dahl presented here are partly incomplete and fragmentary. What is, however, worth highlighting are the criteria, the rules which allow us to assess specific democratic systems represented by specific countries. In a knowledgeable way Dahl shows the fusion of the theoretical aspect with the practical one, as well as the empirical aspect with the normative one. On the one hand, he analyzes the development of a democratic system, the development of democracy itself through the centuries; he accurately notices the changes in the modern world; he shows how his theories are submerged in empirical theories. On the other hand, he points out criteria, rules of what democracy should be or what its aim is. His elaborate theory of democracy becomes a kind of reference for us to accurately assess democracies in today's world. On the basis of Dahl's theory of democracy one can notice that political science uses practical sentences, delivers normatively-assessing judgments. This is another argument for political science to be practiced in a reliable scientific way where there is no opposition between empiricism and normativity. Those two worlds complement each other in order to get to know the analyzed reality better.

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GATED COMMUNITIES AND THEIR NON-PROFIT ORGANISATIONS IN HUNGARY*

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Introduction

In private urban governance voting rights depend on property. In local government you have voting rights because you live in the locality. That is why private urban governance is fundamentally different from local governance. In my view, non-profit organisations in gated communities are examples for private urban governments. So, my first question is: What position do gated communities and their private urban governance have in local community? My second question is justified by the fact that these private urban governments in gated communities work in non-profit organization form. Nonprofit organizations' activities ought to be of public utility. Is this also true in gated communities? How can they be of public utility in communities which closed themselves off the others outside?

With my research I would like to show more information about the Hungarian gated communities. I think they are indicators of polarization in our society. That is why we have to know more about them, and their occupant's motivations. More information can also help local government's decisions.

Theoretical considerations

My dissertation is based on three central concepts. These three concepts are: private urban government, gated community and civil society (non-profit organisations). My study focuses on the intersection of these three concepts. The intersection includes non-profit organisations in gated communities, which – in my view – are examples of private urban governments. Let us look at these three concepts one by one.

The first term we need to define is private urban governance or private urban government. Private urban governments control form for private areas, where people run their community, facilities on their own. They make a contract with the investor and each other. In private urban governments citizens join together and try to provide themselves with the assets the state or the market could not provide for them, for example clean and safe parks for children in gated communities (Steen – Twist – Karré 326). Private urban government operates with a different logic from that of local governments. In private urban governance voting rights depend on property. In local government you have voting rights, because you live in the area. The most important difference between private and local governments is the difference between “fiscal exchange” and “fiscal transfer” models. In private urban government homeowners get their regular payments back. In local governments there are also social political considerations (Cséfalvay, Webster 301)

That is why private urban governance is fundamentally different from local governance and we can understand private urban governments through this difference clearly.

The theoretical question is: why have private urban governance come into being? Why do they exist? I found possible answers in Weisbrod's works and in a Dutch study written by Martijn van der Steen, Mark van Twist, and Philip Marcel Karré.

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Burton A. Weisbrod wrote his studies at the beginning of the decline of the welfare state. That is why he was looking for the factors that determine what goods are provided for the society by the government, by the private sector, by the for-profit and non-profit sectors. He concluded that the level of public goods, provided by the government, is the level which the average voter demands. However, there remains a significant part of the voting citizens who have higher than average demand, and are unsatisfied with the level of taxes and public goods provided by the government. These citizens can do three things to solve their problems: turn to the voluntary sector, search free-market alternatives or establish lower (local) governments. The lower local government (private urban governance) comes into being when citizens join together and try to provide themselves with the assets the state or the market could not provide for them

Recent papers (e.g. Steen-Twist – Karré, Bislev, McKenzie, McCabe – Coyle – Tao) dealing with local governments formulate ideas similar to Weisbrod's. Now I would like to highlight Martijn van der Steen, Mark van Twist, and Philip Marcel Karré's main arguments. They think that dissatisfied customers' lower-level governments work in a private form. Socially similar people join together, make a contract with one another, they lay down – together – the rules according to which their lives are organised and they also decide who is allowed to belong to their community. Citizens seem to have lost trust in the capability of politicians and the institutions providing public services to tackle problems both local and global (e.g. public safety, deteriorating neighbourhoods, migration, affordable health care, a balanced budget, global warming, global terrorism, the rise of radical Islam). Further, the state's status as a symbolic focal point for the common identity of citizenship and shared fate is under pressure. More and more people are no longer willing to wait for change, but instead want to take matters into their own hands.

However, none of these means that the people in private urban governments actively refrain from representative democracy or that they fight or openly oppose it. The residents of these communities are law-abiding citizens, but they choose to add to the laws that are already in place. They do not opt out of the system, but choose to retreat within it into their own private environments or niches in which they live by their own agreed set of rules, within the larger framework of institutional structures, rules, and policies that are already in place. In these communities democracy has a different character, as it is self-made by citizens. (Steen – Twist – Karré 321.)

In all cases, and this is a vital point if one wants to understand this development, the privately managed communities continue to rely on regular public services. If there is a fire, the municipal fire brigade is called in (although several communities have their own fire brigades and police units). If people fall ill, they visit a nearby hospital (although some have their own health center). If a nearby factory is noisy, citizens turn to the municipal government for help. They still pay all local and national taxes. The residents of privately managed communities do not opt out of such regimes, but build their community upon them. The most important change is that the residents opt out of "public life" to a certain degree and thus out of the interaction between different groups and individuals that takes place in the public sphere; at the very least, they do so in an important segment of their life, namely their home and its direct environment.

These privately managed communities are also present in small but growing numbers around the world. The question is what their existence and their growing number mean for the whole society and the existing political system. (Steen – Twist – Karré 326)

Dilemmas related to private urban governance

Sometimes the private urban governments decide who can be a member of these communities and who can be elected, so the universally accepted values of equality and accessibility

become questionable. This mechanism also challenges the generally accepted ideal that decisions on common values must be taken within the framework of the political process. They choose a common identity and destiny without the central role of the state. (Steen – Twist – Karré 327.)

It is also problematic how do these communities fit into the public and private concept. They are private, but they have public places such as parks, roads, other facilities and they provide community services.

Citizens nowadays see themselves as consumers. As consumers, citizens do not have to depend on the unreliable world of politics to see the values they hold dear guarded. They can now get what they want in a process of instant gratification. By signing a contract (which grants enforceable rights) with a group or a private party, they can tap into the values they enjoy and can ignore others. Individuals already spend a considerable amount of time, money, and attention on the consumption of goods that add to their identity: They buy clothes that not only match their identity but even form it, build social networks around common interests, visit schools and educational centres that suit them, like looking at themselves on the television, and so on. So why should they not also choose to live among people with the same identities? If they do, what would that mean for solidarity, social cohesion, and the economic sustainability of public services? (Steen – Twist – Karré 326)

Critics of privately managed communities, such as Bishop, point out that this “big sort” of society into groups that think alike might lead to centrifugal tendencies, ripping society apart at its cultural fault lines, with fragmentation and social balkanization as an ultimate effect.

Private urban governance and gated communities are criticized on the grounds that the idea of groups of citizens retreating from society and establishing their own rules is in itself unethical. With living in homogenous groups, people are abandoning the idea that all citizens share a common destiny and that individuals benefit from living within a diverse group of other individuals who are different from them. Diversity is perceived as beneficial – socially, culturally, and economically – and any practical deviation from it reduces these benefits. (e.g. Herbert Gans)

Individuals are, of course, within their right to enter privately managed communities. People have the right to decide where and with whom to live. This greatly reduces the practical means for government institutions to intervene, but also raises new dilemmas: If law-abiding citizens are doing something that is not ethically right, what does it mean to be ethically right? But, if many favour opting out of mixed society and choose to live among perceived equals, what does that say about society? (Steen – Twist – Karré 328)

Are private urban governances going to break up democracy, as Bishop says? Or private urban governance is marginal phenomenon, which is not worth dealing with? Perhaps a lesson and a warning sign for existing systems that they need to be changed? Are they really viable communities? If the answer is yes, then the question is: what should the government do with them? So these are the facts, questions and problems about private urban governments. For a practical example we can investigate gated communities, because gated communities are typical examples of private governmental operation. (Glasze, McKenzie, Atkinson-Blandy)

Gated Communities and their non-profit organisations

According to the accepted international terminology, a gated community is a residential area which applies something to control entry (wall, barrier, camera, 24-hour reception), has community properties (park, recreation facilities, roads), public services (garden care, security guard service) and homeowners establish some form of community self-management, community organization. All these things are based on property and ownership. (Cséfalvay 13)

Sometimes this community organization operates in non-profit form like in my real life example. The non-profit organizational form refers to organizations that meet the established belief in civil society. The civil society usually mediates between the individual and the state (Jenkins 8), they are situated between the state, market and informal sectors, voluntarily created (Arato – Cohen 1988), promotes the fulfilment of democracy (Bartal 20) and nonprofit organization's activities ought to be of public utility. Is this also true in gated communities? How can they be of public utility in communities which gated themselves from the others outside? Are they examples for “bad” civil society (Banerjee 121), or do they provide a chance for integration? Let us look at a Hungarian example of gated communities and its private urban government.

Magdalena valley, almost the first Hungarian private village

Magdalena Valley is located in the Budapest agglomeration, in a village called Piliscsaba, but some distance away from the last houses of the village. Pilis – Invest Investment Company bought the 80 acres of parcelled land in the late nineties to create a high quality living environment with security services, beautiful parks and other facilities. The company went bankrupt in 2004; the residential infrastructure was left without maintenance. This led the residents to organize themselves. At first they established an association named Magdalena Valley Association, and then, in 2006 they also created another organisation for only the operational tasks, named Magdalena Valley Non-Profit Real Estate Management Ltd.

This organization provides 24-hour security guard, standing reception, maintenance activities, maintenance of green areas, lawn mowing, weed clearance, keeps roads and ditches in order, performs management tasks. Its source of income is the regular contribution paid by the residents and its program plan is defined by the general assembly of the Magdalena Valley Association. The tasks of the Magdalena Valley Association are the following: operating the Real Estate Management Ltd, legal representation (against the local government or the investment company) and organizing the homeowners' community (common Christmas, Easter and the first of May festivals, programs for the children and so on).

The story of this association became interesting when it came into conflict with the local government. The essence of the conflict – somewhat simplified – is related to the “double taxation” (McKenzie 225) problem. People who live in a gated community have to pay the local taxes and regular payments for services used together, but they feel that they got nothing in exchange for their paid taxes. It is the same in every gated community, but here in Magdalena valley – after the disappearance of investors – they needed help from the local government. Because their environment was private, the local government did not help. The conflict grew. The Association initiated the separation from Piliscsaba and announced its intention to become an independent settlement. This effort attracted great attention on both the local and national level, because Magdalena valley would have been the first private village in Hungary. After local referendums and ministerial authorization, in 2007 only the signature of the President was missing. László Sólyom did not find sufficient conditions for the proper functioning of their settlement, so he did not sign it. Meanwhile there was a municipal election in 2006, and after that it became easier to work with the new local government. After the failure of secession, the association tried to improve relations, too. The local government helped to solve the problem with public lighting, the association financially supported the main square reconstruction in Piliscsaba, and the mayor sometimes attends the residential park events. So the relationship became better.

Problems remain, of course. The government still does not give the community a “condominium” rating instead of the “family housing area”. The residents cannot choose as a community what they really want. As the theories postulated, this gated community has

operational problems, there are many free-riders, who do not pay common costs and it is difficult to force them.

Magdalena Valley is unique in the sense that it adheres to being a closed residential area and wants to integrate into village life at the same time. The President of Magdalena Valley Association says: "I would like to live in an enclosed, fenced, but in terms of social and public life integrated and federated Magdalena Valley." (Tóth 215) They are not just waiting, but doing for the integration: their Association is represented in public events, in civil garbage collections and they are working together with other non-profit organisations in Piliscsaba.

Conclusion

This short story is not enough to learn everything about Hungarian private governments and gated communities. It only shows the fact that they exist in Hungary, too. The case of Magdalena Valley is similar to the international experiences, only its integration efforts are unique. Magdalena Valley is just one example. What I think is important is that Magdalena Valley and the other Hungarian gated communities may be warning signs of our polarized society. I think we should not criticize people who move into gated communities. We should find the reasons that motivated them.

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FORESIGHT IN PLANNING AND PUBLIC POLICY

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Mankind has always wanted to predict the future of the world to better understand what things will be like, to better anticipate changes, but more importantly, to find our place in the middle of areas that are constantly evolving. The need for anticipation is probably as old as we are. In the era of Ancient Greece, the Greeks went to Delphi to listen carefully to the prophecy that the Pythia gave to them. And their fascination for knowledge of the future continued with centuries of astromancy, cartomancy and even fortune-telling. Examples taken from the realm of magic are manifold, but what keeps planners occupied nowadays does not have anything to do with magic or science-fiction, but foresight in a way to study what tomorrow will bring.

Foresight origins

Foresight practice was born in the United States at the start of the Cold War. A significant effort was made to predict the evolution of weapons that the Soviet bloc could use in a near or distant future. Indeed, the U.S. military started to develop strategic tools to anticipate feasible attacks from the USSR and started to develop at the same time research studies on technological developments that could have a military interest; these studies were depicted in the famous study *Towards New Horizons*, published in 1947 (Delcroix). Thus, formalized foresight methods were born, especially including Delphi and scenarios methods. Of course, at this time, foresight analyses were intimately linked to the war because they were solely used to develop new technologies to preserve the U.S. and its military.

In France, foresight practice appeared at the end of the 1950s, but in a different context: France was still deeply affected by the horrors of war. Certainties about humanity crumbled as nobody could imagine how humans could evolve at this point or how societies would be able to function. Beyond these reconsiderations on the meaning of History and societies, appeared the fact that the shape of European countries was quickly evolving. For example, France was entering a period of unprecedented levels of growth as new techniques and technologies developed the economy in a major way, and consequently society cogs were different. Also, urban structures grew and their connections between them and with the rest of the world changed: they were accelerated, intensified, and became more complex because of globalization. So, it was in this context of post-war physical and moral reconstruction, that the need arose for a discipline able to understand these new dynamics and also able to anticipate them. To meet this demand, a French industrialist named Gaston Berger, proposed to go beyond traditional methods of anticipation which were only based on statistics.

So what is foresight about?

Gaston Berger drew the first lines of a discipline that would “identify the underlying structures of phenomena, and, combining results obtained, provide a first sketch of situations in which men are engaged” (Durance). To put it simply, Gaston Berger wanted to rethink anticipation methods by putting mankind at the center of discussions. That means that French foresight is not just about anticipating economic and technological developments in a country, in a city, in a company, but it is more about an attempt to “determine general conditions under which man will be in the years to come” in order to make efficient decisions at the present time (Berger).

Gaston Berger saw in foresight the ability to release men from their past. Indeed, he used to think that men are locked in their past, and that this attitude weakens their propensity to plan for the future. In its general acceptance, French foresight is about to answer two interconnected basic questions: the first one is “what will happen?”, and the second one is “what can we do about that?”

The first question will require exploratory reflection, while the second one will be heavily tinged with strategy to develop an effective plan for completing the mission. More than a concept, foresight is an attitude: an attitude that planners must look toward the future, by choosing to act and do everything possible to realize a desirable future for citizens.

Although it is commonly accepted that foresight has a scientific dimension, foresight is not an exact science as we meant for mathematics or physics. Foresight is a term that has its roots in the Latin verb *prospicere* which means “to look away, or far, to discern something in front of you” (Berger). It is defined by Michel Godet (a French specialist) as a “reflection to illuminate the present action in the light of possible developments” (Musso). The use of the term *possible developments* is very important because it highlights the undefined nature of the future. Specialists go forward on the assumption that the future is not already drawn, it is a blank page which needs to be written. With this point of view in mind, we understand why the use of Foresight – with whatever methods chosen – always comes up against a wide range of probabilities and will not always tell us exactly what the future will look like.

However, this discipline is not devoid of a certain scientific dimension. If we practice foresight without a minimum of rigor and statistical techniques, if we practice foresight without demography, economics, urbanism, the transportation field, if we practice it in such a way that all we use is our imagination, then we could simply be labeled as science fiction writers.

Foresight in the Field of Planning

Nowadays, we realize that this method has become an indispensable tool for the discipline of urban planning and land use. Indeed, regional foresight serves to underline the broad guidelines that will expand and develop an area in a way that consistently meets the expectations of its inhabitants. We now live in an age where we understand the power of foresight in public policy. It is useful because it can alert us to possible developments before they truly become binding. Foresight allows us to remain a step ahead and to act accordingly to reach the vision of the future as desired. A lack of anticipation will only lead to disasters that will leave planners with little flexibility.

During an exploratory phase, planning foresight helps to reduce uncertainty about the future. The first question that must be asked is: How will this area change? What condition will it be in? Then, in a more strategic phase, it can make the vision of a desirable future emerge, as well as the path to get there. The second question is: What can we do about that?

European countries use planning foresight more and more because they know we will experience many changes in the coming decades. The first one is demographic and will have serious consequences on the economy and on the organization of society.

The second one is the medium-term depletion of fossil fuels. As a result this depletion, efficient energy management and the prevention of adverse effects of climate warming will become significant challenges that must be dealt with. A third issue is urbanized areas. Cities of metropolitan scale to medium and smaller cities are now torn between the challenges of a highly technological economy that requires very selective knowledge and the need of greater assistance to youth, seniors, families and low-income households.

In light of this, planning foresight appears as a special tool to assist in understanding the transformation of spaces, a culture of anticipation and public debate on tomorrow’s issues and the choices that have to be made today (this collective intelligent tool promotes shared

expression intended to build alternatives to future together) and a powerful technique which helps to engage local stakeholders towards ambitious strategies that are deliberate, proactive, reflected in the draft territory, and designed to regain control and influence the future.

Methods and tools of planning foresight:

According to planning objectives, methods and tools used are not the same to elaborate a foresight exercise. Before starting such a process, the first question that must be asked is “What do we expect of this?” By defining what direction they want to take, planners will put the first stones of the methodology they will use. Indeed, the purpose of the process can be multiple: to prepare to fight any challenges a city may face (demographic increase, unemployment due to job center closure), to finish with of a “culture of urgency” (creation of a business center, rehabilitation of a neighborhood, arrival of a high-speed line / airport), to make changes (desire to change the management of an area of social housing for example, increase the tourist appeal of the city) or to respond to a need to innovate together by promoting the expression of each and involving people at all levels (politicians, planners, economists, but also and especially citizens).

In addition to these broad guidelines, planners will have to choose which aspects of the exercise they particularly want to develop. For example, in a process centered on the objective to prepare to fight any challenges the city may face, planners may decide to specifically promote cooperation within a territory and encourage a new team of politicians and planning professionals. In this case, they will look for a working method centered on workshops and let the work be ‘internal’: How will the territory change? As a team, what do we expect from this territory? What can we do based on its inhabitant’s expectations? Tools attached to this approach could be prospective workshops, interviews with experts from the planning field or also analysis of actors’ strategies.

If the professional team in charge of the process wants to enhance the attractiveness of the city, planners will try to work with citizens by organizing open debate sessions that will increase lines of communication. They might create a dedicated website that uses images to illustrate their ideas for the city and ask citizens important questions such as: How do you imagine the city in 2040? What do you want for the city in 2040? Are you aware of this development project in this particular area of the city? What do you think about that? In order to emphasize this aspect of the foresight exercise, tools that will be chosen could be the “grid issues”, urban design or mapping practice.

Finally, still with this main goal in mind (prepare to fight any challenges the city may face), if planners want to bring a change within the city, if they want to bet on its future attractiveness, then they will start by working on a regional diagnostic in order to understand the territory as it appears at the present time. Then, through a series of combined variables and morphological analyses, they will work on developing different “foresight scenarios”.

Conclusion

Territories are space objects in perpetual motion. The acceleration of exchanges that we see between territories nowadays has blurred their boundaries. Indeed their boundaries exploded, reorganized and redesigned in a variety of flows (men transport stream, goods and services, informal flows from the world of economics and finance, Internet, etc). Faced with this intense reorganization of the world, territories change their identity.

Planners know territories that were drawn twenty years ago. They know their morphology, their internal logic, their integration in a regional or national hierarchy, their strengths and weaknesses. But faced with this new globalization context planners feel poor, especially because they do not have the time to understand these space objects that constantly change. To

overcome the complexity of cities, foresight practice in planning appears here and there and helps planners to anticipate future changes in order to meet people's demands. So we hear about "Madrid 2030", "Paris 2040", "Stockholm 2035", and realize that public policies try to go out of a culture of emergency. With this intelligence tool in hands, professionals create debate around the city and its problematic. Everything is not only about guessing what the future will bring, it is more about to learn how to plan a city in a collective way with only one motto in mind: plan today for tomorrow in the best possible way.

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EUROPEAN ENERGY MARKET INTEGRATION: EFFICIENCY IMPROVEMENTS IN ELECTRICITY PRODUCING FIRMS

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Background and Problem Statement

Introduction

From the last few decades the energy sector in almost all countries, and particularly in Europe, has undergone a group of reforms; these reforms try to cope with mainly three aspects of the energy producing firms: the security of supply of raw materials, the control of shocks in prices and the efficiency improvements of firms in the energy sector. In this paper we try to explore the last one. We review different methods of measurement that have been proposed in the literature, we discuss the differences in the results obtained and finally, we speak about the efficiency improvements that might be directly related to the integration of Energy Markets in Europe. While efficiency improvements have been regarded as one of the main objectives in the design, development and deployment of European reforms in this sector, we believe that the greatest part of improvements can be better identified with other causes like technological improvements or new energy generation methods. A better identification of factors and their consequences is crucial to cope better with further reforms and policy design.

Research question

We propose a two-fold research question: Under what conditions does the efficiency of electricity-producing firms improve? And to which factors we may attribute the greater part of this improvement?

Hypotheses

Our general hypothesis is that efficiency has improved greatly in the last fifteen years but that there are important observations to make regarding the main factors of this improvement, thus we present such concerns in the form of particular hypotheses:

- In what concerns the overall improvements (at the country level), the improvements are consequences of a more diverse energy mix.
- A large proportion of the inefficiency detected in the less efficient countries is caused by unused capacity and not just by technical inefficiency.
- In what concerns particularly to energy producing firms, we believe that a greater part of their improvement is due to technological change (use of better technologies) and not just to increasing competence due to energy market integration, either at the regional or the European level.

Objectives

- Describe the most used measures of efficiency evolution in different companies and energy-producing firms in particular.
- Discuss some advantages and drawbacks of the different measures and point out the best ones.

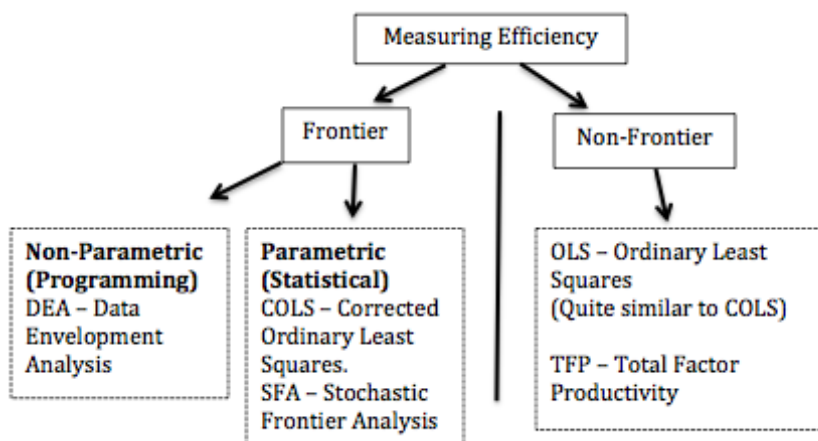
- Outline a test in which we can compare different methods and techniques of efficiency measurement.
- Finally we would like to compare our results with the expectations at the beginning of the reform of the energy sector and the electricity-producing firms in particular.

Methods / Procedures

The literature in what concerns measuring the efficiency of firms is abundant, and we can divide the literature into two main groups; first the so-called non-frontier approach, which basically consists in estimate estimating a cost function without a stochastic component for inefficiency and thus it is assumed that all firms operate in the cost frontier. Once the cost functions have been estimated it is possible to calculate the inefficiency of scale and scope of the companies (Jamasp and Pollitt; Mehdi and Filippini). The most common methods of estimation of these cost functions are Ordinary Least Squares or Total Factor Productivity techniques. Both of these techniques use a mean or an average performance of companies to compare all firms and that is why this group is also known as the average performance approach.

The second part of the literature is the Frontier approach, which assumes that the full cost efficiency is limited to those companies that are identified as the best-practice producers (Mehdi and Filippini). It is also assumed that the rest of companies in the sector produce at higher costs and thus the inefficiency is higher than zero. In this case, it is possible to measure not just the scope and scale inefficiency but also the cost inefficiency. In what concerns the estimation methods, this second group can be also divided into two different categories that are the non-parametric and the parametric methods. In the first one we can find the Data Envelopment Analysis, which is a linear programming method; while in the second category we can find the Corrected Ordinary Least Squares method or the Stochastic Frontier Analysis, both of which are statistical approaches (Jamasp and Pollitt). In figure 1 we present a scheme of the literature and below we describe the most relevant ones.

Fig. 1



All these methods of measuring efficiency of the energy firms have been developed with a main objective, that is, to promote efficiency improvement by rewarding good performance relative to some pre-defined benchmark (either a frontier or a mean).

1. DEA – The first method we would like to comment on is the Data Envelopment Analysis (DEA). This method was first developed by Farrell and also by Coelli, and following their examples we will illustrate it with firms that use two inputs (x_1 and x_2) and produce a single output (y); we will sustain the assumption of constant returns to scale. The isoquant SS' represents the fully efficient firm in figure 2 and knowing this line we can measure the technical efficiency of a given firm. If such a firm uses quantities of inputs in the point P, to produce a unit of output, the distance QP can represent the technical inefficiency of that firm, which is the amount by which all inputs could be proportionally reduced without a reduction in output. We can also present that in percentages with the ratio QP/OP , which represents the percentage by which all inputs can be reduced. Finally we can define the Technical Efficiency (TE) of a firm like:

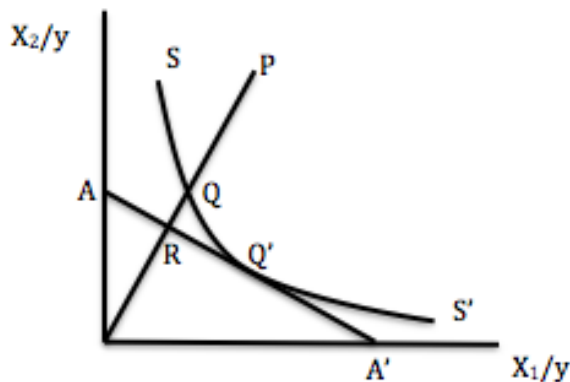
$$TE = OQ/OP$$

This measure takes values between zero and one and provides an indicator of the degree of technical inefficiency of the firm. If the firm is efficient it might obtain a value of one and it would be placed in the isoquant, like the point Q.

If we know also the input price ratio, here represented by line AA' it is possible to calculate the allocative efficiency (also referred to sometimes as price efficiency). The allocative efficiency (AE) of the firm operating at P is defined to be the ratio

$$AE = OR/OQ$$

Fig. 2



The distance RQ might be taken as the reduction in production costs that might occur if production takes place in the allocatively and technically efficient point Q' , instead of producing at the technically efficient but allocatively inefficient point Q.

The efficiency measures we have presented so far assume that the production function is known (or the cost function if such an approach is preferred), but in practice this is not the case, and thus, the efficient isoquant must be estimated from the available data. Two alternatives have been suggested to calculate the isoquant, either a piecewise-linear convex isoquant, or using a Cobb-Douglas function fitted to the data.

2. SFA – The second method considered here is the Stochastic Frontier Analysis, which is a parametrical method. We prepared this explanation based mainly on Coelli et al. We might say that one of the most important differences with the previously exposed method is that the envelopment of data is done by choosing an arbitrary function. The most common function used in applications is the Cobb-Douglas of the form:

$$\ln q_i = \mathbf{x}_i' \beta - u_i \quad i = 1, \dots, I$$

where q_i is the output of the firm i ; \mathbf{x}_i is a $K \times 1$ vector with the logarithm of inputs; β is a vector of unknown parameters and u_i is a non-negative random variable associated with technical inefficiency. For the estimation of these parameters different studies have used different methods like linear programming, maximum likelihood, least squares or a variation of this last one, modified least squares.

The problem with the frontiers like the one we have just described is that it does not take into account (like DEA) measurement errors or other sources of statistical noise and thus, all deviations of the frontier are assumed to be the result of technical inefficiency unless we introduce some modifications.

We can find in the literature stochastic frontier production functions like the following:

$$\ln q_i = \mathbf{x}_i' \beta + v_i - u_i$$

That is, more or less the same as described above but with a symmetric random error v_i , to acknowledge statistical noise.

In order to illustrate graphically how the stochastic frontier model works, we will use the transformation and simplification by Coelli in which only one input x_i is used. The Cobb-Douglas stochastic frontier model takes thus the following form:

$$\begin{aligned} \ln q_i &= \beta_0 + \beta_1 \ln x_i + v_i + u_i \\ \text{or} \quad q_i &= \exp(\beta_0 + \beta_1 \ln x_i + v_i + u_i) \\ \text{or} \quad q_i &= \exp(\beta_0 + \beta_1 \ln x_i) \times \exp(v_i) \times \exp(u_i) \end{aligned}$$

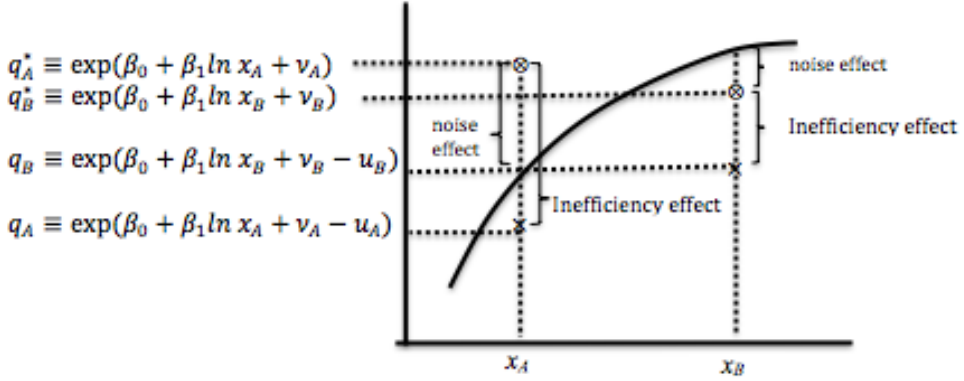
where: $\exp(\beta_0 + \beta_1 \ln x_i)$ is the deterministic component
 $\exp(v_i)$ is noise
and $\exp(u_i)$ is the inefficiency

Still following the example by Coelli we present below a graph where two firms are plotted, A and B, and where diminishing returns of scale are assumed. The horizontal axis corresponds to inputs and the vertical axis measures the outputs. x_A and q_A are the input level and output used and obtained by firm A, and thus x_B and q_B are the input level and the output of firm B. With no inefficiency effect, that is $u_A=0$ and $u_B=0$, the frontier outputs for firms A and B respectively will be

$$q_A^* \equiv \exp(\beta_0 + \beta_1 \ln x_A + v_A) \quad \text{and} \quad q_B^* \equiv \exp(\beta_0 + \beta_1 \ln x_B + v_B)$$

Observed values are indicated in the graph below by \times while frontier values are indicated by \otimes . Frontier output for firm A lies above the deterministic part of the production frontier only because the noise effect is positive ($v_A > 0$), while the frontier output of the for firm B lies below the deterministic part of the frontier because the noise effect is negative ($v_B < 0$). In the graph it is also represented that the observed output of firm A lies below the deterministic part of the frontier because noise and inefficiency summed up ($v_A - u_A < 0$) are negative.

Fig. 3



If we generalize this example to cases with firms using several inputs, observed outputs tend to lie below the deterministic part of the frontier. Indeed they can only lie above the deterministic part of the frontier when noise effect is positive and greater than the inefficiency effect ($q_i^* > \exp(\mathbf{x}_i' \boldsymbol{\beta})$ if $\epsilon_i \equiv v_i - u_i$).

3. Malmquist Productivity Index – Using this index we can decompose the productivity improvements into technological change and other productivity improvements (Førsund and Kittelsen)

The Malmquist efficiency index was first defined after Sten Malmquist and gained a great deal of popularity to measure not just productivity but also how this changes over time. Nonetheless, this index has been also criticized and reviewed by many scholars that have shed some light on its drawbacks, especially in some systematic bias and its dependence on the magnitude of scale economies (Grifell-Tatjé and Lovell); (Bjurek); also see (Halkos and Tzeremes).

Our plan

We would like to split our analysis into two clearly differentiated stages; first we will compare the overall efficiency of a group of countries; this group includes almost all European Union member states and some non-EU members like Switzerland, Norway or Turkey. In this stage of the analysis we will only conduct a DEA analysis to set a point of comparison.

In the second part of the analysis we will use micro-data; we will use a sample of power plants, to conduct a more specific analysis using not only DEA but also other specifications and methods to see how efficiency has evolved in the last few decades (or years). We plan to use also SFA and Malmquist-Index to see not just the evolution of efficiency but also to split the results into technical efficiency and improvements due to other factors.

Data

We will explain here the two datasets that we will use in the two steps of our analysis. The first dataset refers to countries (energy systems) while the second dataset refers to electricity generation facilities.

Table 1

| Input variables | Output variables |
|---------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| Primary energy consumed | Solar Photovoltaic Produced |
| Energy Intensity | Nuclear Power Produced |
| Hydro Power Primary consumption | Hydro Power Produced |
| Wind Power Capacity | Wind Power Produced |
| Solar Power Capacity | Solar Power Consumed |
| Nuclear Power Capacity | |
| Combustible Fuel Capacity | |
| Hydro Power Capacity | |

The first dataset we will use is a combination of eight input variables and five output variables and each variable is observed for sixteen years, from 1995 until 2010; this period of time covers almost the whole process of the integration of European energy markets, taking into account that the first package of liberalization measures were adopted in 1996.

The second dataset we use to perform the empirical part of this paper consists in a sample of power plants in EU countries. We do not need data for all the industry in all countries, since our main objective is to know if there have been changes in European firms in the last few decades (or years) and to which particular factors we may attribute those changes. In the case of our second database it has been constructed with data from different sources, mainly associations of producers or country regulators.

Table 2

| Input variables | Output variables |
|---------------------------------------|------------------------------|
| Operating expenses (general expenses) | Units sold |
| Capital expenditure CAPEX | Number of costumers |
| Number of employees (Labour) | Sales (in monetary units) |
| Wages | Gross electricity production |
| Generation capacity | Net margin |
| Fuel (in Kcal) | Revenues from sales |
| Power purchases | |
| Fuel Efficiency* | |
| Installed capacity | |
| Losses | |
| Bulk power purchased | |

Data accuracy is of capital importance in order to minimize further problems; frontier approaches are susceptible to shocks and data errors. This is specially the case when cross-sectional data is used and there is no allowance for errors as in DEA (Jamasb and Pollitt).

[Preliminary and Expected] Results & Conclusions

In this section we present the preliminary results we have so far obtained with the manipulation of the first dataset, we also speak of some expected results of the first and second stages of the analysis, and we close the section with some concluding remarks, related with what we have found so far.

a. Results

Energy efficiency has improved in the last fifteen years. This improvement has been of about two or three percent each year, depending on the year but also on the country. Different countries have faced different realities and that has important consequences in what concerns energy efficiency improvement.

We believe that the results, the position in the ranking (see Table 3) and the belonging to one group or another might be highly dependent on GDP growth during the period of study and on the deployment of certain generation methods.

We can clearly distinguish four groups of countries regarding the position each of them occupies in the ranking; in the table below we present the groups regarding the score obtained in our first analysis. These results, preliminary as they are, are about to be confirmed, contrasted or complemented with some other methods to identify reference subjects (Intensity Variables, Dominance or The Sphere Measure; see Mansson).

Table 3

| Frontier Group | The follower Group | The non-Efficient | The less efficient |
|----------------|--------------------|-------------------|--------------------|
| (0,85–1) | (0,50–0,85) | (0,20–0,49) | (0,07–0,19) |
| Switzerland | Italy | Malta* | Lithuania |
| Ireland | Norway | Sweden | Poland |
| Denmark | United Kingdom | Belgium | Latvia |
| | Austria | Cyprus | Slovakia |
| | Spain | Turkey | Czech Republic |
| | Luxemburg | Finland | Romania |
| | Germany | Iceland* | Estonia |
| | Greece | Croatia | Bulgaria |
| | France | Slovenia | |
| | Portugal | Hungary | |
| | Netherlands | | |

* Missing data may alter the result

a.1 Expected Results

The most important result we would like to find is that efficiency improvements can be associated more with technological change than with markets' integration. Decomposing the scores obtained in the second part of our analysis we can isolate technical improvements from other parts of inefficiency scores.

We expect to find a relation between less diverse energy systems and inefficiency. Countries that focus only on one or few energy sources tend to perform worst in efficiency scores.

b. Conclusions

Efficiency measures are useful, not just for benchmarking but also for policy makers. Even when different regulators use different measures, it is important to know other possibilities and the drawbacks of all of them.

Different components of the efficiency improvements are also important for further improvements (it is important how we use different scores to different phenomena).

An important and shared drawback of all the measures is the relevance of accurate data. There is an important margin for improvement not just from the econometric point of view but also from the collection of data.

We are still suspicious about the origin of the efficiency improvements, and we strongly believe (we hope to prove it further), that the main factor is the technological change and the increasing participation of renewable energies, instead of the integration of European energy markets.

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THEOLOGY, PHILOSOPHY, PSYCHOLOGY

THE EXPERIENCE OF THE ABSENCE OF GOD ACCORDING TO ST JOHN OF THE CROSS

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Introduction

St John of the Cross was a Spanish mystic of the 16th century. He was a monk of the Carmelite Order and knew St Theresa of Avila, a famous Carmelite nun. St John was a reformer of Carmelite monasteries. His reforms caused a conflict with the Church authorities, which led to his arrest. Despite this, Pope Pius XI declared him as *Doctor Mysticus* of the Catholic Church in 1926. His most known works are *The Ascent of Mount Carmel*, *The Dark Night* and *The Spiritual Canticle*. There are the four nights on the way to the union with God in the teaching of the Mystic Doctor: two of which are active and located in *The Ascent of Mount Carmel*, two of which are passive and located in *The Dark Night*. Our focus is on the passive nights.

The feeling of the absence of God is not unique in the Spiritual Tradition of the Christian world. We can find some traces of this experience in the Scriptures. Even Christ has experienced these feelings on the Cross, when He cried “My Lord, My Lord, why have you forsaken me?” (*The Jerusalem Bible*, Mt.27,46; Ps.22,1). St John of the Cross describes this experience but from a different point of view. In the book *The Dark Night* he represents the soul who is searching for God to unite with Him (*Christian Spirituality*, 80).

In this essay I will show the doctrine of the Mystical Doctor which he laid out in the book *The Dark Night*. First of all I will demonstrate the understanding of the dark as it is described by St John of the Cross. Then I will analyze the phenomenon of the absence of God and its link to the experience of the dark night of the faith.

Brief review of *The Dark Night*

The Dark Night is composed of two books in which St John describes the night of passive purification of the senses and the night of passive purification of the spirit, in his first and second books, respectively. The goal of each is to prepare the soul for the union with God by passive purification. This means that the soul remains passive and the only act the soul commits is to allow God to purify it (Dicken 229). This is due to the free will of humans which God never breaks. In the active nights there is the *synergia* of the human with God because the human purifies himself by his will with God’s grace, without which the soul could do nothing to reach the union with God.

In the night of the passive purification of the senses the soul has to be purified from the seven passions related to the spiritual aspect of life. The first is pride, which is against humility and obedience. The next is spiritual covetousness. This is the accumulation and attachment to the objects of worship. Spiritual lust is the third passion. Wrath against sin which becomes too fanatical is the next passion. The following passion is spiritual gluttony, which refers to the wish to do a lot of spiritual exercises. Two final passions are spiritual jealousy and spiritual laziness. It is easy to notice that these passions are related to the seven grave sins but here we see not just problems of behavior of the human himself but profound problems of spiritual life which a man cannot overcome by his own strength.

The night of the passive purification of the spirit is the “pure and dark contemplation” in which God purifies all feelings of human by allowing to man to experience grief, affliction and anxiety (*The Dark Night*, bk. 2, ch. 3, n. 3). When the soul passes through this night, it

does not feel these emotions the whole time. These feelings are temporary and cover the soul from time to time. The goal of this night is to purify the whole human from every imperfection, to transform the human for the union with God in love and to obtain peace. This night is “the dark night of the faith”, which strengthens the faith.

Concept of “the dark night of the faith” in spiritual life

The symbol of the night as the moment of spiritual experience is not unique to St John of the Cross. He took this idea from the Holy Scripture where it is used as the symbol of the moment of spiritual crisis of a human (Salvador 278). Oriental Fathers of the Church also have used this symbol of the night to describe some spiritual experience on the way to God⁸. St John of the Cross put the basis of his doctrine in the poem *The Dark Night*, which is located at the very beginning of his books *The Ascent to Mount Carmel* and *The Dark Night* and is similar to the *Song of Songs* in the Bible. From there he took the image of the bride looking for her fiancé in the night as the soul which seeks the Lord. At the end they are united in the *Song of Songs* as well as in St John’s poem. Here we find meaning of human life, which is to find God and to unite with Him. St John emphasized that the soul has to go through night in order to meet God (*The Ascent to Mount Carmel*, Pr.).

The Ascent to Mount Carmel and *The Dark Night* describe the four nights, but E.W. Trueman Dicken considers that there is only one night and these are the different parts of it (Dicken 224). To explain this, Dicken goes into the classical oriental scheme of spiritual life which consists of three stages: purgative, illuminative and unitive. The beginning of the spiritual life is the Sacrament of Baptism. The active night of purification of the senses refers to the first stage. The passive night of the senses is the intermediate stage between the purgative and the illuminative. The active night of the spirit is the illuminative stage, and the passive night of the spirit is the moment of transition from the illuminative to the unitive stage. The last stage is the pure gift of the contemplation of God; it is the moment of union with God during this life to which every human is called after receiving the Sacrament of Baptism.

In this plan the passive night is the crisis point in some way, and in order to understand that psychology can be very helpful. The process of the formation of personality is a dynamic process as well as a life of faith. When a person goes through the different stages, there are crisis moments; sometimes they can be identified easy, sometimes not (Baranivskyy, Tereshchenko 114).

There is one more link between spirituality and psychology. As it was mentioned above, a man experiences the emptiness, sadness, grief, affliction and anxiety during the night. Depression has the same symptoms (*Psikhologicheskaya encyklopediya* 168) and for the person who experiences these feelings it is easy to be confused. None can diagnose the stage of the dark night by himself. Only a spiritual director can do that and St John of the Cross had emphasized that point. St John of the Cross also described the three characteristics of the true dark night. The first was already mentioned. The second is the discouragement of prayer and of life, but there is a dialogue with God because of that; the last is the dissatisfaction in prayer and an impossibility of spiritual recollection and reflection (*The Dark Night*, bk. 1, ch. 9). If all three characteristics are not present, then we can talk about depression or a spiritual illness (Dicken 149).

Thereby, the dark night of the faith is an important part of a healthy spiritual life but is very difficult to be diagnosed because of its link with psychology. It is a crisis moment of the faith, although it is also the moment of formation, the moment of the study how to trust in

⁸ Cf. St Gregory of Nyssa’s *Life of Moses*, Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite’s *Mystical Theology*. In these works Fathers described being in darkness as a necessary stage on the journey to see the face of God.

God, and the moment of purifying of the soul and filling it with God for a true contemplation of Him. To safely pass the night the Christian needs to have a spiritual director who will be guiding him, giving advices and solving the problems.

The phenomenon of the absence of God in the context of “the dark night”

The experience of the dark night is accompanied by the feeling of the absence of God. When a human enters the spiritual night, his spiritual eyes are overshadowed and he is not able to see the God (Salvador, 279, 685). A particularly strong feeling of the absence of God accompanies the passive night⁹. This experience is characterized by the spiritual dryness, namely the absence of satisfaction in prayers and of spiritual exaltation.

The experience of the absence of God is accompanied by these feelings: solitude in spiritual life and doubt in the love of God, in His true existence. These feelings human does not experience constantly because it could have very negative consequences¹⁰. At the same time, this experience should become the moment when a man studies to carry out the true dialogue with God in prayer (*The Dark Night*, bk. 1, ch. 12, n. 3). This is the reason for the necessity of this experience in the spiritual growth of the human because here he enters into an interpersonal relation with God.

During the passive night, God himself purifies soul, senses and spirit of the human to unite with him. He takes the soul into the darkness and it becomes blind. This is the reason why the human thinks that God has abandoned him.

To purify the human soul from every defect and passion, God grants to the soul a gift of contemplation of Himself. God is the light and His light is darkness for the human. This light blinds the human. This blindness and the characteristic of the dark night cause the fear that God abandons the human.

However, these are only feelings of the absence of God because God never abandons man especially during the passive night when He is purifying the human soul. St John of the Cross emphasized that if God truly abandoned a human it would cause the spiritual death as well as the physical death subsequently (*The Dark Night*, bk. 1, ch. 6, n. 6).

Thereby, God is always present near the human. However, man is created in the image of and likeness of God (Gen.1,26) and this caused the ontological link between man and God. This is evidence that God is always present in the human soul because of that link even if the human does not realize that (Salvador 512,515).

Since God and the human are on different ontological levels, it is natural for the dark night that when God reveals to the soul He disappears in its feelings (Cugno, 38). The human soul does not stop experience Him because He abandons it, but because it needs to be prepared for this meeting, to enter into a close contact with God. The dark night is this preparation (Cugno 41).

So, there is a need for the dark night of the faith because thanks to it a human becomes able to see God in God's light which He gives us. Contrary to the feelings of the absence of God in the darkness, God is not only present but is united with the soul in some ways; and this dark night helps one to find God again (Salvador 699).

Therefore, the experience of the absence of God is the very important spiritual experience of every Christian. This phenomenon is only special experience but not a real state of man. It follows that the man would die spiritually if God really abandons man as St John stated. It is also only feelings because man, especially a Christian man, has a constant link with God. This feeling is good for man because through purifying the soul it leads to a unity with God, to a

⁹ In the active night, this feeling is not so strong, but there are a lot of temptations by visions and St John in *The Ascent to Mount Carmel* advises his readers not to trust visions anyway.

¹⁰ Even in psychology if someone is constantly in a bad mood it could cause the change of personality.

new level of their relations. It also shows that entering into the dark night or rather moment of dazzle by God's light is an act of God. The human is blinded by God's light because of his imperfection.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the essay presented only one of the aspects of the doctrine of St John of the Cross which he laid out in *The Dark Night*. At the beginning of the essay there was a description of two passive nights of purification of the human by God. One of the experiences which man passes during the night is the feeling of the absence of God but it is only a feeling.

The goal of human life is the union with God which is possible in this life by the gift of contemplation. A human has to be purified to be able to contemplate God. This desire is fulfilled during the active nights of the senses and the spirit; but man cannot fully prepare himself for this union and God helps man by leading him to the passive night. Here the soul begins to feel the absence of God, who at this very moment purifies the soul by giving His light. This light dazzles the human soul's eyes. This is the reason why the soul does not see God and feels that God has abandoned it. God does not abandon man but He is very close to him, He purifies the human soul to enter it fully. There is an ontological link between the human and God, so He cannot leave man; and if He did that a man would die spiritually. The experience of the absence of God is therefore very important for Christian life because that feeling causes man to begin to seek God, and when he finds Him, God and man will be united as the bride and her groom in the *Song of Songs*.

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THE PROBLEMS OF THE RELATIONSHIP OF THEOLOGY AND NATURAL (PHYSICAL–MATHEMATICAL) SCIENCES BASED ON MODERN INVESTIGATIONS

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The topic of my research is a kind of reflection on the sensational publications that have appeared on different web sites and spoke about the discovery made by a Templeton foundation laureate of 2008, Polish priest and scientist Michał Heller. The publications appeared under titles like “a Mathematician Proved the Existence of God” (I. Demidov), “Mathematic Methods Prove That God Exists” (Sushhestvovanie Boga dokazano matematicheski) etc. These publications appeared to be incompetent as they contained the private interpretations of Heller’s ideas made by separate people or journalists. Heller commented on this in one of his interviews:

I’ve never tried to prove the existence of God using mathematics. It would be nonsense. My point of view is close to that of Einstein’s, who stated that science does nothing but explores the idea of God which exists in the world. If God created the world and modern physics explores it successfully, then God thinks in a rational way. So the matter is not to prove the existence of God but to *investigate science from the point of view of religion*. (Dokazatel’sstvo Boga)

Thus, the focus of my research interests is to discover the relation of theology and natural (physical-mathematical) sciences.

The relationship of physical-mathematical sciences and theology according to Ian Barbour and John Polkinghorne

Most scientists and theologians state four aspects of relation of sciences and theology. For example, Ian Barbour names the following: conflict, independence, dialogue and integration (Barbour 118). Polkinghorne considers dialogue and integration the main ways to investigate the relation of science and theology, giving them the terms “harmony” and “assimilation”. The synthesis of different authors’ points of view states that the most characteristic way of correlation is dialogue or harmony, as in it science and theology preserve their autonomy in their essence, while in the bordering areas their concepts correlate (Polkinghorne 31).

Methods of relation of science and theology by Michał Heller

The analyses of Heller’s research results shows that an important aspect of the relation of theology and science is the interaction with the holistic image of the world, rather than with a specific scientific theory which originated in a certain era. Heller reveals the following two examples in which the physical theories proposed by Professor Nancy Murphy, who is a professor of Christian Philosophy at Fuller Theological Seminary, book award winner of American Academy of Religion and the John Templeton Foundation, a member of the Center for Theology and the Natural Sciences can interact with theology or philosophy (Heller 36):

- 1) There is a possibility that under certain additional conditions some of the physical theories may provide a reasonable basis for the formulation of theological opinion.
- 2) Theological theory and scientific theory may derive conclusions that appear to be interdependent, or even equivalent (43).

Heller also proposes other way when physical theories can have an influence on philosophical-theological discourse, arguing that the very existence of these theories and their effectiveness in the development of our knowledge of the world, are much more important for theology than any particular theological interpretation of a certain theory (36). Thus, referring to E. McMullin's writings, Heller argues that the theological interpretations, particularly of cosmological theories, are useful for a Christian person as they help him or her to harmonize the theological and cosmological views of his/her world (37).

Another important aspect conveyed by Heller is the following question: "Does theologies have to take into account the scientific image of the world? We have two answers:" (43) **no**, as the scientific image of the world is subjected to changes and is far from rigorous scientific research; **yes**, at least for three reasons: a) it is necessary to speak and think in a certain image of the world, so if a theologian seeks to speak in modern language, he will use the image of the prevailing ideology; b) when theologian tries to avoid addressing to the modern image of the world it means he implicitly resorts to an ancient, outdated worldview; c) thus the outdated worldview limits the effectiveness of pastoral theological activity as those people who value the scientific image of the world are unable to accept theological truths which are in conflict with this image. Even St. Augustine noticed the importance of Christian knowledge of academic matters and matters of Christianity, especially when it comes to discussion with the pagans (44).

Therefore, Heller focuses on the fact that the dilemma of acceptance or rejection of the scientific image of the world is solved by the fact that theologians should take the dominant scientific image of the world, but keep it under control, making a distinction between certain scientific hypotheses and strong durable theories. Of course, one person can hardly cover all research and theological potential, so it is necessary to create interdisciplinary working groups or teams – that is the author's idea (44).

Heller's development program of "theology of science"

The starting point in Heller's ideas for the "theology of science" program is the point that empirical sciences explore the universe created by God, taking into account two important aspects: the optionality of the world on the one hand, and its values on the other.

Regarding the first aspect of the theology of science, Heller implies that in its existence the universe is entirely dependent on God, its Creator. Another aspect that Heller delivers using the ideas of McMullin contains the notion of values, as a purely scientific method does not take into consideration the understanding of values, so to consider the science in the light of values is the next task of the theology of science (Heller 46 – 47).

An example is Einstein's question or the problem of the so-called rationality of the world: why is the world so incomprehensible? The theology of science, proposed by Heller, can give a deeper answer. The scientific methods typically involve the inheritance of the world that helps to respond to the questions, provided that they are drafted in an accurate language, usually mathematical. Philosophical reflection will show non-trivial aspects, while the light of theological principles will show a deeper meaning (47). Therefore, "The world was created by God according to God's rational plan. Science is nothing more than a man's attempt to decipher the plan. Rationality of the world is very close to the concept of the Logos – the immanence of God to His creation" (47).

It's important to emphasize that according to Heller the task of the theology of science agrees with the aim of the Revelation, that is to lead a man into the sphere of saving values; thus it has the same goal as theology in general with one consideration that the subject of this discipline is to understand critically the facts of the Revelation which let us consider science as a specific human value (47). Thus, the author shows that in a theological perspective there is an internal relation between the spirit of rationality and the Christian understanding of the Logos.

Ian Barbour, considering the dialogue type of correlation refers to Catholic author Ernan McMullin and two other Catholics, Karl Rahner and David Tracy as supporters of a correlation of a dialogue type, specifying that their views differ. In such a relationship, the dialogue brings them to the border issues that is to the dialogue between science and religion and ontological questions that cannot be answered by scientific methods (Barbour 107–111).

The prospects of current research that might be interesting to religion and science

It should be noted that the answer to the question about the existence of God and “Where does God come from?” cannot be proved or disproved by science. His existence, according to the theorem of Kurt Gödel about the “incompleteness of our knowledge,” known to science since 1931, in its popular formulation reads as follows: “Not a single system can be completely learned inside – not taking into account the context of other systems of a higher order.” (Klimishin 78)

Therefore, it is impossible to describe the world in which man lives completely, in particular – to describe the cause of the existence of the universe without leaving beyond. To go beyond is impossible for us (at least – before our death...). Therefore, the question “Where does God come from?” cannot be answered. (78)

Therefore, the wording that Michał Heller gave in an interview to *Rossiyskaya Gazeta* (Dokazatel'stvo Boga) is appropriate, as it refutes the misconceptions regarding the relation between science and religion. We can see that his scientific view is somewhat similar to the idea of Einstein: “Science does not do anything else than read the plan of God that exists in the world.” (Heller 47) In the interview, Heller speaks about the view of science from a religious point of view.

Among the many scientific theories that favor the cooperation of faith and science, we should pay attention to the theory of the “Big Bang”, one of the physical-cosmological theories, which according to the director of the Vatican Astronomical Observatory and Pope Pius XII who said that this theory confirms the Biblical idea of creation (Pope Pius XII 182 – 192), do not contradict Biblical history and the Catholic idea of creation. (Barbour 241) Father Jose Gabriel Funes says:

Explanation of the Big Bang is the best theory we currently have to explain the creation of the universe. This theory suggests that the Big Bang started the creation of the world 14 billion years ago. During that Bang there were created space, time, matter and energy, the planets and the stars, which now are in constant expansion. (Bog I velikij vibuh)

Father Jose continues: “Finally there appears a question, why had that Big Bang happened? Actually here we find a place for God – in every moment of creation He had a specific plan for all our lives”. (Bog I velikij vibuh)

The early Christians *ex nihilo* followed the Biblical view of creation – God made everything out of nothing – formulated by Holy Fathers Augustine, Irenaeus, and other

thinkers. At the time of Copernicus, Galileo and Newton the idea spread that the universe is infinite both in space and time (Guding, Lennoks 95). In 1970 Hawking and Penrose confirmed the assumption of Russian scientist Alexander Friedman that the universe had to have a beginning, as it contains the exact amount of matter that we see – the physicists and mathematicians call this beginning a singularity, a point where the theory of relativity is invalid. This beginning of the universe is called the Big Bang (96). Thus, the first division occurred: the scientists who do not philosophically accept the point of view that the world had a beginning represent the school of materialism, and those who accept the idea of the beginning of the world belong to the idealist camp (97–98). In addition, physics argues that to analyze the first fractions of a second of the universe existence we need to think in terms of quantum cosmology. David Gooding and John Lennox suggest that there is an astonishing agreement between scientists as for the idea that the universe had a beginning. “As we learn about the universe more and more, reveal it and find its harmonious structure, our faith in God strengthens – we begin to believe in the Creator, who created the world with a certain purpose. Faith becomes a conclusion that facilitates the best explanation for: why do we live in this world.” (100–101)

Allan Sandage, known as the father of modern astronomy, argues that it is impossible that a harmonious order began out of chaos, and points to the fact that a certain organizing principle is needed, so he makes a conclusion: “God for me is a mystery but He is also the explanation for the miracle of existence – why has it happened that the world exists instead of nothing” (102).

Finally, the actuality of the cooperation between faith and science is proved by the creation of the foundation and the project «Stoq» aimed at achieving the dialogue between faith and science, opening new opportunities for the dialogue between precise and philosophical-theological sciences. According to this line of dialogue, Gianfranco Ravasi, Cardinal of the Catholic Church sees three levels of a dialogue: “the first concerns the curricula and programs of teaching at Papal universities in Rome; the next is the search for the dialogue during working meetings and seminars; the last one is revealing the main content of the concept of dialogue between faith and science through public lectures, publications and the internet” (U Vatikani stvorili fond dlja dialogu mizh naukoju i viroju). The very project is directed at answering the questions that appeared in the scientific world but the science could not answer them by itself.

Conclusion

The starting point of essay is represented by Einstein’s point of view who stated that science does nothing but explores the idea of God which exists in the world. That’s why the main purpose of research is to investigate some aspect the relationship of theology and natural sciences, particularly physical–mathematical ones.

The mode of correlation of science and theology according to Heller, Polkinghorne, Barbour were presented by dialogue or harmony. It shows autonomy in their essence, while in the bordering areas their concepts correlate. According to Heller’s the task of “theology of science” agrees with the aim of the Revelation that is to lead a man into the sphere of saving values.

In the research there was given the theory of the “Big Bang”, like an example of correlation between science and theology.

Based on the work of the most famous naturalists and scientists on issues of interdisciplinary studies the value of the relationship of modern physics and theology has been shown, highlighting the scientific and religious points of view on the issues of the origin of the Universe and the conditions of existence of life on Earth in particular.

The relevance of the collaboration of faith and science will work more productively by interaction through the formation of interdisciplinary working groups.

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KERYGMA IN TELEVISION BROADCASTING

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Introduction

The Church wants to communicate her message by all possible means. In using new technologies many new questions arise that cannot be overlooked. Are these new communication channels appropriate for conveying the Church's basic message? Is not something vital to the message being lost in the communication process? What effects are created by the message being mediated in these ways? The aim of this paper is to introduce us to this topic of these effects. It will also show some of the preliminary results of research conducted with the audience of *Choices We Face*, a program made by the American Catholic television channel EWTN, Eternal Word Television Network. Our ultimate purpose was to find out about the effect the program has on the life of the viewers, whether a change eventually takes place simply on the level of new information, or if it leads to changed attitudes or even changes in behaviour and living.

The meaning and content of the term "kerygma"

The kerygma is the heart and core of the first proclamation, which takes place by the preached word as well as the witness of a life in harmony with this word. The content of the kerygma is Christ, who was crucified, died and rose again, and through whom a real and total deliverance from evil, sin and death is accomplished. The fruit of this event is forgiveness of our sins, the gift of the Spirit and the eternal life of glory in heaven (*My Daily Catholic Bible*, Acts. 13.38–39; 2.38). Life granted by God as a fruit of salvation is not just a natural life, but a "new life, divine and eternal" (John Paul II 44). Saint Paul describes the basis of the good news as the truth about Christ's suffering, death and resurrection (1 Cor. 15.3–5). Since kerygma is not mere information, but an appeal which aims to awaken living faith and to encourage people to conversion, an answer to the mission mandate "go and preach" (Matt. 28.19), it takes root by following certain steps, which are an answer to the appeal to "baptize" (Matt. 28.19) and to "do this in remembrance of me" (Luke 22.19; 1 Cor. 11.24–25). Consequently, kerygma has a privileged place mainly in the homily, which does not consist simply of rhetoric and but is a liturgical act which brings preached reality into reality. It is also the transmission of the gift of God Himself. Another privileged way to meet the Word of God is an encounter with believers who are witnesses (John Paul II 42). They are able to make that word present and alive (Celli).

Expected effects of the kerygma

We can trace the effects of the kerygma in the preaching of the apostles after Jesus's resurrection. In his sermon at Pentecost, Peter proclaimed the death and resurrection of Jesus Christ. He called people to conversion and baptism. His preaching pierced the hearts of the listeners (Acts 2.14–41). The apostle Paul also reminded Christians that proclamation has "a power" to trigger faith in the heart of people (Rom. 10.17). The Gospel is not just a narrative but a reality. "Using the vocabulary of contemporary theory of language we could say that the gospel is not simply informative but rather 'performative' speech. It is not only mere information but an act, an effective force that enters the world, heals and changes it" (Ratzinger 64). The spoken message is to be intelligently formulated, so that the truth

communicated can enlighten, so it can touch the heart and move the listener to concrete acts. Dulles says that “in the New Testament...the verb *evangelize* means to proclaim with authority and power the good news of salvation in Jesus Christ” (1). Pope John XXIII spoke of the same power when, in his Apostolic Constitution *Humanae salutis* convoking the Second Vatican Council, said that the Council should “bring the modern world into contact with the vivifying and perennial energies of the gospel” (703). The aim and expected effect of this proclamation with power is religious, it is the “interior conversion that is required for salvation” (Evangelii Nuntiandi 36).

The effects of kerygma when broadcast on TV

Pius XII writing about TV expected it to lead to a knowledge of spiritual things: “This manner of spreading pictures and sounds, so far as the spirit is concerned, is supremely adapted to the nature of men, as Aquinas says: ‘But it is natural for man to come to things of the understanding through things of sense; for all our knowledge has its origin in a sense’. Indeed, the sense of sight, as being more noble and more honourable than other senses, more easily leads to a knowledge of spiritual things” (Miranda prorsus). The transmission of the mystery has to take place both through word and image. We are to witness about what we have heard but also about “what we have seen with our own eyes and what we have touched with our own hands” (1 John 1.1).

Carlo M. Martini in his book *Conversations with my TV* points to a woman from the Gospel who was healed by touching the fringe of Jesus’s cloak. Martini thus construes his theology of TV contact: “TV can also be a bit like the fringe of the cloak of Jesus. But this fringe is only a little piece of his tunic. His tunic points to his person who wears it and who can also take it off if he no longer needs it” (Przyczyna 90). Martini clearly concedes that it is possible that grace works even through a medium such as TV. Inter Mirifica had already spoken of the need “to use new instruments of social communication in preaching the good news of redemption” (II Vatican Council 3, translation mine). Pope Paul VI added: “public proclamation cannot take the place of person-to-person contact, which remains indispensable for touching and transforming consciences” (Evangelii Nuntiandi 46).

The development of the understanding of the effects that television can have (by the Catholic Church and other ecclesial bodies)

One of the French Cardinals said in the 1950s that “television came at the right time and can join the plan of the salvation of the world” (Przyczyna 8). In 1957 Pius XII wrote an encyclical letter in which he called cinema, radio and television “gifts from God the Creator” (Miranda prorsus). In a document *Communio et progresio* the Church further explains her understanding and expectations regarding the evangelical message broadcast by television: “It is an invitation to participate in the life of the Church” (Documents of Vatican offices, translation mine). The Catholic Church used the medium of television from the beginning. The charismatic American Bishop Fulton Sheen began his television ministry after he was ordained a bishop. He presented a show called *Life Worth Living* (Vogt 16). This program became a show-stopper. The bishop used this medium long before televangelism. Sheen called his audience to conversion (Lapko 31). Sheen claimed that through his show many people converted to Christ. He mentioned people like “Henry Ford II, heir of the famous car company, musician Fritz Kreisler, highly recognized journalist Heywood Broun, film star Virginia Mayo and many others” (Lapko 32). Sheen would finish his show by telling his viewers: “God loves you”.

Interestingly, unlike Catholics, who accepted television with open hearts, mainline Protestants in USA were very hesitant about using this medium. They more or less ignored it.

Although at the beginning of sixties they were offered by the state free air time on major television networks, they declined the offer. The reason was that they did not want to violate their theology. They believed that the Christian message would be deformed by this medium (Rosenthal 14). The magazine *The Christian Century*, a flagship of mainline Protestantism, expressed its view on television. In the '60s its editors claimed that watching TV was, at best, a waste of time. At worst, it was an attack on America (i.e. the protestant faith). This magazine considered television as low culture, a transitional phenomenon and a negligible danger. It advised Christians to turn it off. Such was the attitude of mainline Protestantism at the time of the television boom at the beginning of sixties.

From amongst all Protestant denominations, the most positive and welcoming attitude came from American evangelicals, who had to pay for their air time. In the '80s in the USA, Christian television programs were dominated by televangelists. Evangelicals have as their priority spreading the Good News by proclamation. In their model of communication, in their vision of transmitting the message, we find phrases of battle and conquest. That is why much research tries to track the impact and effect of the message proclaimed and the possibilities of a message mediated in such a way. This model of communication has conversion as its ultimate goal. Merlin Carothers is a representative of this means of transmission. In 1949 he described TV as an epochal new opportunity. He talked about the persuasive capacity of a new medium that can go into places where not even the most eloquent speakers can go. He considered workers in TV and TV itself as missionaries. He believed that every viewer would accept the message. He trusted in the invasive power of TV that can bring the message to the living rooms of viewers. He viewed the message as irresistible and the viewers hungry to hear it.

A 464-page study published by BFC dampened the initial naive expectations about the potential effects of religious broadcasting. Authors Everett Parker, David Barry and Dallas Smythe published their research under the title *Television and Audience and Religion*. Smythe first pointed out that it is very difficult to measure media effects. They drew their data from research amongst citizens of New Haven in Connecticut. The book consisted of 20 chapters, 100 tables, 30 calculations and 6 insets. The methods used in the research ranged from statistics to content analysis, audience analysis and in-depth interviews. The general result of the audience research was expressed in a conviction that television is by no means a miraculous evangelistic tool.

Word and picture – audio-visual dimension of television

The transmission of the mystery has to take place both through word and image. We are to witness about what we have heard but also about 'what we have seen with our own eyes and what we have touched with our own hands (1 John 1.1). The first thing that was left after the Resurrection was not a word but an image. This is what Christ chose as a medium pointing to his death and glorious resurrection. It is opinion of many Catholics that the Shroud of Turin and the Manoppello image are not in the true sense creations of a human hand. These miraculous pictures are given as miracles of God which are connected with matter. The truth about the suffering of Christ can be strongly experienced in Jesus's burial Shroud as well as in the Gospels.

There is a lot of discussion about the proper relationship between word and picture in our audiovisual culture, between "logo sphere" and "iconic sphere". Some see word and picture in competition or in stark contrast. We understand them, however, as elements that complement each other in our audio-visual culture. Meaning that is communicated simultaneously by word and picture can have greater effects on the recipients. From the Christian perspective both spheres of communication, that of word as well as picture, have a theological significance. Christ came to this world not only as "Word of God" (John 1.1) but also as "image of the

invisible God” (Col. 1.15). We can say that, thanks to Christ, the area of image (that which is iconic) assumed a certain dignity: “Since the Word became flesh in assuming a true humanity, Christ’s body was finite. Therefore the human face of Jesus can be portrayed; . . . the Church recognized its representation in holy images to be legitimate” (Catechism of the Catholic Church 2131, translation mine). Christ worked signs and wonders that were visible. Christ in his teaching appealed to the human imagination when he explained religious and moral truths by the language of images. H. U. von Balthasar speaks about “conversion ad phantasma – Christian transition from abstraction and idea to physical image” (Zasępa, Olekšák a Rončáková 125, translation mine). Grabowski claims that “without pictures we can say nothing about God” (Zasępa, Olekšák a Rončáková 126, translation mine). Christian culture understands pictures as a beginning stage of knowing that which is spiritual and therefore hidden from our sight. St. John Damascene said: “It often happens that in moments when we do not think of the Lord’s suffering, when we glance at a picture of the Crucified Christ, we are immediately reminded of his salvific passion and we humbly call to mind not a material image but that which this picture represents” (Zasępa, Olekšák a Rončáková 127, translation mine). The visual in Christian culture plays a role of stimulation of the devotional imagination of believers.

Effects of kerygma broadcast by *Choices We Face*

We shall now present some of the preliminary results of the audience research that we conducted over the past year. We researched the effects of the kerygma on the TV audience of the program *Choices We Face*. In this stage we used the method of a quantitative-qualitative questionnaire, with closed and open questions.

Questionnaires were distributed by e-mail to 12,000 supporters of the Catholic evangelistic organisation *Renewal Ministries*. An appeal to complete the questionnaire was also published in an edition of *Criterion*, which is an official paper of the Archdiocese of Indiana, and also on its webpage. The questionnaire was published at the beginning of February 2012. It contained 34 questions, 8 of which were open. The questionnaire was completed by 470 respondents, of which 314 (66.8 %) were women, 151 (32.1%) men and 5 (1.1%) did not state their sex. Of those who gave their age (162 respondents or 34.5% of the total), the average age was 59.12 years. The youngest respondent was 13 and the eldest 86. 25 respondents were younger than 40. 73 respondents were between 41 and 50. Most respondents were between 55 and 65. The level of education achieved by respondents was as follows: secondary school 24.8%, University (degree level) 42%, University (Masters) 19.4% and Postgraduate 13.7%.

In our research of *Choices We Face* we came to the conclusion that viewers captured the basic (kerygmatic) message of the show. Almost half of the respondents (49.8%) perceived the Good News as the main message of the program. From the processed questionnaire data, we learnt, however, that conversion of the respondents happened elsewhere. The data acquired from answers shows that out of those who answered this question, the greatest number claimed to have come to faith by Christian upbringing and conversion into deeper faith (59.4%). *Choices We Face* is considered more of an additional help and encouragement that one needs on the continuous path of conversion. The largest group, (60.9%), is made up of those who assert that the program affected them on the level of new perceptions, new attitudes and new emotions. Many of the respondents (42.3%) claimed changes took place in the area of faith.

By correlating the data of these two questions, it can be seen that the program has a greater effect on the thinking and actions of those who saw the main message of the program as receiving and sharing of the Good News (49.6%). Respondents who expressed their view about the main message of the show (61.1%), asserted that the effects were felt at the level of interior experience and perception.

In our preliminary conclusion, we can say in summary that, although this study did not show that *Choices We Face* had lead anyone directly to conversion, it is, for most of the participants in the questionnaire, a valuable help and inspiration in their faith and a constant challenge to go deeper in their personal life, as well as an encouragement to share the Good News.

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CHURCH COMMUNICATION: RECENT CHALLENGES

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Introduction

The Catholic Church has been dealing with media since 1832. In that year Pope Gregory XVI issued the encyclical letter, *Mirari vos*, criticizing liberalism and religious indifference. Books and writings were regarded as disseminators of erratic ideas: “We are horrified to see what monstrous doctrines and prodigious errors are disseminated far and wide in countless books, pamphlets, and other writings which, though small in weight, are very great in malice.” (*Mirari vos*)

This point of view has changed in the 180 years that have passed since the publication of *Mirari vos*. From this tough criticism the Church has moved to the recognition of media as “gifts of God” and of their irreplaceable role.

At least for Catholic journalists, Church documents became great inspiration after the Second Vatican Council. They illustrate what “the Church media policy” should look like and which characteristics Catholic TV stations, radio stations, newspapers, and magazines should have. This article shortly introduces key Church documents on media and discusses which notions could be introduced from those inspirational documents into the Church communication in Slovakia.

Media Documents of the Second Vatican Council (1962 – 1965)

Inter Mirifica

On December 4, 1963 Pope Paul VI promulgated a decree on the media of social communications, *Inter Mirifica*. The Church acknowledged that the correct use of media benefits the Church and that she is obliged to spread the gospel through those means.

Briefly, the Decree *Inter Mirifica* also states: The society has a right to proper information. Proper exercise of a right to information means that the news is true and complete, respecting the justice and charity. Moral order stands in the first place. The description of evil can bring a deeper knowledge of humanity, but moral standards cannot be forgotten. All members of society should try to form and spread the sound public opinion. It is necessary to choose media products aiding virtue, science, and art. Recipients should avoid such media activity which can lead to spiritual harm. Youths should be disciplined while using tools of communication. Media creators have special responsibility. A public authority has to secure freedom of information. Good press has to be supported. Clergymen, religious and lay people need to be prepared for the use of media to the objectives of the apostolate. Believers should financially secure and support Catholic dailies, magazines, film events, radio and TV stations. “Media Day” should be celebrated. National offices for press, radio, and television should be established. The tasks of *Inter Mirifica* must be brought into practice by new pastoral instruction. (*Inter Mirifica*)

Communio et Progressio

Eight years after the issuing of *Inter Mirifica* and six years after the Second Vatican Council, the pastoral instruction *Communio et Progressio* (*Community and Development*) was

published. This document, which is considered to be the “magna charta” of Catholic journalism, was issued on May 23, 1971 in Rome. The document was approved by Pope Paul VI.¹¹

The document has three parts:

1. The Christian view on the means of social communication: Basic points of the doctrine
2. The contribution of the communications media to human progress
3. The commitment of Catholics to the media

In the introduction of *Communio et Progressio*, it is written that media are recognized – for the first time in the history of the Church – as “gifts of God” (CP 1–2).

The Church sees in Jesus Christ an example of ideal communication, a Perfect Announcer, a perfect Communicator. The document explains:

While He was on earth Christ revealed Himself as the Perfect Communicator. Through His “incarnation”, He utterly identified Himself with those who were to receive His communication and He gave His message not only in words but in the whole manner of His life. He spoke from within, that is to say, from out of the press of His people. He preached the Divine message without fear or compromise. He adjusted to His people's way of talking and to their patterns of thought. And He spoke out of the predicament of their time. (CP 11)

On the basis of what has been said above it was recognized how “messages” should be communicated: honestly, accessibly, completely, effectively, and persistently. Jesus Christ's preaching was not only the presenting of thoughts, but – according to the pastoral instruction – it was “giving of self in love”, it was “spirit and life”. It is even possible to use the media of social communications as an instrument to foster love from which a fellowship can develop. “In the institution of the Holy Eucharist, Christ gave us the most perfect and most intimate form of communion between God and man possible in this life, and, out of this, the deepest possible unity between men.” (CP 11)

Not only has the Church a vision about Jesus Christ as a Perfect Communicator, but it also has a notion about perfect communication as honest, verified, and true activity. “The moral worth and validity of any communication does not lie solely in its theme or intellectual content. The way in which it is presented, the way in which it is spoken and treated and even the audience for which it is designed – all these factors must be taken into account.” (CP 17)

One of the key statements of *Communio et Progressio* is that the freedom to express ideas and attitudes is necessary to form public opinion. People exchange their opinions through media and thus public opinion is formed. Public opinion consists of many opinions varying in their importance. Only the most valuable and the most permanent opinions will remain in existence and lead to consensus (CP 26).

The pastoral instruction *Communio et Progressio* also discusses the right to information – as a right to inform and to be informed. The proper exercise of this right needs a variety of information sources. The right to information should not stand solitary, but it needs to take other rights into account: the right of privacy and the right of secrecy (CP 42).

Those working in media have a great deal of responsibility. In what sense? The Church illustrates that with the example of an “open window”. Mass media employees should stand at

¹¹ *Communio et Progressio*. Pastoral instruction on the means of social communication written by the order of the Second Vatican Council. (Hereafter referred to as CP, numbers indicating § numbers.)

this window open to the world. They must understand the course of the world, events, tendencies, opinions, and human diversity (CP 75).

Not only media creators but also media recipients have their obligations. According to the Church, these obligations can be greater than it might be expected.

Whether or not the media can set up an authentic dialogue with society depends very largely upon these recipients. If they do not insist on expressing their views, if they are content with a merely passive role, all the efforts of the communicators to establish an uninhibited dialogue will be useless. (CP 81)

Pastoral Plan on Media: Example from Slovakia

In its *Pastoral and Evangelization Plan 2001–2006*, the Catholic Church in Slovakia paid attention to the media. According to this plan, the official office representing the Church in the media is the Press Agency of Bishops' Conference of Slovakia with a spokesman as its head. Other means of "Catholic media activity" were religious newsrooms of public media; media under the Church's influence (*Radio Lumen*, *Catholic News*), and media which are professed to belong to the Church (*Publishing House Lúč*, *Publishing House of Michal Vaško* and others). The aim of this pastoral plan was to present the Church to society, to create a unity and a feeling of community among believers, and to offer Christian values to inactive Christians, to seekers and nonbelievers.

The Pastoral plan 2001–2006 presented many recommendations, such as: to develop the Press Agency of Slovak Bishops' Conference (TKKBS); to secure a prompt contact of TKKBS to all influential secular media; to search for a way of official influence of the bishops' conference in nomination and designation of directors of public media; to strive for better broadcast times (quantitative and qualitative) for religious programs; to improve parish magazines; to carry out surveys on believers and nonbelievers' expectations from the Catholic media; etc.

The Catholic Church has also prepared a pastoral plan for the years 2007–2013 ("Pastoračný plán Katolíckej"). Unlike its predecessor, this plan does not make any recommendations for media activities. All it says concerning the media is: the media are subordinated to liberalism, but not to the extent as in other countries; the youth use internet and cell phones, many young people escape to the virtual world; Church activities for young people have to be promoted in the media; the Catholic media should be an alternative to the secular media. This pastoral plan had not offered anything more on the topic of Church and media relationship.

Only in this year, 2013, there is a chance again to evaluate the finished pastoral plan and to prepare the new one. The document which probably is being prepared should reflect the requests of pastoral instruction, *Aetatis novae*, in the field of relations between the Church and the media (see *Aetatis novae*).

New Challenges of Church Communication in Slovakia

The Church media landscape in Slovakia consists of:

1. established Catholic media: *Catholic News*, *TV Lux*, *Radio Lumen*,
2. press agency TKKBS,
3. religious broadcasting in public media (*Radio and Television of Slovakia – RTVS*),
4. various magazines: general (*Catholic news*, *ZRNO*, ...), theological and specialized (*New Horizons*, *Faith and Life*, *Dimension*, *Holy Word for Everybody*), juridical (*Tribunal*), seminarian (*Boromeo*), formational and missionary (*Word Among Us*, *Missionary*), children and youth (*Ladder*), family (*Family*), women (*Miriam*),

5. fellowship (*Network Slovakia, fellowship of Catholic journalists*)
6. online magazines (*Postoy.sk, Christ-net.sk, ...*)
7. online bulletins (*Vyveska.sk*)

The recently approved Norms of Bishops' Conference of Slovakia regarding Catholic media and presence of clergymen and religious and presenting of Catholic teaching via means of social communication is the new element in church communication in Slovakia ("Normy Konferencie biskupov). They were approved on March 12, 2013 at the 74th plenary assembly of the Bishops' conference of Slovakia. They came out of the canon law (§ 772, § 804, § 823, § 831).

The rights and obligations of bishops to oversee "ordered" and "effective" delivery of the Gospel, and "special care" of own media as well as Catholic programs in other media (both public and private) are acknowledged by the above mentioned norms. Of course, clergymen and monks/nuns are obliged to be faithful to the teaching of the Gospel.

They should forbear an appearance in media, especially in complicated and controversial issues. They are obliged to respect the opinion of the Bishops' Conference in Slovakia in questions which were subjects of its official stance. The stance of Bishops' Conference in Slovakia is presented by its spokesman. (Norms, § 6)

The Requirements go further, for example:

Nobody has a right to appear in the media in the name of the Church, if he was not appointed or authorized in accordance with canon law.

Or:

The Approval of the ordinary is required for enduring or single cooperation of the clergyman or the religious with radio or TV station, or other media.

Moreover:

In case of severe violation of those norms, the ordinary may admonish a clergyman or a member of an institute of consecrated life or a society of apostolic life and oblige him to remedy the harm, for example by means of correction or cancellation of mistaken or damaging statements. In legitimate and specific cases, the ordinary may forbid someone to appear in the media or can determine on other sanctions provided by canon law.

These Norms bring up many serious questions. One of them pertains to Article 6 – priests should forbear to appear in the media on controversial issues. But it is necessary to ask: Who determines what a "controversial issue" is? Do bishops feel confidence in priests when priests must require an approval?

There are more questions: Why discussion is not possible even in questions which are not dogmatic? Why can a priest not have a different opinion than another priest, for example about the disestablishment of Church and state? And why should we not read a polemic on this topic?

The online magazine *Postoy.sk*, interviewed a spokesman of the Bishops' Conference in Slovakia about media norms and standards for priests:

Postoy.sk: Bishop Andrej Imrich recently wrote an article for Postoy.sk about financial disestablishment of the Church and state. He shouldn't have done such a thing today, should he?

Spokesman: Look, he is a bishop and he has enough information to speak on this topic.

...

Postoy.sk: Should he need to ask for permission to write such an article?

Spokesman: Only if he spoke towards (?) the Vatican. (Obšitník)

But this statement needs clarification. What does "to speak towards Vatican" mean? And who can give a bishop this kind of permission?

One of the explanations for those norms is that a priest never appears as a private person. "It is important that only the Church, not the media, will determine what the Church speaks of. It is not good when the media call some priest and make him a spokesman of the Church. Church has to say who has the word or competency to speak in some question." (Obšitník)

On the other hand, there is a tendency to prevent clergymen from expressing different opinions from the opinions the Slovak Bishop's Conference has. "Any normal company would allow it. . . . For a Church communicating professionally, it needs to respect some criteria which professional communication expects. Otherwise we'll fall apart." (Obšitník)

The current media situation in Slovakia opens some questions, challenges, and topics for our times:

- communication consequences after the case of removed archbishop Róbert Bezák (lack of information about the reasons of his removal and the indignant public meaning reflecting his removal),
- after the ending of the publication of youth magazine *AHA!* there are no youth magazines in Slovakia,
- it is necessary to insert a topic on the media and church communication into the pastoral plan,
- church media should serve as a public forum to exchange opinions and ideas,
- The Catholic media cannot resign itself to the task to form public opinion,
- public religious and liturgical ceremonies should follow the rhetoric criteria,
- more than half of the *Catholic News*' readers are older than 60 years: how can they reach a younger audience? (Grochálová 28)
- do the Catholic media address their own believers, perhaps even nonbelievers?
- do the Christian media fulfill their role in society?
- what is the appropriate measure of neutrality for Catholic media in political, economic, and social issues?

As Anton Ziolkovský, executive secretary of the bishops' conference, said:

The Catholic Church seems to be more closed than an open fellowship. Introversion appears in two realities: the reduction of catholicity to spirituality (private or public) and the incompetence or unwillingness to present our/their own opinions on current social, cultural or economic problems in the public discourse. There is a notion coming from those opinions that the Catholic Church is a colossus with its abilities to offer spiritual or social therapy, but in reality it loses its influence on societal affairs and it will speak to (about?) it even to a lesser extent. (4–5)

Therefore Ziolkovský urged the creation of a communication strategy with two aims: an active entry into societal life and a reinforcement of Catholic identity (5).

For the Catholic public and Catholic media, an application and acceptance of a Church document in practice would bring common benefits, as they are stated in the “magna charta” of Catholic journalism, the pastoral instruction *Communio et Progressio*:

The means of social communication help Catholics in three ways. They help the Church reveal itself to the modern world. They foster dialogues within the Church. They make clear the Church’s contemporary opinions and attitudes. For the Church has been ordered by God to give people the message of salvation in a language they can understand, and to concern herself with the concerns of man. (CP 125)

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ORIGINS OF THE NOTION OF FREE WILL IN CLASSICAL ANTIQUITY

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Introductory remarks

Historians of Greek philosophy have ascribed the invention of the notion of will (*boulesis*) to a number of thinkers, starting with Aristotle (Irwin 1992), the Stoics (Frede 2011), Alexander of Aphrodisias (Bobzien 1994) and St. Augustine (Dihle 1982). Others have denied that this concept existed in pagan philosophy before it was developed by Christian thinkers in the fifth and sixth centuries (Ross 2005, Reale 1996). This paper is a sketch of a proposal for a solution to the question of the origin of the notion of will, understood as a decision mechanism in moral psychology. The thesis laid down in this article is that the origin of this notion should be traced to Plato and his contention with the Sophists. It should be immediately noted that neither Plato, nor later pagan philosophers, nor even early Christian thinkers had a fully developed notion of the will, let alone of free will, as was later worked out in scholasticism, although this latter movement is deeply indebted to ancient authors for the conceptual layout and ethical foundation necessary for the developing of this crucial notion. The present paper is limited to a description of the origins of the notion of the will in the discussion between the Socratic concept of philosophy with the Sophists, based primarily on the text of the *Gorgias*, where Plato most completely describes the Socratic moral psychology and the competing Sophistic ethical ideas. A more comprehensive analysis of Plato's idea of the will requires taking into account the *Republic* (especially book IV), which cannot be done satisfactorily in this short space. I am currently working on such a comprehensive analysis in the form of a book.

The Sophists and normativity

The ethical problem of freedom (as opposed to its political dimension) is the problem of the capability of accepting (and rejecting) a norm of action. This encompasses the distinction between the norm and the object of the norm, i.e. that which is being normalized. In other words, the problem of freedom has a dualistic structure with an inherent hierarchical causal structure. That which is normalized is qualitatively different from the norm, which is independent from it and gives it form by subjecting it to a number of limits. From this follows the problem of the nature of the norm, which must be independent from all and any objects that are to be subjected to it.

Philosophers from the late fifth century, called somewhat arbitrarily the Sophists, have developed two classic solutions to this problem. These solutions are both radical and mutually contradictory. The first, ascribed to Protagoras of Abdera, recognizes complete subjectivity of all norms (thus being akin to modern nominalism): man is the measure of all things, DK74B1. Norms are therefore conventional, and any objective (non-human) source of normativity is rejected. This stance will be here termed for the sake of convenience normative internalism. An alternative solution is the postulation of some kind of natural law: "according to a law of nature", put forward by Callicles in the *Gorgias* (483e3). Here the source of normativity is an objective state of nature, in the case of Callicles the law of the fittest. Let us call this stance normative externalism.

Both solutions are laden with patent flaws. In the case of Protagoras' internalism the problem is the incapability of comparing competitive norms, for lack of an objective criterion.

Obviously, the postulation of a higher criterion (a norm!) for the comparison of norms would take away the edge from this solution, making it objective instead of subjective. On the other hand, the lack of such a criterion makes it impossible to favour some norms over others, which may be on intuition repulsive (the Greeks at least since Herodotus were fond of supplying ample examples of such offensive and exotic codes of laws). Of course within the Protagorean solution it is still possible to compare norms according to some external criterion, such as expediency or logical consistency. These are, however, extra-ethical criteria, and are capable at best to lay down necessary conditions for accepting a norm, but cannot ascribe a value to them. A commonly used criterion in internalistic ethics is that of future consequences. In fact, most subjectivist ethical systems are a form of consequentialism.

The problem inherent in the theory of natural law is perhaps more subtle, but at the same time more serious. This is because postulating an objective norm (in the present case nature) requires explicating a criterion for distinguishing the norm from its object, i.e. the whole of things to be normalized. If such a criterion cannot be presented the solution risks confusing the norm with its objects, which annihilates the notion of the norm as such. In the present case stating nature as the norm, yet leaving nature as its own object reduces the solution to the trivial conclusion that nature is its own norm, meaning that all being is equally good (or bad), without distinction. Postulating a law of nature is in other words only a postponing of the problem, but does not solve the crucial difficulty of giving a discriminating criterion.

This brief analysis of both solutions reveals their respective radicalism: both theories encounter grave difficulties trying to determine the boundary between norms and their objects, turning either to total subjectivism or objectivism in turn. In the first case, due to a lack of any objective criteria the norm becomes a subjective convention, losing any independent existence and nearing on the border of a non-entity. In the second case – being in fact a reaction to Protagoras – the norm is extended to the whole of being, gaining objective value, but losing any distinctive quality by which it would be differentiated from its object (which, being assimilated to the norm itself, ceases to be).

Early theories of action

The above solutions pertain to the first aspect of the problem of freedom, namely the problem of the source of normativity. Another aspect is the problem of acting in accordance with a given norm. The goal of normative ethics is to guide human action by subjecting it to limitations. From the point of view of a theory of action the concept of free action arises in opposition to determined action. In other words, an internal norm is opposed to an external one. We find an anticipation of such a distinction in Democritus: “Do not revere people more than yourself, nor rather do anything wrong, if no one would see, than if all the world would – but revere most of all yourself and lay this law onto your soul, to never do anything unseemly” (DK68B264). This conspicuous fragment, not mentioning the idea of moral freedom explicitly, suggests nonetheless an internalization of moral norm, i.e. basing moral evaluation not on external determinants (such as the opinion of others), but on subjective considerations (not to do anything unseemly). It is worthwhile to note Democritus’ lexical congruency with Protagoras, who in the eponymous Platonic dialogue invokes two fundamental, inborn qualities of man, enabling him to engage in social intercourse, these being *dike* (justice) and *aidos* (reverence, honour, shame). As we saw, in the fragment of Democritus the act of moral judgment is denoted with the verb *aideisthai* (to revere, to honour). We may also note that this concept is referred by Democritus not only to the sphere of opinion, but also to action.

The similarities between Democritus and Protagoras regarding the internalization of the moral psychic act is not accidental. The rejection of external criteria of normativity and the turning towards the moral subject follows from the fundamental stance shared by both thinkers, namely their subjectivist normative internalism. The above cited fragment of

Protagoras runs on as follows: man is the measure of all things, of those that are as existing, of those that are not as not existing). As we see, subjectivity stretches further than ethical theory, extending onto the field of epistemology and possibly ontology. Democritus voices a parallel sentiment: by convention the sweet and by convention the bitter, by convention cold, by convention hot, by convention colour, in truth [there are] atoms and the void (DK68B9).

It follows that the first turning towards the subject in ethics is a consequence of the relativisation of the ethical norm. It may finally be noted that an author regarded as belonging to the so-called second generation of Sophists and sharing the law of doctrine of Callicles, namely Antiphon of Athens, employs in two of his judicial speeches a reasoning founded on a distinction between internal and external motives for moral action (Cairns 2002: 344–345).

The solution of Socrates – the paradoxes of the *Hippias*

The turn towards subjectivism in normative ethics was the first step towards the discovery of freedom as an ethical category. This notion was developed by Plato in the midst of his contention with the Sophistic theories outlined above. The Platonic solution is in fact an attempt at reconciling these theories with each other, which required developing a grand ontological and ethical structure, to be supplied in the *Republic*.

Plato's ethical theory was developed in opposition to the Sophists. This is apparent already in an early Socratic dialogue, the *Hippias Minor*. The problem here hinges on the concept of a person good at his profession, i.e. possessing the ability to perform his task well. Such a person must be able to perform his task well intentionally, and can thus also intentionally perform it wrongly, in contrast to a person lacking the ability at hand, who performs this task wrongly unintentionally. When applied to morality, this reasoning poses an odd paradox. If the ability in question is justice, it can be stipulated that the just person can perform wrong acts intentionally. What is more, Socrates asserts the intuitive premise that justice is good, therefore the good man can do wrong intentionally. This of course assumes that someone possessing an ability may in fact perform the act in question at some time or other.

In the *Hippias* the problem is left as a paradox, but its solution is around the corner. This is to be sought in the proper understanding of the ambiguous Sophistic concept of ability, especially as one enters the ethical and normative sphere. In the *Hippias Minor* no distinction is made between a person possessing an ability and one acting using this ability. This equivocation follows from a radically subjectivistic ethical theory, which lacks the proper internal criterion for evaluating a norm of action, and therefore has to rely on an external criterion, usually the consequence of the action. In other words, no distinction is made between intention and act. For example, injustice is equated with the performance of unjust acts.

The solution of the *Gorgias*

This paradox is tackled in the *Gorgias*. In the discussion with Polos Socrates for the first time postulates the category of willing as an ethical concept. Polos agrees with Socrates regarding two crucial assumptions. Firstly, they agree that all people always will what is good (implicitly – for them). Secondly, they agree that if someone performs an act conducive to a given consequence, it is the consequence and not the act which is willed. Socrates then invokes the commonplace premise that people sometimes do things which have unwanted, detrimental results. It follows that people may perform acts which they do not want, although they thought that this is what they want. In other words, their acts may disagree with their willing. What is more, people may be wrong regarding what they want. From this Socrates infers the conclusion that, if the assumption according to which everybody always wants what is good is to be upheld, it must be conceded that it is one thing to will something (which may

be unconscious), and another to act, according to an apparent will (which is always conscious, but does not have to agree with the unconscious willing). This former act of willing is equated with intention – i.e. authentic willing, always aimed at the good. The second act of willing is always equated with the apparent aim of action.

Key to the reasoning of Socrates is the subjective and internalistic assumption of Polos regarding the infallibility of willing. According to Polos everybody wants exactly what one thinks he wants. Yet since the consequences of acting may be unexpected and detrimental, Polos is facing a troublesome alternative: he either accepts the possibility of willing what is wrong (which he just rejected), or he will be forced to accept a possibility of a divergence between willing and acting, thus rejecting his assumption that everybody always knows what he wants (since everybody always knows what he does). Unwillingly, he conceded the second alternative.

This is the second fundament of Plato's theory of freedom, the first being the internalization of the moral act, which, however, left the problem of consequentialism unsolved. The conclusions from the discussion with Polos supply a solution to the paradoxes of the *Hippias Minor*. Distinguishing between willing and acting Socrates makes room for a novel category of intention, pushing forward the idea of internalization pioneered by Democritus and Protagoras. The hypothetical person from the *Hippias*, who is able to intentionally do wrong may in fact never perform any intentional wrong act, and yet preserve his ability, which makes morality possible in the first place. His willing does not imply acting. His moral assessment is based not on an evaluation of his acts but on the congruence of his willing with his acts – it is therefore internal. He stands above a man performing wrong acts unintentionally due to his inherent ability, and therefore the paradox is avoided. When his willing is congruent with his actions he is by definition a free man – realizing the Delphic maxim of knowing oneself.

The discussion with Polos presents an almost ready theory of ethical freedom. Accepting the Sophistic postulate of the internalization of the moral act Socrates pushes the reasoning further, distinguishing between willing and acting and laying the emphasis on the former. As was made evident from the paradox of the *Hippias Minor*, morality requires the possibility of wrongdoing (but not actual wrongdoing), which is supplied by this distinction, which is conducive to a sound concept of Freedom. In fact, Socratic freedom consists precisely in the congruence of willing and acting (i.e. in doing what one really wants).

Towards the end of the conversation with Polos the stance of Socrates appears as an improved Protagorean ethics. Socrates saves the normative internalism of Protagoras, but enriches it with a novel category of willing, which is to defeat the difficulties following from consequentialism. It is intention (the act of willing) that is now subjected to ethical evaluation, and not the act (which may never occur). This act of willing is in turn equated with the soul agreeing (or not) with reason, i.e. with itself. If, however, the moral act cannot be the criterion of moral evaluation, it must be substituted with something. In other words, the theory of Socrates, just like the theory of Protagoras before him, is still in need of a criterion of moral evaluation.

This criterion is supplied in the final part of the dialogue, during the discussion with Callicles. Callicles postulates the law of nature as an objective norm of action. This, however, is an external criterion, and cannot be reconciled with Socrates' internalism. To solve this problem Socrates postulates the criterion of reason. This is in fact equated with the law of nature, but not as observed in the natural external world, but as cognized by each moral agent in his own soul. Since such law-giving reason is to have objective and universal validity it does not fall into the pitfalls of consequentialism. It is at the same time an internal criterion, avoiding the problems of the theory of the law of nature of Callicles and Antiphon.

Towards the end of the discussion with Callicles Plato's theory of ethical freedom is complete, save for its ontological base (to be supplied in the *Republic*). The normative

internalism of Protagoras has been enriched by a distinction between willing and acting, and the emphasis has been laid on the former. To avoid subjectivism and the following consequentialism Plato reaches for reason as the source of normativity, combining normative internalism with objectivism. This second move still requires justification: why should the law-giving function of reason be objective and universally valid? This is to be supplied by the ontology of the *Republic*. Yet already in the *Gorgias* Plato presents a full theory of ethical freedom (*eleutheria*), understood as being in accord with oneself, i.e. acting according to the norm supplied by reason.

Combining internalism with objectivism, at the same time avoiding subjectivism, Plato reconciles both Sophistic theories transcending them at the same time. This, however, is not a neat case of Hegelian *Aufhebung*. The subjectivist nature of the Sophists' ethical theory, which was according to Plato the main source of paradoxes, is thoroughly eradicated. Plato is steadfast in combatting this aspect of Sophistic thought and their relativism along with it. The *Republic*, in which the ethical theory of the *Gorgias* is developed and supplied with an ontological base begins with an emotional exchange between Socrates and Thrasymachus, who echoes the arguments put forward by Callicles (and also some of Polos). Throughout the discussion Thrasymachus maintains a radically reductionist, yet objectivist stance. In the subsequent nine books Socrates will endeavour to develop a theory which will allow to upkeep the latter, while avoiding the former aspect of the Sophist's position.

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HAPPINESS – DOES ATTENTION MAKE THE DIFFERENCE?

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1. Introduction

When people are asked to list their most valuable goals in life, a commonly highly ranked answer is the pursuit of happiness (Diener, Suh, Smith, and Shao). However, some people seem to be happier than others (Freedman). But what is happiness and why do some people score higher on it than others?

1.1 Happiness and information processing

Happiness can be described in terms of stable subjective well-being or satisfaction with life. One way to gain more insight into the concept of happiness is to investigate differences between happy and unhappy individuals. Lyubomirsky and colleagues conducted an array of comparisons between happy and unhappy people. They gathered a large body of evidence suggesting that happy individuals construe their environment in more favorable ways than their less happy peers. For instance, happy people tend to ignore social comparisons, especially if such comparisons pose a threat to their self-image (Lyubomirsky and Ross). Also, happy people are more inclined to recall events in positive ways than unhappy individuals (Lyubomirsky and Tucker). Based on this evidence, Lyubomirsky proposed a construal approach to happiness, stressing the importance of investigating subjective cognitive and motivational processes that maintain or even increase happiness.

1.2 Attention as an underlying factor of information processing

Summarizing the work by Lyubomirsky and colleagues, the differences that have been found between happy and unhappy individuals mainly manifest themselves in a different style of information processing. Therefore, it would be interesting to get to know if they all stem from a common underlying source. Simply stated: Is there an underlying starting point to the biased processing in happy and unhappy people?

One factor that underlies and affects subsequent cognitive processes is attention (e.g. Wells, Beevers, Robison, and Ellis). Perhaps, happy individuals naturally attend more to positive stimuli, whereas unhappy individuals focus more on negative stimuli. These attentional biases may, then, result in different ways of information processing and, thus, explain the observed differences in cognitive biases (cf. Lyubomirsky).

1.3 Attention and relevance

Research investigating attentional processes supports the intuitively reasonable assumption that people preferably focus on stimuli that are relevant to them. It has frequently been demonstrated that people pay more attention to stimuli of high personal relevance compared to stimuli of low personal relevance (Scherer; Öhman and Mineka; Brosch, Sander, and Scherer). This finding might be explained in evolutionary terms as attentional biases toward relevant stimuli are adaptive. Because of this high functionality, attentional biases for relevant

compared to irrelevant stimuli are assumed to be dominant among multiple attentional biases that all may influence actual attention patterns.

1.4 Present study

As to our knowledge no research has compared attentional processes in happy and unhappy individuals, the present research aims at investigating the effect of happiness on attention for information that varies on valence and personal relevance. As it is adaptive to pay special attention to stimuli of high personal relevance (Scherer; Öhman and Mineka; Brosch, Sander, and Scherer), a main effect of relevance is expected. People should, generally, pay most attention to information that is relevant to the self.

Stimuli of low personal relevance have less adaptive value. Here we hypothesize that happiness determines attention. This bias should manifest itself in a three-way interaction between happiness, valence, and relevance. That is, for irrelevant information, happy people are expected to attend more to positive information, whereas unhappy individuals are expected to pay more attention to negative cues.

2. Method

2.1 Participants

A total of 75 ignorant participants (79% female, $M_{\text{age}} = 21.99$ years, $SD_{\text{age}} = 2.65$) were recruited. Sixteen participants were excluded from the analyses because of practical problems. Thus, 58 participants were included in the analyses (76% female, $M_{\text{age}} = 21.93$ years, $SD_{\text{age}} = 2.53$).

2.2 Materials and Procedure

Upon arrival in the lab, participants' happiness levels were assessed by means of a happiness Single-Target implicit association test (happiness ST-IAT; cf. Wigboldus, Holland, and van Knippenberg), the Satisfaction With Life Scale (SWLS; Diener, Emmons, Larsen, and Griffin) and the Subjective Happiness Scale (SHS; Lyubomirsky and Lepper).

The happiness ST-IAT was used as an implicit measure of happiness. It consisted of 5 blocks in which participants were asked to relate 'happy' and 'unhappy' attributes to themselves. Reaction times were thought to be indicative of the association strength between the two. The first block incorporated 20 trials, the remaining blocks consisted of 40 trials each.

The 4-item SHS and the 5-item SWLS were employed as assessments of participants' explicit happiness levels. For both questionnaires items had to be judged on a 7-point Likert scale. Cronbach's alphas indicate that both scales possess a high internal consistency ($\alpha = .86$ for the SHS; $\alpha = .84$ for the SWLS).

In the following natural viewing task (cf. Kellough, Beevers, Ellis, and Wells), pictures of human faces of the Radboud Faces Database (RaFD; Langner, Dotsch, Bijlstra, Wigboldus, Hawk, and van Knippenberg) were presented to participants. Thirty-six adult Caucasian targets were chosen as stimuli, half of them female and half male. For each target, 6 pictures were used, varying with regard to the target's emotion and the gaze direction. Emotional expressions of anger and happiness were used as a manipulation of valence, gaze directions (i.e., frontal, left, or right) were employed as a manipulation of relevance. Targets with a direct gaze should be of greater personal relevance than targets that look aside, as a direct gaze implies eye contact, which is a crucial aspect of non-verbal communication (Argyle and Dean). The selected pictures were divided into two sets, each containing 50% of the target

people. Each participant was presented with one of the two sets, with each picture only being presented once. The sets were alternately administered for consecutive participants.

Trials began with a blank screen (300 ms), followed by a fixation cross (1000 ms) and two facial stimuli of the Radboud Faces Database that were presented next to each other on the screen (15 sec). In most trials, the two stimuli on the screen varied on the dimensions of targets' gender, emotion, and gaze direction, but they did not necessarily vary on all dimensions at the same time. Further, there was a small imbalance of the type of trials caused by a bug in the randomization program, i.e., not all combinations of variables were presented equally often for each participant.

Participants received the instruction to look at the pictures as naturally as possible, as if they were watching television. During the task their eye-movements were recorded by a Tobii or an IView eye-tracking device. Two different eye tracking devices have been used due to the unavailability of the Tobii eye tracker for the entire period of the data collection.

Afterwards, participants were asked to rate the pictures of the natural viewing task on the dimensions of valence and relevance on a 7-point Likert scale. The ratings served as a manipulation check of the manipulation of valence and relevance in the pictures. Demographic questions followed concerning participants' gender, age and study. Finally, participants were debriefed and paid for their participation.

3. Results

3.1 Ratings of relevance and valence

To check whether the pictures of the natural viewing task differed on the dimensions of valence and relevance, paired-samples t-tests were conducted. These tests revealed significant differences on both dimensions, $t(57) = 2.89$, $p = .01$, $r = .36$ for the relevance ratings and $t(57) = 30.71$, $p < .001$, $r = .97$ for valence ratings. Pictures in which the target looked straight on were rated to be of higher personal relevance ($M = 3.48$, $SD = 1.06$) than pictures in which the target looked to the side ($M = 3.18$, $SD = 0.86$) and happy facial expressions were judged to be more positive ($M = 5.60$, $SD = 0.54$) than angry facial expressions ($M = 2.09$, $SD = 0.47$).

3.2 Gaze Durations

The relation between participants' happiness levels and attention has been investigated by mixed model analyses of participants' gaze patterns, employing the lmer function of the lme4 package (Bates, Maechler, and Bolker) of the statistical program R (R Core Team). An initial model was built to test only the main effects. It contained the three properties of the images (i.e., emotion, gaze direction, and gender) as fixed factors, as well as random intercepts for participant, trial, and image and uncorrelated random slopes for participant and image. The dependent variable was the proportion of gaze duration for an image. *P*-values were determined by means of Markov chain Monte Carlo simulations, using the pvals.fnc function in the R package languageR (Baayen). As an indicator of the effect size, estimates and 95% Highest Probability Density credible intervals (HPD-CI) are reported.

Significant effects were obtained for gaze direction, $p = .01$; $B = 69.13$, 95% HPD-CI [13.16, 124.28], and emotion, $p = .01$; $B = -85.72$, 95% HPD-CI [-147.317, 21.10]. Participants looked longer at frontally looking faces compared to faces with an averted gaze and they preferred looking at happy compared to angry faces.

In order to investigate a possible three-way interaction between emotion, valence, and happiness four further models were tested. Proportions of gaze durations were computed for the amount of time participants spent looking at the first fixated image of a trial in relation to

the second fixated image. For each property of the images, new variables were computed, indicating if an image exclusively possessed a certain level of the variable. This was done for the first and second fixated image of a trial.

In order to embed the idea that happiness determines attention only for irrelevant stimuli, two contrasts were computed, indicating if both pictures in a trial were of low personal relevance and differed on the dimension of valence. Only pictures with these qualities were considered to be relevant.

A simple model without any happiness measurements was tested with the six newly computed variables and the two contrasts as fixed factors. Random intercepts were added for the identities of the targets on the first and second fixated image and for participants. Due to convergence problems, no random slopes were added to the model.

P-values revealed a significant effect of the variable that indicated if only the second fixated image of a trial had an angry facial expression, $p = .01$, $B = 0.04$, 95% HPD-CI [0.01, 0.07]. Participants had significantly longer gaze durations for the first fixated image if only the second fixated image of a trial depicted a target with an angry facial emotion expression.

Three additional mixed models were analyzed in order to test if happiness is related to attention. Each of these models included one of the three happiness measurements. The models were the same as the previous simple model, with the happiness measurement and its interactions with the two contrasts being added as fixed factors. No significant effects were obtained for any of the happiness measurements.

4. Discussion

The present research was aimed at investigating the relation between happiness and attention for stimuli that vary on the dimensions of relevance and valence. In general, a main effect of relevance was expected. For irrelevant stimuli, happy people were expected to attend more to positive stimuli compared to unhappy individuals.

The data (partly) supports the hypothesis of a main effect of personal relevance on gaze durations. Participants preferred looking at faces with a direct gaze compared to faces that with an averted gaze. This finding was obtained, regardless of participants' happiness levels. However, no effects of relevance could be found in the analyses that were restricted to trials that differed on the dimension of interest. The failure to obtain an effect of relevance in these models might be considered as evidence against the expected effect of relevance on attention. However, it might also be explained in terms of lack of statistical power.

Concerning the second hypothesis of this research, no three-way interaction between happiness, relevance, and valence has been found. Thus, the hypothesis of a happiness congruency effect for irrelevant stimuli has not been confirmed by the present data. In general, no evidence has been obtained for any relation between happiness and attention.

Interestingly, a significant main effect of emotion was obtained as well as a significant preference to look at happy faces in trials in which only the first fixated image depicted a happy facial expression. These findings could be interpreted in terms of reward. Smiling faces have been found to increase activation of the medial orbitofrontal cortex in contrast to non-smiling faces (O'Doherty, Winston, Critchley, Perrett, Burt, and Dolan). As the medial orbitofrontal cortex is known to be involved in the processing of reward, this finding suggests a higher rewarding value of smiling faces.

As there was only partial support of a main effect of relevance on attention and no significant relation between attention and happiness, the hypotheses of this study have only partially been supported by the data of the present research. Perhaps happy and unhappy individuals do not differ with regard to how they attend to their environment. In this case, the cognitive and motivational differences that have been observed by, among others,

Lyubomirsky could stem from unrelated sources or be the result of another process that sets in at a later stadium of information processing.

Another explanation for the failure to find the expected relation between happiness and attention may be related to the methodological drawbacks of the present study. First, two eye-tracking devices have been used. The IView allowed for less freedom to move than the Tobii, which could have temporarily lowered participants' feeling of being happy.

Second, many participants were familiar with the fact that most studies consist of multiple interrelated parts. Some participants may, therefore, have expected another task following the natural viewing task that built on the information that was provided during the viewing task. It seems likely that these participants deliberately engaged in longer gazing for information they would have ignored in a natural setting in order to better remember this information.

Future research should focus on these points of concern as well as on the optimal stimulus material for the present purpose. Although facial emotion expressions are of enormous importance in daily social interactions, real world situations are often more complex. It may be considered to extend the sort of material to non-facial and more complex stimuli, that include both positive and negative information.

In a nutshell, the present research obtained partial evidence for the idea that relevance determines attention. Further, emotion plays a role, as participants attended more to happy compared to angry faces, which might be due to the rewarding nature of a smile. However, no relation has been found between happiness and attention. It is suggested to retest the idea in order to investigate if happiness is not related to attention at all or if the effect has not been found due to limitations of the present study.

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THE QUESTION OF GUILT

THE EVANGELICAL CHURCH IN GERMANY AND THE STUTTGART DECLARATION OF GUILT, 1945

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In the aftermath of catastrophes people want to know who is responsible for what happened and who is guilty. Exactly this was the case in Germany in 1945. It was obvious that Germany was guilty, because the regime provoked the Second World War. Therefore, Germany was directly declared guilty by the Allies, although the official processes started years later. Especially the Americans concentrated on a collective form of guilt, which was justified by the discoveries the Americans made when they found the “Konzentrationslager” and other such places. They confronted the Germans with their discoveries and placed posters with titles like “Those infamous actions: Your guilt!” (Brink 43) or “You are guilty” (Jaspers 49).

Many intellectuals therefore dealt with the question of guilt and tried to elaborate it. So did Karl Jaspers who claimed: “Philosophy and Theology are asked to elaborate the question of guilt” (134). The Swizz theologian Karl Barth also appealed to the Germans to deal with this question. But it was mainly the members and delegates of the Ecumenical Church who encouraged the German Evangelical Churches to write a statement, which confesses guilt in a theological perspective.

The purpose of this essay is to illustrate how the Evangelical Church in Germany (also known as EKD) dealt with the question of guilt in 1945 by analysing the main document – The Stuttgart Declaration of Guilt, 1945. Before addressing this issue it is necessary to briefly define the term “guilt” and furthermore, give relevant historical background information. In doing so, crucial positions within the Council of the EKD will be briefly considered and critically analysed.

1. What is Guilt?

In the context of the German question of guilt it seems vital to be more precise about the definition of the term “guilt“. In everyday life, the term “guilt” is understood as in a general contradiction to moral, ethical or lawful concepts. In theological and philosophical discourses the term “guilt” is used as an essential moral term. The Christian understanding differentiates between guilt and sin, though both offences need to be forgiven by God (Franz, Baum, Kreutzer 363). In the context of this paper, the focus is not on sin, but on guilt, which is understood as a “disjunction between God and people” (Bodenstein 25). It is always the contradictor, who is responsible for his guilt which needs to be forgiven by God.

In the case of the declaration of guilt by the Evangelical Churches in Germany, the Ecumenical Churches might be seen as the authorities, to which such a declaration is made. However, the Ecumenical Churches are not able to forgive guilt. In all Evangelical Christian discourses the religious authority, who is allowed to forgive religious affairs, is always God. Therefore, a declaration of guilt is always part of the Christian confession of faith (Besier, Sauter 65). Hence, it always refers to Psalms 51.

Taking into consideration the evidence given above, it becomes clear, that a form of collective guilt is not possible. Referring to the protestant idea of individual accountability, every single person is responsible for his actions, which needs to be forgiven by God.

2. The Development of the Stuttgart Declaration of Guilt

When dealing with the question raised above, it seems advisable to briefly consider the historical background, while focusing on the situation within the Evangelical Church in Germany. The time between 1918 and 1945 was suspense-packed for evangelical churches in Germany. The churches were discordant, not unified and the struggle between churches and state was ongoing.

When the Weimar Republic ended and the Third Reich began, the Evangelical Churches in Germany were shattered. Some members of the Evangelical Church (Deutsche Christen) supported the National Socialism, while others fought against it (Confessing Church). This situation basically continued until the end of the Second World War.

In 1945 the Evangelical Churches in Germany had to not only deal with the reorganisation of the churches, but also to discuss the question of guilt. In various exchanges of letters and other correspondences, the churchmen noticed that the German Christians were not ready to deal with this topic; they blocked this discourse and rejected expiation (Besier, Ludwig, Thierfelder 18). However, the request for a churchly statement became more and more urgent.

It was not the conference of Stuttgart where the question of guilt was first discussed, but previously written records and statements are not representative because they were unofficial and isolated. To reconstruct the process of development of the Stuttgart Declaration of Guilt precisely, it is vital to briefly mention the highlights of the conference Treysa, because this first post war conference served as the foundation of Stuttgart.

2.1 The Conference of Treysa

The first German conference of the members of Evangelical Churches in Germany was held on the 27th of August, 1945, in Treysa (Jung 210). Members of the Confessing Church and confessional Lutherans as well as members of the Wurms' church attended the conference. The main goal was to set up a new governing body of the Evangelical Church.

The fact that it would be difficult to discuss the question of guilt in Stuttgart was already indicated in the debates concerning the documents "Word to the parish" and especially the "Word to the pastors". Both documents showed the interest in intensively discussing the guilt of the German Churches. Mainly Asmussen and Niemöller were dedicated to highlighting this discourse. They had prepared the two documents in advance, relating them to the Barmer Theological Confession and the Declaration of Spandau, which can be regarded as pre-conferences of the Confessing Church.

Basically, both declarations showed the effort of concrete discussing on guilt and the interest in analysing the last two decades intensively (Greschat 20f).

Although the members of the Evangelical Churches in Germany set up a new governing body of the Church and first discussions concerning the question of guilt came up, the conference in Treysa highlighted rather the process of renewal than the question of guilt. The question of guilt became more essential on the upcoming, first international post-war conference in Stuttgart on the 18th-19th October, 1945.

2.2 The Conference of Stuttgart

The demands of the foreign church representatives were clear. An official confession should have been written down, so that the representatives could show it to their fellow countrymen. It was mainly Dibelius and Asmussen who hastily designed a brief "Word to the Christians abroad" which is formally known as the "Stuttgarter Schulerklärung" or "Stuttgarter Schuldbekennntnis" (Jung 211). The original title implicated clearly that this declaration (or confession) was meant exclusively for Christians abroad, and was therefore only written for a

Christian-theological purpose. Nonetheless, the process of writing was overshadowed by the fear that the Stuttgart Declaration could be misused politically (Besier, Ludwig, Thierfelder 20f). Although the visitors came as representatives of the Ecumenical Delegation in the first instance, they were still connected to the Allies of whom the Germans were afraid. This fear resulted from the fact that it was foreseeable that the Allies would condemn the German political and judicial crimes. After the First World War they judged Germany, too.

Besides this issue, it was also controversially discussed to which extent the “Guilt of Others” should be mentioned in the declaration. Hans Asmussen, for example, said that “no single person or state is guilt-free” (Greschat 57). This opinion implies a special form of guilt of others, which needed to be confessed as well. Not only the theological discourse discussed the guilt of others, but the philosophical disciplines also dealt with the topic. However, the question whether to mention the guilt of others or not, was concordantly abnegated, because it would have destroyed the project of regeneration (Greschat 93). Although the members of the German Evangelical Council did not expect the Ecumenical Churches to write a similar declaration, they hoped for it. At least they hoped that they would deal with their own form of guilt.

Because Asmussen and Dibelius had prepared declarations in advance, those drafts functioned as the background of the discussion about the declaration. Thereby the text by Dibelius was more evident because it focussed on the fifteen expectations of the ecumenical delegates (Besier, Sauter 33f). Furthermore, this text highlighted the ecumenical ties and the new beginning. The EKD mentioned the guilt in one sentence and signed the document conjointly. However, “it was Martin Niemöller who insisted on the controversial sentence, “With great anguish we state: Through us, inestimable suffering was inflicted on many people and lands” (Barnett 210).

The following morning the final version of the Stuttgart Declaration of Guilt was presented to the ecumenical delegates by Asmussen. He finished his speech by begging: “Do what you can that this declaration does not become misused politically” (Barnett 210). The declaration was duplicated and handed out to the delegates, afterwards the conference ended.

3. A Semantic Analysis of the Statement

Since the Stuttgart Declaration¹² is understood as the most important post-war statement of the Evangelical Churches in Germany, it is essential to analyse the wording in more detail. In the context of guilt it seems advisable to focus on the first part of the document, because it shows an attempt of confessing guilt. The second part of the Stuttgart Declaration mainly concentrates on the new beginning within the German Church and the re-establishing of the ties to the World Council of Churches. Nevertheless, both paragraphs are based on each other.

The first sentence of the Stuttgart Declaration announces the EKD as the addresser of this declaration, while welcoming and expressed gratitude to the representatives of the World Council of Churches. How thankful the addressers are, is indicated with the comparative that they are “more thankful” for the visit. In the same sentence, the word “guilt” is used for the first and only time. Furthermore, the representatives of the EKD assert that they “know [themselves] they are with [their] people in a community of suffering” and “in a solidarity of guilt”. It is especially this very passage that was controversially discussed after the publishing of the Stuttgart Declaration. The German representatives did not explicitly say that it was only them who stated a confessing statement. Instead they referred to the whole German protestant Christians. It is furthermore noticeable that it is firstly pointed out: they know they are in a “community of suffering” and afterwards they also find themselves in a “solidarity of guilt”. The phrase “solidarity of guilt” indicates that a community and not only individual persons are

¹² This essay refers to the version that can be found in Barnett, 209.

guilty. Individual variations of guilt are not mentioned in the whole text. It was Martin Niemöller who initiated, that the phrase “solidarity of guilt” should be adopted, because he was an advocator of the thesis of “collective guilt” (Bodenstein 34). Considering this evidence, it seems to be clear that the phrase was selected carefully and precisely. In this context it is furthermore interesting that the connotation of the word “solidarity” is widely positive in Germany, which leads to a decrease of “guilt”, instead of radically accentuating it.

Nevertheless, the Council of the EKD regrets (“With great anguish we state”) that: “Through us, inestimable suffering was inflicted on many people and lands.” The primary version of this sentence originates from Hans Asmussen who wrote: “We know that it were our fellow citizens who inflicted inestimable suffering on Europe and other lands.” (Greschat 144) Although Dibelius hesitated at first, Niemöller was able to enforce his version. Especially the phrase “inestimable suffering” was crucial for Niemöller, because, according to him, it confessed the guilt of Germany in a radical way (Greschat 144).

However, this sentence is the only one in the whole statement that mentions the guilt of the EKD and Germany. Nevertheless, it is incomprehensible that the whole declaration makes no mention of any particular atrocities committed during the Third Reich. There is no concrete statement concerning the general crimes of the Third Reich or the holocaust in particular. Moreover, the German and Christian guilt towards Jewish people is not admitted in any single word (Jung 211) and it is not specifically explained what is meant by “inestimable suffering”.

On the contrary it seems apologetical, when the following sentence claims that the Churches have fought against the violent National Social regime “Indeed we have fought for long years in the name of Jesus Christ against the spirit that found horrible expression in the violent National Socialist regime” (Gerlach 378). At this point the EKD refers mainly to the resistance of pastors Dietrich Bonhoeffer, Martin Niemöller and the Confessing Church. Once more, the Stuttgart Declaration of Guilt is much undifferentiated, because specific resistance or opposition is not denominated. Above all, it is not mentioned that some representatives of the Protestant Church even supported the regime, for example the German Christians (DC).

However, in the following sentence it is mentioned that the resistance was not intense and strong enough. Once more the EKD claims to be the representative of the German people while stating “but we charge ourselves”. The following passage lists the different charges in more detail (“but we charge ourselves for not having confessed more courageously, prayed more conscientiously, believed more joyously, and loved more ardently”). The verbs selected “confessing”, “praying”, “believing” and “loving” illustrate that the statement is a Christian statement, because all verbs occur in Christian contexts and have a special meaning. Furthermore, it is significant that the adjectives “more courageously”, “more conscientiously”, “more joyously” and “more ardently” are used in their comparative forms. It was especially this use of words, for which the Stuttgart Declaration of Guilt was controversially discussed (Oehlmann). It is a moot question, whether the National Socialism could have been combated or even prevented by “confessing more courageously, praying more conscientiously, believing more joyously or loving more ardently”. Indeed the EKD accuses itself and confesses that they apostatised from God, but those wording seem to be misplaced and escapist in the context of the National Socialism. Taking into consideration that the EDK was prompted to write a declaration of guilt, if not even hustled into doing so, those accusations appear to be opportunistic. The first part of the declaration ends after this sentence.

Thus the first part is very short, not concrete and not very distinct, one receives the impression that the EKD tries to modify its misdoings. In contrast to the first part the second part focuses on the abjection, the reorganisation and reforms. Thereby, it is always highlighted, that the EKD deeply depends on the help and support of the ecumenical Church and God. The premise of such a re-establishment should be the “Holy Scripture” and the trust of God himself. To recapitulate one might say that the Declaration does not concretely mention guilt, which leaves an ambivalent impression.

Conclusion

The broad conclusion to be drawn is that the Stuttgart Declaration of Guilt is one of the most important post-war statements of the Evangelical Church of Germany. The Stuttgart Declaration of Guilt made further progress in the direction of a new beginning possible and therefore has a symbolic character. However, the document is disputable, because it is written in a superficial way. In the post-war situation it was not possible for the delegates of the EKD to elaborate the question of guilt more deeply, although they should have done so.

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