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BORDER STUDIES

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Introduction

Man's position in the world is defined by the fact that in every dimension of his being and behavior he finds himself at every moment between two boundaries. This condition appears as the formal structure of our existence, filled always with different contents in life's diverse provinces, activities, and destinies. We feel that the content and value of every hour stands between a higher and a lower; every thought between a wiser and a more foolish; every possession between a more extended and a more limited; every deed between a greater and a lesser measure of meaning, adequacy, and morality. We are continually orienting ourselves, even when we do not employ abstract concepts, to an "over us" and an "under us", to a right and a left, to a more or less, a tighter or looser, a better or worse. The boundary, above and below, is our means for finding direction in the infinite space of our worlds. Along with the fact that we have boundaries always and everywhere, so also we are boundaries. For insofar as every content of life – every feeling, experience, deed, or thought – possesses a specific intensity, a specific hue, a specific quantity, and a specific position in some order of things, there proceeds from each content a continuum in two directions, toward its two poles; content itself thus participates in each of these two continua, which collide in it and which it delimits. This participation in realities, tendencies, and ideas that are a plus and a minus, a this-side and a that-side of our here and now, may well be obscure and fragmentary; but it gives life two complementary, if also often colliding, values: richness and determinacy. For these continua by which we are bounded and whose segments we ourselves bound form a sort of coordinate system through which, as it were, the locus of every part and content of our life is identified.

<div align="right">Georg Simmel (2010 [1918]: 1–2)</div>

Welcome to the Border Studies special issue of *Miscellanea Anthropologica et Sociologica*!

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The volume is the first publication of the **International Border Studies Center** (IBSC) founded at the University of Gdańsk (UG) in May 2021 through a grant given by the Gdańsk Humanities Support Program (*Program Wsparcia Humanistyki Gdańskiej*) implemented under The Excellence Initiative – Research University (IDUB). It is the first presentation of the work in border studies by members and friends of the IBSC.

The idea for the IBSC emerged out of conversations held at a biannual international conference "Border Seminar" (BS) organized at UG since 2017. The BS was originally inspired by Chicanx studies' (Anzaldúa 1987; Gómez-Peña 1993, 1996; Pérez-Torres 2006) broad scope of U.S.-Mexican borderlands and *mestizaje* problematics and its conceptualization of borders as "heterotopic spaces (…) places of 'politically exciting hybridity, intellectual creativity, and moral possibility' (Johnson/Michaelsen 1997, p. 3)" (Fellner 2020: 10) and by decolonial studies' ideas of "border thinking", "border gnosis", "border epistemology" (Mignolo 2011). Other inspiring perspectives included, among others: Homi Bhabha's "third space" (1994), Chela Sandoval's "differential consciousness" (2000), imaginary landscapes (Appadurai 1996), Édouard Glissant *un poétique de la Relation* (a cross-cultural poetics) (1997), Mary Louise Pratt's "contact zones" (1992), liquidity (Bauman 2007), Ulrich Beck's "cosmopolitan outlook" (2006), postcolonial studies' "interdisciplinary measures" (Huggan 2008), theories of intermediality (Bolter, Grusin 2000), Cold War studies in migrations and communication (Mazurkiewicz 2020), translation (networked knowledge) and linguistic studies in "bi-accentism", "translanguaging", "superdiversity" (Blommaert, Rampton 2011; Blackledge, Creese 2017), the concept of the "third culture" (Snow 1963) and the Research Based Practice (Blaszk 2017; Arlander et al. 2018), and more.

As the world at large was experiencing mass mobilizations around "the wall", nativism, and **reterritorialization** (Wastl-Walter 2011: 2) rooted mainly but not only in moral panics about migrations, the spread of terrorism and criminality, and the rhetoric of cultural invasions[3], as literary and cultural scholars, linguists, historians, experimental pedagogists, and artists, we felt an urgent need to learn from our respective perspectives. We were hungry for vocabulary and theoretical models of border phenomena, border ethics and affects, imaginaries in contact, cultural, epistemic, and ontological slippages. We wanted to develop informed dialogs about deterritorialization, transculturation, post- and transnationalism,

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[3] Here we have in mind not only the rise of Donald Trump and his nativist presidential campaign premised on the assumption that Mexican immigrants to the U.S. are criminals and "rapists", and his call to "Build the Wall" but also the larger right wing turn in the politics of the last decade from the Philippines and Brazil to Hungary and Poland. Governments of these and some other countries have effectively mobilized the rhetoric of invasions for populist gains and as justification for their attacks on the rule of law.

fluidity and hybridity, cyber flows, multiple loyalties, and love at a distance (Beck, Beck-Gernsheim 2011). With regard to this, the BS was to become a forum where the ubiquitous, yet what we sensed was a profoundly undertheorized concept of the "border" could be critically investigated in transdisciplinary scholarly dialog and artistic practice. The latter component has involved performative pedagogy and student workshops in theater[4]. This artistic aspect is featured in the present volume in the artworks by Maiza Hixson and Ricardo Duffy, and an autobiographic essay by Carlos Morton.

When IBSC was formed it became a hub for a broader dialog involving anthropologists, social scientists and art and literary historians of the Gdańsk and Pomeranian region. We began to wonder what unites us and in what sense we could claim the name of the Gdańsk School of Border Studies. What else do we want to reflect beyond our specific location and interest in increasing the recognition of the Gdańsk humanities in Poland and in the world? As the present volume offers a sample introduction to the IBSC members' various interests and approaches, it in some measure answers this question. The scope of the issue reflects perhaps inadvertently Napoleon's quip that "Gdańsk is the key to everything". The range of articles illustrates that **we are interested in everything**[5], although it is hardly exhaustive. Significantly, studies on Gdańsk as a borderland are not present here although members of the IBSC work in this field. Most recently, a volume *Baltic Borderlands. Gdańsk-Danzig-Gduńsk and the Impact of Exchange* by "Studia Historica Gedanensia" (Drost, Mazurkiewicz 2022) was published by Cambridge University Centre for Geopolitics and the Faculty of History UG. IBSC's co-founder Miłosława Borzyszkowska-Szewczyk and her Research Lab for Memory Narratives of Borderlands have recently prepared English-language volumes of their original publications in German about the Gdańsk region as a borderland. Another IBSC co-founder Anna Sobecka has just published *Obrazowanie natury w nowożytnym Gdańsku. O kulturze kolekcjonerskiej miasta* [*Picturing Nature in Early Modern Gdańsk: On the Collecting Culture of the City*] (2022), a book on seventeenth- and eighteenth-century art collections in Gdańsk.

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[4] For example, in 2019 a group of American Studies students performed a one-act *Endless Border* by Chicano playwright Carlos Morton, directed by Grzegorz Welizarowicz. Moreover, BS2021 featured a virtual cooperation between students of UG and the Valdosta State University. Directed by the BSG founding member Martin Blaszk, it involved a workshop and an online performance of *CROSSING / ACROSS BORDERS*.

[5] If Napoleon stated this with military objectives in mind, he also expressed deep truth about the unique geographic and geopolitical location of our city: a gateway into the Polish interior and Poland's window onto the world. Today we reject militarism, but we reserve the right to claim Napoleon's statement as illustrative of our catholic (lower "c") interests as well as reflective of our sense of belonging to a very specific place with a rich borderlands history and international connections.

But if our volume deals minimally with Gdańsk, our city and its spirit are present here. As a sea-coast metropolis and the center for its larger region of multiple satellite cities and villages it inspires us to think in both local and global terms. Its sea breezes serve as a metaphor for the air we want to breathe into border studies. Other metaphors – the lighthouse, the foghorn, the radar – let us imagine our double role: to state our coordinates and mark our place but also to always seek relation, reach out across distance. Another, the port, may serve as our moral injunction: to be brave and welcoming. These are the paradigmatic orientations of the Gdańsk School of Border Studies.

Border studies as an academic discipline has its origins in the mid-1980s when it was initially organized around the "Journal of Borderlands Studies". The focus was then largely on the U.S.-Mexico border. The field has since been globalized. The end of the Cold War precipitated an expansive economic and cultural globalization and discourses of a "borderless" world and the "borderization" of cultures (Gómez-Peña 1996: 7) emerged. After the events of 9/11 however a "renewed securitization discourse" (Newman 2011: 34) took hold and prompted digitalization of regimes of surveillance as well as growth in physical border infrastructure. Other developments which have shaped border studies have been the European Union and the Schengen Area (est. 1985) expansion in, respectively, 2004 and 2008, ethno-regionalist movements, the re-scaling in governance on supra-state and sub-state levels (Paasi 2009), the migration crisis of 2015–2016 and the one caused by the Russian invasion of Ukraine in 2022, in addition to the 2020 COVID-19 pandemic and implementations of lockdowns and reimpositions of hard border.

Until quite recently border studies had been largely an arena for social and political scientists, geographers and social geographers. For example, *The Ashgate Research Companion to Border Studies* (2011) defines it as concerned with "spatial and social phenomena" (Wastl-Walter 2011: 1) and with "social, political or economic expressions either of belonging or of exclusion within state territories" (Wastl-Walter 2011: 2), a domain of "political geographers, historians, anthropologists, political scientists, economists, sociologists, and lawyers" (Wastl-Walter 2011: 2). It has only been within the last fifteen years or so that the study of borders has, in response to what Sandro Mezzadra and Brett Neilson call "not only of a proliferation but also of a heterogenization of borders" (2013: 3), experienced a critical turn and been engaged with more broadly by people working in the humanities. In the words of the director of the UniGR Center for Border Studies, Astrid M. Fellner, an understanding has emerged which holds that "the complex roles of borders and boundaries have become more relevant than ever, necessitating a reconceptualization of boundaries that treats them critically as processes, discourses, practices, even symbols through which power functions" (Fellner 2020: 7). This has called for, among others, discourse studies and studies from cultural perspectives.

This is why Jopi Nyman and Johan Schimanski claim that "[t]wo ongoing turns have come together in the 2000s, a 'cultural turn' in border studies and a 'border turn' in cultural studies" (Schimanski, Nyman 2021: 5). As a result, border studies has ceased to be exclusively concerned with the borders of nations. Borders have been redefined as "contingent, ongoing processes with dimensions stretching beyond the geopolitical boundary line" (Schimanski, Nyman 2021: 5). Borders are now understood as both physical and imagined spaces, cultural, symbolic, narrative sites as well as "social institutions, which are marked by tensions between practices of border reinforcement and border crossing" (Mezzadra, Neilson 2013: 3).

The border turn in cultural studies was precipitated by, among others, the post-structuralist critiques of the margins and transgression (Derrida, Foucault, etc.), by the postcolonial (Bhabha, Spivak), and feminist (Cixous) studies on the subaltern and the repressed, as well as Chicanx Studies' articulation of the physical and epistemic borderlands (Anzaldúa 1987). "Border theory" has formed as an approach in cultural studies and critical theory (Michaelsen, Johnson 1997; Castillo 1999). "Border poetics" is a reading of literary narratives in terms of "successful and failed border-crossings" and in search of "symbolic but also (…) temporal, epistemological and textual or media borders" (Schimanski, Nyman 2021: 6). Thus, for example, in *Narratives of Border Crossings* (Fellner 2020) literary scholars embrace the discourse of "border figurations" (Fellner 2020: 11) and speak of "border-crossing fiction" (Shameem Black in Fellner 2020: 11). This research may overlap with studies on, for example, "hydrosocial borders" and "riverine borders" approached from territorial, geographic, political and metaphorical perspectives (*Riverine Borders* 2022).

Some of the complexity of the new border studies has recently been captured in the *Leksykon: Studia and granicami i pograniczami* [*Lexicon: Studies on Borders and Borderlands*] (Opiłowska et al. 2020) issued by the Ośrodek Badań Regionalnych i Obszarów Pogranicza or The Center for Regional and Borderlands Studies at the University of Wrocław. The volume combines traditional concerns with territorial political geography (Euro-cities, Euro-regions, regionalism and regional policies, etc.) with entries on "borders and imagination", "borderlands anthropology", "borders and memory", "metaphors of the border", etc. Moreover, related academic disciplines like "liminality" and "threshold studies" have formed (Aguirre et al. 2000; Benito, Manzanas 2006), while another noteworthy and related development is the rise of interest in "hospitality studies" (Lashley 2017).

As a result, a "field of Cultural Border Studies" (Fellner 2020: 7) has emerged as the domain of interdisciplinary scholars who engage in a broad range of phenomena through such concepts as, for example, "borderscapes" (Brambilla 2015) and "bordertextures" (Weier et al. 2018), border imaginaries and aesthetic representations of borders (dell'Agnese, Amilhat Szary 2015; Schimanski, Nyman 2021),

"bordering" (Davis 2019) understood as "conceptions of gender, genre bound-aries/borders, language borders and linguistic boundaries, urban-rural borders" (Fellner 2020: 8), social (linguistic) borders which institute lines of division and assign categories in society, borders as instruments of allocation of power and which "determine and often also substantiate our perception of the world" (Fell-ner 2020: 8). The border, therefore, has come to be read as topographical as well as metaphorical, and now refers not only to lines of demarcation but to regions, affective states, semiotic systems, and imaginations. Literary and media scholar Julian Wolfreys thinks the border as "both epistemological and ideological, per-sonal and political" (Wolfreys 2019).

Some of the potential of the border as an analytical concept is revealed in Schi-manski and Wolfe's definition: the border "marks a relation, in both spatial and temporal terms, between a limit/horizon and a connection. The border has a per-formative function (…). The border is always presented, marked, represented and mediatized" (Fellner 2020: 9). The border is always in transition, always rearticu-lated, and is always (re)constituted. Schimanski and Nyman speak of a "dynamic conception" of borders "emphasising the social and cultural constructedness of borders through acts of bordering, as well as their extensive character as border-scapes. A border, as the border theorist Henk van Houtum has suggested, is 'not a noun but a verb' (2013: 173)" (Schimanski, Nyman 2021: 4). The border offers thus a range of methodological models for reading reality and art.

At the beginning of the twentieth century Georg Simmel, German dialectical sociologist and aesthetic essayist, realized this when he used borders and thresh-olds as his conceptual apparatus. As the epigraph to our editorial illustrates, he understood boundaries and their negotiation as a universal human condition. He used the border to analyze the distinction between form and content, the rela-tionship between the "subjective soul" and "objectified forms", and/or agency and structure (Brzeziński 2019). He defined the "*Grenze* ["Border" in German] as a re-lation between individuals, but also between groups or collectives" (Miller-Funk 2021: 23). He understood border processes in terms of images, "a form of aesthet-ic fixing in static images" (Schimanski, Nyman 2021: 1). Thus, Schimanski and Nyman take him as the precursor of "border aesthetics" (2021: 1). We situate our volume and our activities at the IBSC at the intersection of Cultural Border Stud-ies and the more traditional social studies' approaches to border studies. Hence, we lay claim to an interdisciplinary Socio-Cultural Border Studies in the tradition of Simmel's dialog of humanities with social sciences.

Although some articles in our collection ask questions common to a more tra-ditional border studies' agenda like the ethics of bordering processes (Morska), the migrant labor (Mika, Czapka and Sagbakken), or the transboundary management of natural resources (Skorek), overall, there is minimal discussion of geopolitics

or international relations. Only one article engages with the question of a physical international boundary in the context of the present (Morska). Our take is mostly unorthodox and broad in spatio-temporal scope: from Gdańsk (Mika) to Norway (Czapka and Sagbakken), the Basque country (Mirgos) and California (Hixson); from the ancient era (Ulanowski) via pre- and post-Colombian (Welizarowicz) civilizations to the COVID Pandemic (Mika). The subject matter includes a personal life-history in the borderlands (Morton); the philosophy of science and environmental governance (Skorek); the history of ideas and historiography (Welizarowicz); theoretical pedagogy (Blaszk); the ethics of public discourse (Morska, Hixson); linguistics (Mirgos); divination or trans-ontological communication (Ulanowski); good care for dementia patients (Czapka and Sagbakken); the boundaries of work in platform work (Mika), as well as migrant labor (Mika, Czapka and Sagbakken). Many articles combine more than one theme/space/time or methodological approach – for example, Morska reflects on the current border crisis through literature and the study of discourse; Hixson combines aesthetics, performance studies, history, and gender studies, while Welizarowicz juxtaposes historical paradigms with those derived from theater and Native philosophy. In their own ways these and other articles are performative acts of boundary crossings, they enact border scholarship and take the reader's imagination on a journey into epistemic borderlands.

The opening article by Chicano playwright **Carlos Morton** is a version of his keynote address delivered at the Polish Academy of Sciences' Committee on Migrations' conference organized in September 2021 at UG. Professor Emeritus at the Department of Theater and Dance at the University of California Santa Barbara (UCSB), Morton has been active in the Chicano and American Theater since the 1970s. He is, along with Luis Valdez and Culture Clash, the most prolific and recognized Chicano Theater author. With regard to this, his plays are often situated in the American borderlands, bilingualism is the norm and migration is a common topic. They are also expressive of cultural *mestizaje* or Taoist cosmopolitanism.

The IBSC asked Morton to tell his life story on the borderlands. In his literary testimony (hence, no references) Morton reflects on his history of crossing geographic, physical and social borders in the last seventy years. Born in Chicago, he is especially connected with the American Southwest but has lived in Latin America, Europe, and Asia. He cites many anecdotes and offers observations. He reflects on how his subjectivity has been formed through different encounters. Looking back at his travels the author argues that the equilibrium which enriches personal or collective progress is attainable when languages and cultures cross. Morton is a humorist, his tone is ironic but also deeply humanist, compassionate, and reminiscent of some writings by Juan Felipe Herrera and/or essays by

Morton's late friend and fellow El Pasoan, José Antonio Burciaga. Morton's keen interest in geography and history brings to mind the scholarly/journalistic work of the dean of Southwestern studies Carey McWilliams. He comes across as an enthusiast of cultural cosmopolitanism – "This is who we are. We can't deny it. We take the best of all the worlds" he says. In the Spring of 2022, Morton was the first Artist in Residence sponsored by the IBSC and his play *Trapped in Amber / Zaklęte w jantarze* (premiere October 2022) is the result. We are happy to include this essay as an accompaniment to the play.

Maiza Hixson, the author of the article following on from Morton's, situates her analysis within studies of urban performances of aesthetic place-making, theatricalization of cities, and urban historiography[6]. Hixson takes us into Santa Barbara's whitewashed red-tiled-roof courthouse built in the mid-1920s. There a large room where wedding ceremonies are now held features the Santa Barbara Courthouse murals, which Hixson reads as California's "environment of memory". The pseudo-historical triptych silently narrates for the newlyweds and their guests a 1920s version of the history of Santa Barbara and its region from the moment of the colonial encounter in 1542. Hixson reads the paintings in the context of the time of their creation and through the figure of the artist as well as the function they have taken on in the present: a polytemporal borderlands of memory and patriarchy. She brings to bear on the room's semiotics the theoretical apparatus of queer studies, performance studies and studies in California's colonial history to "queer" the murals. According to Hixson, the weddings that take place there have become "polymorphously dramatic encounters between people and aesthetic representations of the past". The article is an important contribution to the debate on public memory in California and it remains to be seen if the murals are removed. Whatever occurs, Hixson's article is at least here to remind us how to read the murals' colonial and gendered enunciations. Maiza Hixson is also an artist and an image of her painting, *World Atlas*, and her artist's statement appear as the first entry in this issue after the Introduction. We thank the artist for her generosity.

The gestures Hixson finds problematic and grandiose in the performance of the Santa Barbara Courthouse murals are in the repertoires of many of the figures (some of whom ended up on California's shores) discussed in the following text. **Grzegorz Welizarowicz** has written a theoretical article which proposes a review and rethinking of the borderlands' imaginaries[7]. If, as Greg Grandin claims, America has come to the end of its myth of frontier universalism (Grandin 2019: 251), a myth which has hitherto propelled it forward in space and time,

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[6] An early version of the paper was presented at the "Border Seminar 2021".
[7] The first version of this paper was presented at the "Border Seminar 2019".

Welizarowicz sees in this moment of crisis a chance to (re)envision the border-lands' imaginative democratic rearticulation. To do this, he revisits the genealogy of the frontier concept from the arrival of the new subject of the Ego Conqueror, when European man broke away from the confines of the ocean, following on from Columbus and beyond. Against a map of individual agency and the concomitant arrival of a structure of European imperial aggrandizement, a map of indigenous, pre-contact America is then charted. This balances, complements and complicates the maps of European agency and engenders a *transfrontera* space of memory and affects. After citing examples of artists who engage with the *transfrontera* space in their works, a different model of imaginary mapping is then proposed. "Circles upon circles upon circles upon circles" is a paradigm based on the Native practice of theater/storytelling of the Spiderwoman Theater. This model, Welizarowicz argues, offers a viable option for a new frontier universalism without perpetuating old biases.

Krzysztof Ulanowski is a historical anthropologist interested in religions. His contribution is a comparative study of the divination practices between Mesopotamia and ancient Greece. Divination is itself of interest for cultural border studies for the practice involves trans-ontological communication and translation; it is a means of breaking the bonds of linear time and unknowing. As Ulanowski reminds us, Cisero considered it universal among men. Focusing on the religious-military activities of the seer and what the author calls his "semiotics of war" in Mesopotamia and Greece, Ulanowski is able to demonstrate that in spite of the temporal and spatial distance between the two civilizations, and in spite of Greece's image as a rational society, the influence of the East on the West in the sphere of prophesies can be seen. By drawing on an array of ancient historical documents and discussing in detail a variety of elements, in addition to the use of ancient anecdote, Ulanowski is able evoke in close proximity, the ancient world. Other interesting implications from Ulanowski's essay can be drawn from his take on the "just war", a theme resonant in post-colonial and settler-colonial studies, genocide studies, and studies on the state of exception (Agamben).

The state of exception is at the core of the next article which focuses on the figure of the refugee during the 2021/2022 migration/refugee crisis on the Polish-Belarusian border. **Izabela Morska**, an award-winning writer of fiction, poetry, drama as well as an accomplished literary scholar, is intrigued by the discrepancy between the rhetoric adopted by the Catholic Church in relation to the crisis and that of the increased securitization espoused by the Polish government. Documenting in detail the events of the last year and citing their accompanying narratives and rhetorical frames (invasion, menace, pathology) Morska brings to bear on their interpretation a variety of theories and references to literature and popular culture. As the author reports on the impossible situation of migrants on

a strip of land between Belarus and Poland at Usnarz Górny she argues that the government substituted the mandate of the Christian Gospel propagated by the Catholic Church with the sacralization of the border and its double, dehumanizing narrative. Morska argues that the miracle of the border's "transubstantiation", its imbuing with transcendence has created a parallel universe which can be read against scenes of George Orwell's *Nineteen Eighty-Four* and other writings by the British author. The article is thought-provoking, its associative reading of the discursive practices from present and world literature on exception serves as an important testimony of the intellectual effort to come to terms with perhaps the most important border event in Poland's modern/moral history. It is noteworthy that Morska calls up Anzaldúa and the context of the precarity of the (gendered) migrant on the Southwestern Border of the U.S. This comparative reading allows her to observe that scenarios of coloniality/exception multiply and coincide upon ever-shifting global maps occluded by maps of genealogies, that narrative and moral legacies of distant places and their postcolonial and totalitarian dynamics converge. The epilog of the article accounts for the contrast between the treatment of the refugees of the Russia-Ukraine War and those from other countries on the Belarusian border, as well as for the construction of the border wall there.

Continuing the general interest of border studies in the taxi industry as a site of multiple border crossings (Mathew 2005; Mezzadra, Neilson 2013) **Bartosz Mika** reports on the situation of employees of a ride-hailing company from the perspective of the sociology of work and in connection with processes of internationalization. In doing so he considers the border that exists at the socio-economic intersection of a multinational corporation – Uber – with a local, semi-peripheral labor market. As Mika points out, as a global company, Uber crosses international borders and in doing so also moves across social and economic boundaries to "interfere" with business practices that exist at supernational, national and local levels; in this particular case, changing the way that the ride-hailing industry operates and disrupting patterns of employment. In his article, Mika considers Uber's operation in Poland as part of the work-on-demand (WOD) platform economy, where traditional working activities (personal transport, cleaning and running errands) are channeled through an app managed by the company, which sets minimum quality standards of service and selects and manages the workforce. A point of special interest is the relation between the platform and the worker viewed using the concept of flexibility, which allows Mika to show points of transgression on the borders between different forms of employment and the disappearance of boundaries between work and life. Moreover, the Uber drivers who took part in the study, which was undertaken during the time of the COVID-19 pandemic, expressed satisfaction with WOD, in spite of the precarity of their situation and extensive algorithmic surveillance. Mika suggests this stems from the fact that

they appreciate the flexibility offered by the app because it is the only way available to them to deal with their vulnerable situation – existence in a variable and dynamic labor market.

In their qualitative study, **Elżbieta Anna Czapka** and **Mette Sagbakken** explore perceptions of good dementia care among people with different ethnic backgrounds in Norway. As the authors write, dementia is one of the greatest health and health care challenges at the present time, while in most societies the family is responsible for the care given to dependent family members. However, the type and range of that care exists on a borderland that depends on the cultures of care and patterns of responsibilities that exist between the state and the family, while ethnicity is also an important factor: although, as the authors point out, ethnicity provides only a partial explanation as ethnic groups are not homogenous and not all members of the group follow all the social norms that are characteristic for the group. To gather data for the study, the authors carried out individual semi-structured interviews with twenty family caregivers with different ethnic backgrounds (among others, Somalia, Poland, India, Austria, North America, Turkey), five representatives of immigrant communities, and five representatives of health and care personnel working with people living with dementia. They then used thematic analysis to identify themes in the interview material, which revealed five areas related to the elements of good care that most of the participants emphasized: combining institutional and family care; the personal attributes and formal/informal competencies of caregivers, ensuring patient-centered, holistic care; dignity-preserving care and the special role of food. In the conclusion to their study, the authors state that concern for these areas can be said to constitute patient-centered care, which respects the values of people receiving such help and places them at the center of the care giving relationship.

If Mika, Czapka and Sagbakken use known methodologies to investigate the borderlands of present-day employment practice and healthcare provision, then Blaszk and Skorek provide texts that question the very nature of what constitutes scientific investigation and the methodologies that science employs.

Martin Blaszk's article stems from his involvement as an artist and performative educational practitioner as well as a researcher into these areas, and results from his awareness of the problems that can be prevalent with regard to an interdisciplinary research practice that exists on the borderlands between branches of knowledge and their disciplines: in the case of Blaszk's research, the domains he works across include the arts in terms of performance (happening), the social sciences in relation to pedagogy, and the humanities with regard to second language education[8]. In connection with this, Blaszk discusses the proposition of a "third

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culture", a concept that appeared in the 1960s, which offered a "place" for inquiry into phenomena which did not fit neatly into the humanities and the sciences. He then gives reactions to the concept, before offering an outline of networked knowledge taken from Translation Studies, which Blaszk believes offers an understanding of interdisciplinary forms of inquiry relevant and productive for the present-day. In terms of a model for his own inquiry, Blaszk steps back from the large scale of the third culture, preferring instead a form of research-based practice which proposes a "third space" for inquiry. This offers a site where all those involved in the research process can ask questions and investigate findings on equal terms, providing the possibility of joint "ownership" of a research project. In the final section of his article, Blaszk offers an example of the research he has carried out as well as a model for the form of research practice he proposes.

Because of the complexity of the challenges posed by global environmental governance and the problems that traditional science faces in trying to inquire into and understand such complexity – "the leaky boundaries of man-made states" – **Marta Skorek** suggests post-normal science (PNS) as an alternative way to approach scientific knowledge production. This allows for the participation of an extended peer community, represented by institutionally accredited experts from different discourse communities as well as individuals that have an interest in the particular issue under investigation, who mediate scientific inputs into the policy-making process. Thus, as Skorek points out, an open dialogue is created in which scientific evidence and policy proposals are scrutinized according to scientific criteria and the non-expert knowledge of the world. In her article, which is theoretically based, Skorek gives details of the challenges facing environmental governance – climate change, desertification, deforestation, biodiversity loss – with particular emphasis on land-sea interaction. She also provides the characteristics of a PNS approach to science which include, among others, the capacity to address the issue of uncertainty and complexity, its combination of environmental, social, political, economic and cultural dimensions, the application of a precautionary or preventive approach and its extended form of participation. In connection with these characteristics, Skorek also states the relevance of PNS to environmental governance: the implementation of PNS allows social-ecological systems to be viewed as an integrated whole and takes into account different (legitimate) perspectives, thereby resulting in a holistic and integrated science which is also civic and participatory – one which Skorek maintains is suitable for inquiry into the fluid boundaries of environmental governance.

In her article, **Katarzyna Mirgos** considers the concept of boundaries in connection with the Basque language (*Euskara*), the endoethnonym, and language as a marker of distinctness which is also a barrier to other people. As Mirgos writes, Basque is a minority language which has different dialects and has often

been considered both mysterious and excluding: in the past outside influence was discouraged in an attempt to maintain its purity. However, at the present time, *Euskara* reflects an open and inclusive attitude in terms of both language and culture, which has contributed to the growth of the knowledge of Basque all over the world. As the basis for her article, Mirgos conducted library and archival searches, observations and interviews. She also relies upon knowledge form her previous stays in the region and her own experience of learning and using the language. As Mirgos states, in spite of the development of a standardized form of Basque, a situation of "them" and "us" may prevail, as one of the important features of the language as a whole is its internal differentiation, which means that it can be pronounced in different ways and where there can be differences in vocabulary: designations can even vary from household to household. These differences can serve to show the relationship between interlocutors, while the use of Basque also highlights social differences, marking the boundaries between different spheres of involvement: *Euskara* is used in the home, countryside and during childhood, while Spanish is used in the street, town and adulthood. In connection with the acceptance of Basque as a regional language, Mirgos describes how even though the use of Basque is encouraged and on the increase, the majority of inhabitants in the region do not communicate in *Euskara* freely.

The final text in this issue of *Miscellanea* is a book review in which language and boundaries are also dealt with. **Monika Mazurek** writes about a text by Gerd Hentschel, Jolanta Tambor and István Fekete – *The Silesian Lect and Its Users. The Spread of and Social Attitudes Towards Silesian*. The book is bilingual (German and Polish) and considers the extent to which Germanisms (German lexemes assimilated and adapted by the Silesian lect) are used at the present time in Silesia, the prevalence of the German language in the region and the status of the Silesian lect in the public and private spheres. Interestingly, Mazurek, a sociologist living and working on a borderland where Polish and Kashubian (a dialect from the Pomeranian region of Poland) coexist, reviews a text about another and similar borderland in Poland. Additionally, as Mazurek writes at the end of her review, the book deals with issues that are of interest to linguists but also offers information that should be of interest to the leaders that represent Silesians: it might also be added that the book will be of interest to all of those people who live on the borderlands where languages meet.

Finally, the authors who contributed to this issue of *Miscellanea Anthropologica et Sociologica* chose the subjects they wrote about and how they should write about them. This has led to a diverse coverage in terms of content but also the language of the articles. In an important way, this reflects and fits with the ambitions of IBSC which, following Simmel's lead, is interested in the **different contents in life's diverse provinces**, as well as the expression of these contents through

the particular **coordinate system** each individual researcher and writer chooses to be part of and use. In accordance with this, at the initial stages of preparing the articles for this issue, as editors, we decided that while the format proposed by *Miscellanea Anthropologica et Sociologica* should be maintained as much as possible, all the authors should write using language that is appropriate to their respective disciplines or, in a number of cases, those that lie on the border as inter-disciplinary. As was mentioned at the beginning of the introduction, this has led to differences in the way that language is used and how ideas are presented, while at a more prosaic level it has led to differences in spelling – where both British and U.S. forms have been allowed. Overall, however, we feel this will cause little discomfort to readers, while the benefits of such "freedom" can be experienced in the way the authors develop their ideas. To end with, we would like to thank all those people that reviewed the articles which make up this issue. We would also like to thank *Miscellanea Anthropologica et Sociologica* for allowing us to use their journal to showcase the intellectual vigor and diversity of IBSC; we hope this bor-derland issue displays both **richness** and **determinacy** and will provide a thought provoking read.

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World Atlas by Maiza Hixson

Artist's Statement

I view the act of mark-making as a durational performance of embodied, aesthetic gestures occurring in material and temporal space. Blurring geographic and fleshy borders, I cast posthuman forms and hybrid anatomies as somatic bodies striving for relevance in their respective spheres of influence. Colorful chimeric figures manifest visual choreographies of the sublime and reference imagery culled from a wide variety of sources, including digital culture, nature, medical illustration, cartoons, horror films, speculative fiction, psychedelia, and punk aesthetics.

World Atlas presents a circular illustration of disparate forms that surround multiple borders and land while assuming certain positions and poses. A central solar eye peers out and illuminates the sphere. However, when seen from a different angle, the weary gilded eye may also be interpreted as a hybrid anatomical icon that re-signifies this possible image of the earth and its inhabitants. Suggestive of circular motion and change, this speculative globe destabilizes the notion of a distanced gaze and posits a more intimate map that contests "official" boundaries and authoritative representations of space.

World Atlas by Maiza Hixson, 2022
(pen and acrylic ink on paper, 12 × 12 inches)

ARTICLES

Carlos Morton[1]

Borders – The Tao of *Mestizaje*

This is an essay version of Carlos Morton's keynote address delivered at the conference organized by the Polish Academy of Sciences' Committee on Migrations held at the University of Gdańsk in September 2021. The prolific Chicano playwright had been asked by the IBSC to speak about his life on the borderlands. His life story is told in the first person, in anecdotes and observations, revealed in a vibrant dialog with processes in the world around him. Morton is a cultural historian, essayist and a humorist in the tradition of José Antonio Burciaga or Carey McWilliams. Morton relishes paradox, seeks facts, and connects the subjective of the private life with the events of the world. His testimony is playful, associative, Taoist. Morton's vision is cosmopolitan and culture specific. The "Tao of *Mestizaje*" is to suggest that Morton's *mestizaje* is a type of consciousness, a way of life. The text as well as its accompanying artworks by Ricardo Duffy or other photos are also its iterations.

Background

All my life I have lived between *fronteras* ("borders" in Spanish), first between Latin America and Anglo America, where Mexico abuts the United States, the Third World clashes with the First, and where people speak Spanish, English, and a mixture known as *Spanglish* or Mex-Tex. On this border we eat tacos and hamburgers, listen to *mariachis* and jazz, and worship the Protestant Ethos as well as *La Virgen de Guadalupe*. When we celebrate *Cinco de Mayo* or the Fourth of July, we fly both the American and Mexican flags. Contrary to what certain xenophobic politicians say, those who reside in the U.S.A. are not the only ones who have the "right" to call themselves "Americans". From Alaska to Argentina we are all *Americanos*. The

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Photo 1. Drawing of Carlos Morton

Source: Eduardo Diaz.

only true "natives" are the indigenous people, the rest are immigrants. Full disclosure: I took a DNA test and I'm 2/3 European, and 1/3 Native American so I can claim to be part "native" (Photo 1).

As a playwright my work reflects the reality we are living including racism, police brutality, and the ongoing "Browning of America". *The Many Deaths of Danny Rosales* is about the murder of a Chicano construction worker by an Anglo Sheriff in a small Texas town. *Los Dorados* and *Rancho Hollywood* tell of the colonization of California by the Spanish, and then Anglos. *Pancho Diablo*, a play with *musica ranchera* and *cumbias*, is the story of a Chicano devil that quits his job in hell and moves to Houston. Pancho becomes a metaphor for the millions of immigrants who swim the *Rio Styx* searching for a better life in "God's Country" which everyone knows is Texas. Eventually *Dios* the Father comes down from *El Cielito Lindo* disguised as a Border Patrol Agent looking for Pancho. The play utilizes a mix of musical genres including Country/Western and *Tecnobanda*.

Geographically speaking, my work takes place in what I call Greater Mesoamerica, similar to Americo Paredes' "Greater Mexico" where Mexican culture – food,

Photo 2. *The Border* by Ricardo Duffy

Source: Ricardo Duffy.

language, religion, politics, and music thrives. This includes the U.S.-Mexico borderlands and parts of Central America, which has become the largest source of migration to the United States (Photo 2). *Johnny Tenorio*, a play about a Chicano Don Juan is set in San Antonio, Texas. *The Miser of Mexico*, an adaptation of Moliere's classic *Miser* takes place in Juarez, Mexico just before the Mexican Revolution of 1910. *The Child Diego*, about the life of Mexican muralist Diego Rivera is set in Mexico City. *The Savior* retells the tragedy of Archbishop Oscar Romero in El Salvador. It was produced by El Teatro la Fragua of Honduras and has toured Central America and the United States. Italian researcher Elena Errico, of the University of Genoa, recently translated it into Italian as *Romero, El Salvador*. Errico has translated three of my plays into Italian, and Tamas Vrauko has translated several of my plays into Hungarian – proof that my plays are also crossing linguistic borders.

The new "Mestizaje"

I am part of a new wave – the Tao of *Mestizaje* (Photo 3) – a process of change for a life of harmony. That is, we reinvent ourselves with each new generation. In the 1960s we coined the term "Chicano", while youth today prefer "Latinx".
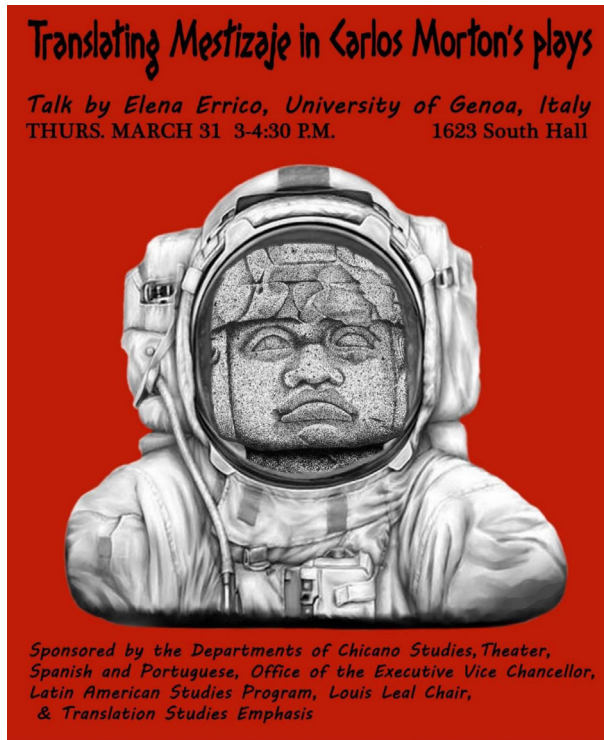
Photo 3. *Olmec Head* by Ricardo Duffy

Source: Ricardo Duffy.

Originally from the Midwest – I was born and raised in Chicago – but also lived in California, Texas, Mexico, and far-flung places like Costa Rica and Poland (more about that later). My father, who was in the military, took us back and forth from Chicago to Ecuador (one year), and later to Panama (five years) for two different tours of duty. I spoke Spanish until I was five and once I entered public schools, mostly English.

The actual border between the U.S.A. and Mexico is much more than a line that runs 2000 miles east to west from Brownsville to San Diego. It is a state of mind that zigzags north and south. There is even a border that separates East and West – between the affluent California coastal communities like Santa Barbara where I lived for eighteen years, and the mostly conservative working class "In-landers" in East of Eden.

In actuality, we *fronterizos* flourish anywhere *La Raza* resides, be it Chicago (Poet Carlos Cumpian calls us "Mex-Kimos"), or Spain, Italy and Poland where my plays have been staged. *Mexicanos* are actually moving to Poland. Check out the website *Mexicanos en Polonia*! We carry our cultural baggage with us and

Photo 4. Photo of the Pico family

Source: Carlos Morton private collection.

transform the places we live in. Conversely, American expatriates have turned parts of Baja California and San Miguel de Allende, Mexico into U.S. colonies.

Wal-Mart, Costco and other large U.S. chains have changed the shopping habits of Mexican consumers, while in the U.S. spicy Mexican *salsa* has replaced bland ketchup as the best-selling condiment. So many *Poblanos* from the Mexican State of Puebla have moved to New York City that they now jokingly call it *Puebla-York.* Children in Mexico City "trick or treat" for Halloween while Anglo kids in Austin and San Francisco celebrate the American counterpart of *Dia de los muertos.*

The border is full of dichotomies and grist for my playwriting mill. Over the past one hundred and fifty years, Anglo Americans have embraced the Southwestern aesthetic, living in adobe houses, eating *chile con carne*, and intermarrying with the Mexicans to create a new "Californio" that Carey McWilliams calls the "fantasy heritage", favoring the "Spanish" or European culture. In truth most of the original Mexican settlers were *mestizos* and *mulattos* who came from the interior of Mexico looking to escape discrimination and a better standard of living. An example of this was the Pico family (Photo 4), listed as *mulattos* in a 1790 census but who over time became white or *gente de razón.*

Beginning with Jedidiah Smith in 1826 Yankee trapper traders filtered into Alta California to marry local women, receive land grants, and merge into the California upper classes. According to historian David J. Weber, those who settled California in the 1820s and 1830s "lived comfortably in Mexican society and did not first favor annexing California to the United States".

As Chicano historian Arnoldo de Leon points out, it was not the *tejano* or *californiano* who adopted the leather moccasins and coonskin hats (both derived from the Native American). The Anglo settlers came to the Southwest and used adobe materials to build their homes, Mexican techniques of ranching and irrigation, as well as the cowboy or *vaquero* ethos. Starting in 1926 Santa Barbara, California began celebrating "Old Spanish Days" in what has today become a semi-drunken five-day *Fiesta* to honor our so-called Spanish Heritage. Only recently, have they started to recognize the Mexican culture, and, as of yet, there are very few events that speak to the Chumash or Native American History of the first inhabitants. As of last count there were more than fifteen million Latinos living in California frightening the so called "natives" who fear a *Reconquista* or as Carlos Fuentes calls it – "genetic imperialism". Just within my own family, I am kin to Anglos, Jews, Blacks, Asians, and Arabs. This is the new multi-culturalism and we are living proof of it.

Northern Mexican states have historically been alienated from the central government in Mexico City. Cable and streaming TV carries programs in English and Spanish, the Mexican middle class send their children to universities in Texas and California, exchange their pesos for dollars, bank on the U.S. side, and attend Spanish-language plays in San Diego and Houston. While undocumented workers are banned from crossing into the U.S., the Mexican bourgeois in their new American pickup trucks are waved across by courteous Mexican American Border Patrol Agents.

The irony is the United States took half of the national territory away from Mexico in the mid-nineteenth century, but the Mexican American population, including increasing numbers of Central Americans, are recolonizing not only the American Southwest, but also the rest of the U.S.A. This is what frightens right-wing conservatives like the young white shooter who killed twenty-two people, mostly of Mexican descent, at a Wal-Mart in El Paso, Texas.

Latinos represent 19% of the U.S. population, and the second largest ethnicity in the United States, overtaking Afro Americans. The demographics are impacting cultural spheres like Hollywood and Broadway with hits like Lin Manuel Miranda's *In the Heights*. Mexican movie directors, billed as *Los tres amigos*, Alfonso Cuarón, Alejandro González Iñárritu, and Guillermo del Toro, have in recent years all won the coveted Best Director Oscar with Alfonso and Alejandro having each won twice.

Morton/Salt

I wasn't always attuned to my Mexican heritage, especially as a teenager. For many years, I "passed" as Anglo, having been born with the name "Charles Morton" and only changed it later to "Carlos" in 1970 while living in El Paso, Texas.

My Mexican grandfather, Ciro Perez, came from the Mexican state of Hidalgo in 1917. Ciro was having trouble finding a job in Chicago, but he knew they were hiring Europeans in the factories, meat packing plants, and steel mills. One day he saw a sign with a little blonde girl holding an umbrella advertising "Morton Salt" and decided to change his name to Carlos P. Morton. He didn't like "Ciro" so changed it to "Carlos", and soon got a job at a factory. He sent for my grandmother Paulina Garcia shortly there after. Eventually they bought a house and into the "American Dream".

I still have relatives in Chicago who call me "Chuck or Chucky", but at the age of twenty-one I realized I couldn't go through life as "Charles Morton". Fifty years after my grandfather changed his name, I moved to El Paso, Texas in 1970 and began thinking of myself as a "Chicano", a political term created in the 1960s to replace the hyphenated "Mexican American", similar to when "Negroes" changed to "Afro" or "Black".

In 1972 I spent eight months hitchhiking from Texas to Argentina and back, my goal being to learn Spanish again by practicing it "on the road" *à la* Jack Kerouac. If I heard English being spoken with an American accent, I would cross to the other side to avoid contact. Like the *Ugly American* in the iconic cold war novel by Eugene Burdick I wanted to shed myself of the "gringo" inside me. Yet by the time I got to Surinam I was so homesick I went to the U.S. Embassy library to read back issues of *Time* magazine in English – another example of changing my "Tao" to reach harmony.

El Teatro Campesino

At the University of Texas at El Paso when I was an undergraduate, I saw a performance of *Corridos* by El Teatro Campesino. I had an "Antoine Artaud" moment as in "the theater as plague", seeing a remarkable performance that entertained as well as educated – precisely what I was seeking. Thus, I became "infected" and watched the show the first night from the audience, and the second night from backstage.

Years later at the age of twenty-nine I was accepted into the Master's Program at UC San Diego and got to study with a mentor, Jorge Huerta, who helped me further define my path. It was there that I also met my wife to be, Mexican born Azalea Marin López, who showed me what it was to be Mexican.

South of the border

We moved to Mexico City thanks to a Fulbright in 1989–90 with our two young sons where I taught classes at the National University. I also wrote a weekly column in Spanish for the newspaper "Unos Mas Uno" titled *Un Pocho en Mexico.* "Pocho" is a derogatory word Mexicans use for those of us "Hispanics" who can't speak Spanish and act like Gringos. "Gringo", is what Mexicans use for U.S. citizens – including Black, Latino, Asian – referring to the green uniforms the soldiers used chasing Pancho Villa in Northern Mexico during the Mexican Revolution – as in "Green go, green go!"

Border dwellers share a common land, and our problems can only be solved by working together. Plagues and insects don't respect borders and neither does pollution of the air, water, and land. Labor and narcotics deal with supply and demand, and culture works both ways. There was an "English Only Movement" in the United States during the 1980s that tried to purge the Spanish language. "Speak English, this is America", just as there was also a trend in Mexico to "cleanse the language of Cervantes" of English influence. Both trends were laughed out of existence.

In 1996–97 I lived with my family for a year and a half in San José de Costa Rica where I was the Director of the Education Abroad Program for the University of California. Our students came to study in Costa Rica, and during orientation we warned women about male *piropos* or cat calls, which can be either complimentary in nature, or sexual harassment. Native *Ticas* (Costa Rican women) suggested to our students they just ignore the comments, but many of the "gringas" wanted to take self-defense classes so they could punch out the machos. In Latin America machismo can be a positive trait – as in a defender of the family and its values – but Anglos tend to view machismo as a negative that perpetuates the myth of Latin men as sexual predators. We also informed students that if *Ticos* called you a *guerita* or *negrita* it wasn't meant to be a racial slur. Latinos also refer to Arabs or people from the Middle East as *Turkos*, or *Turks*, because at the beginning of the twentieth century many immigrants from the Middle East came to Latin America with a Turkish passport.

I have also been going to Cuba on a regular basis since 1981 when the Cuban government invited me as part of a Theatrical Brigade of Latino theater artists. I visited Nicaragua in 1983 on another Brigade during the time of the Sandinista Revolution and have also worked extensively in Honduras. This activism came about because of my affinity to the Cuban (my grandfather was Cuban) and Nicaraguan revolutions. Unfortunately, many of the revolutions have since turned into dictatorships. The U.S.A. hasn't helped with its aid to the *Contras*, blockades, and invasions of Latin America. We expelled the *Mara Salvatruchas* from Los Angeles, California only to have them infest Central America.

Decade of the "Hispanic"

Time magazine called the 1980s "The Decade of the Hispanic", although I do not consider myself "Hispanic", preferring Chicano or Latino. The 80s was fruitful for me – in 1986 I won First Prize at the New York Shakespeare Festival Latino Playwriting Contest for my play *The Many Deaths of Danny Rosales*. The next year the Shakespeare Festival produced *Pancho Diablo* as a workshop production, and the following year the Puerto Rican Traveling Theater staged *El Jardin* directed by Jorge Huerta.

In 1987 at the age of forty I graduated with a Ph.D. from the University of Texas at Austin, the first in my extended family. This was a marked change from what my grandfather had endured in his arrival from Mexico to Chicago in 1917, or my father, a career soldier in the U.S. Army who served in Japan and Vietnam. Three years after graduation, I was awarded tenure at the University of California, Riverside in 1990.

On the road to Minsk: craving *jalapeños*

In 2007 I had another experience that introduced me to other borders. I was named Distinguished Fulbright Lecturer at University of Maria Curie-Skłodowska in Lublin where my wife Azalea and I went to live for a year. First thing I discovered from my students was they don't think of Poland as "Eastern". They informed me Eastern Europe begins in Ukraine. In Santa Barbara, California we thought of ourselves as the "Central Coast" to separate ourselves from San Francisco and Northern California, but especially from smoggy and traffic clogged Los Angeles.

In all of the former Warsaw Pact countries we tried to imagine what life was like under communism. Our Polish and Hungarian *amigos* thought it odd that we sought out retro restaurants where surly waiters served common fare and the ambience felt like warmed over perestroika.

I did a reading at the University of Vienna and went to the Museum of Ethnography to see the famous headdress of Moctezuma, the last Aztec Emperor of Mexico, but to our disappointment the museum was closed. We did get to see some exquisite sixteenth-century Aztec feather work (*Kolibri- und Papageienfedern)* from Pázcuaro, Mexico. Strange we had to go all the way to Vienna to see this.

On a rainy Monday when most of the museums were closed, we stepped into a church where the tombs of dozens of Hapsburg Emperors lay, including one with a Mexican banner draped across the coffin. This turned out to be the infamous "Maximilian of Mexico". Was he the one who sent the *Penacho* (headdress) *de Moctezuma* to Vienna? No wonder Mexican patriots executed him in 1867. His

body was shipped back to Austria and Carlota – his Belgian Queen – known to the Mexicans as *Mama Carlota,* went mad with grief. Later we discovered it was Hernan Cortes who sent the *Penacho* back to Europe.

I was invited to give a talk in Minsk, Belarus and spent days in Warsaw trying to obtain a visa. If it weren't for a friend who spoke Russian and interpreted for us, we wouldn't have done it. We ended up paying what amounted to a small bribe of $25 to one of the officials just like in Chicago or Mexico City.

I gave a reading at Minsk State University where I acted out a few scenes from my play *The Miser of Mexico*, an adaptation of Moliere's *Miser*. When we entered the room the college students all stood up and said "good morning" in perfect English. What a change from the University of California where students often come to class in pajamas and address me as "dude". During the reading I referred to a certain *Señor Presidente* uttered by a character in the play. The audience reacted with an audible gasp. Afterward, our host gently admonished me, saying "please, don't mention the President in any way whatsoever!" In his emails the Professor always refers to Europe's last dictator as "that guy" instead of spelling out the name Lukashenko.

The magician of Lublin

One of my favorite books was Isaac B. Singer's *The Magician of Lublin*. Azalea and I visited little villages like Chełm and Piaski that formed part of the "Jewish Pale". It was rather haunting, as very few Jews survived in Eastern Poland although they just restored a new Yeshiva in Lublin. I compare this with the Native Americans in certain parts of the United States – only the place names remain – but very few historians refer to it as the "holocaust" that it was.

There was a "Spanish Club" in Lublin that met every Tuesday in a café close to campus. The members were from Argentina, Mexico, Colombia, Brazil, and Italy as well as some *Polacos* who wanted to practice Spanish. We were the only Chicanos they had ever met. In Spain most *Ecuatorianos y Peruanos* don't think of themselves as "Latin Americans" until they move to Europe. Then they realize their commonality and bond, something they have trouble doing in South America.

On the Mexican Independence Day in Łódź, we visited a Mexican restaurant where the waiters were dressed like cowboys from the Wild West with *sombreros* and fake pistols. The waitresses sported rumba style clothing with bare midriffs that made them look like exotic Flamenco table dancers.

Our Polish hosts introduced us to *flaki*, a soup made of tripe like Mexican *menudo* but without the *chile* or hominy. There are some fresh *chiles* sold at the supermarkets but no *cilantro* or *tortillas de maiz*, *tamale*s, etc. If we wanted *tortillas*

de maiz we had to go to Germany ten hours away by train. For Christmas we hosted a Mexican finger food party at our flat for twenty of our Polish friends. All the food was gone in less than half an hour and they kept asking for more. Since then, there have been some fairly good Mexican restaurants in Poland, including one in Kraków that even boasted a Mexican *tortilleria* where they made corn and wheat tortillas. Unfortunately, it has since closed down!

One Saturday in 2008 we went to an outdoor fair at a university town and heard Andean music played over a loudspeaker and saw a group of performers dressed in Native American garb (Comanche or Sioux). Turns out they were actually from Peru or Bolivia and danced a weird concoction of war whoops accompanied by Andean music. As we approached the performers and spoke to them in Spanish, we realized they were just putting on a show for the tourists. We were reminded of the notorious performance artist and Border *Brujo* Guillermo Gómez Peña who, along with Coco Fusco, exhibited himself in a cage posing as an "aborigine". The performances were held at the world's greatest museums during the 500-year commemorations of Columbus' so called discovery of America in 1492.

Every November 1 is *Dia de los muertos* (Photo 5) and Lublin being one of the most traditional regions of Poland, people flocked to the *cementerios* during the day. Thousands visited the tombs of their loved ones and adorned them with flower arrangements. Like in Mexico, many flower and candle vendors sold their wares outside the cemetery and at night we saw processions of the Russian Orthodox carrying candles that lit up the tombs. The only thing missing were *mariachis*, *tequila*, *y tamales*.

Like today, Poland had a right-wing government, the PiS (as in urine) party elected in 2005. They sent me an official letter in Polish, called the "Law of Lustration", and anyone born before 1972 who was a journalist, professor, or lawyer had to sign a document stating that we never "collaborated with the communist authorities in 1945–1989". Rather Kafkaesque – I wasn't living in Poland during that time! A colleague at the University of Warsaw told us the law was "directed against the former secret informers (not a nice lot) just like Post-War Germany with its STASI agents". However, it was implemented a decade too late and at that point it "lost sense and became an empty endorsement by paranoid PiS members".

There is a full time Catholic radio station (Radio Maryja) in Poland. The elderly lady next door to our flat listened to it day and night at full volume and drove us crazy. We had to ask our graduate student "shepherd" to write her a letter in Polish asking to please turn it down. In a poll (pun intended) 53% of Poles said humans were the result of long-term evolution, while nearly one third believe man was created in his current form. Like Catholic Mexicans, they are strongly against abortion. Needless to say, I refused to sign the Law of Lustration and am still waiting for the secret police to knock on our door!

Sojourn to Hungary and other parts of the EU

A few years after our stay in Poland we returned to Europe, to Hungary, where I taught a seminar on U.S. Latino Theater at Debrecen University. A professor showed us how to ride the trams and told us about a gigantic statue erected during the Soviet occupation, called "the hitchhiker" (because it looked like he was trying to solicit a ride), holding a machine gun that stood on the main avenue leading to the university. We drove to a park outside the city where all the statues taken down after 1989 lay in a kind of concrete morgue. Lo and behold, there was the "hitchhiker" along with Vladimir Lenin, all toppled over. But now that more Westerners are visiting, they set them back up for "show". Perhaps someday here in the United States we'll do the same thing for Confederate statues glorifying the former slave states.

I also gave a talk in Romania and we took a train to the multi-cultural city of Timisoara. Students read scenes from my plays, with some Spanish, and understood everything because they show a lot of Mexican and Venezuelan soap operas with subtitles. Since Romanian is a Romance language, they pick it up easily unlike Poland, where most of the foreign films are dubbed in Polish. From Timisoara we rented a car and drove to the mostly Hungarian section of Transylvania, where two million people of Hungarian descent lived for a thousand years. Although at the time they were not allowed to speak Hungarian in public, particularly under the reign of Ceaușescu, they managed to retain their culture and struggle for autonomy similar to Chicanos living in the American Southwest. We defiantly related to that experience!

We were however, appalled by the treatment of the Romani minority in not only Romania, but also throughout Europe. We surmised that we were often taken for Romani ourselves until we produced our American passports. Security guards in department stores in Poland often tailed Azalea, and our French "family" near Bordeaux confessed we could be taken for Roma until we spoke English. In France I usually speak Spanish because I notice the French will respond more positively than if you speak English.

Speaking of language, I have always been fascinated by the Arab world because it feels so familiar. On a visit to Malta, which is sandwiched in the Mediterranean between Libya and Sicilia, the Native language is Arabic. The original settlers came from Sicily during a period when it was under Moorish rule. Written in Roman script, it's easy to read place names like "Medina" which is "city" in Arabic. Twenty percent of Spanish derives from Arabic as the Moors ruled most of Spain for nearly 800 years. No wonder Voltaire said, "Africa begins in the Pyrenees".

Teaching in China

In 2016 I began teaching American Studies and Shakespeare during summer sessions at a public university in Nanjing, China, invited by a Chinese colleague I met at UC Santa Barbara. As the rhetoric heats up between the U.S.A. and an emerging and aggressive China, I've weighed the options to teach or not to teach. Recently, articles appeared in the press suggesting that academics or journalists be aware of being "held hostage" should hostilities flare up between the two economic superpowers.

An Italian colleague who also teaches in China said: "It's an ethical dilemma; do we contribute to their systematic violation of human rights, or by our example, sow the seeds of inquiry in young Chinese students? Although we can show them alternatives to their way of thinking, in the end the desire for change has to fall on them".

I found myself having to censor a course on "Asian American Theater and Film" by limiting discussion on the "Cultural Revolution" of the 1960s – this upon advice of a Chinese professor who was assigned to "assist" me in handling the 100 plus students. Reluctantly, I agreed to his suggestion, and one day asked if he was a member of the Communist Party. He laughed and said he was not interested in politics, although he is extremely patriotic.

I didn't want to overstep my bounds – me, a Latino teaching Chinese students about the Asian-American experience in the United States. First of all, what is "Asian-American?" Nobody grows up speaking Asian-American, nobody sits down to eat Asian-American food with their Asian-American parents or goes on pilgrimages back to their motherland of Asia-America! In a way, Asian-Americans have similar experiences to Latinos in that we are often the odd man out – the American discourse has lately been Black and White, not Brown or Yellow yet we are the fastest growing populations in the U.S.

The Chinese, who are 90% Han ethnicity, can't grasp how Chinese, Japanese, Thai, Vietnamese, and Philippines came together in the U.S.A. to create a Pan-Asian movement. This is something that would NEVER happen in Asia – Japanese and Chinese working together – given the history of the Japanese "Rape of Nanjing" in 1937. The same Chinese professor I mentioned earlier told me the Japanese "deserved to be exterminated" for what they did. He also seemed naive when discussing issues of gender, insisting "there are no homosexuals in China".

I lectured at a university in Taiwan and afterwards students took me to what I thought was the tomb of Chiang Ki-Shek, the former War Lord who took over after being expelled from the mainland in 1949 by Chairman Mao. They said his body lies in another location and will not be laid to "rest" until communism is defeated, and he can be buried in the place of his birth. So it may be a long time before Chiang Ki-Shek goes home!

Photo 5. *Corona* by Ricardo Duffy

Source: Ricardo Duffy.

We traveled to Tibet, where you can only enter with a special visa and an approved "Tour Operator". In the capital Lhasa the Chinese tour operator told us a Native Tibetan guide would be meeting us the next morning. As we passed through the Chinese section of Lhasa, we entered the "Tibetan" town where our hotel was. It reminded me of 1970s Big Spring, in the Texas panhandle, where graffiti and arrows point to the "Mexican town" and "Gringo town" – in other words, segregated communities.

The Chinese tour operator warned us "not to take photos of any police or military nor to discuss politics with our Tibetan Guide". As we got to know the young Tibetan woman, we asked about her personal life, and she confessed it was impossible to leave Tibet without a permit. Tibetan children in the countryside are taken away from their parents and sent to the urban centers to learn Mandarin and assimilate. This tactic, of course, is similar to what happened to Native American children in the Southwestern United States.

Because of COVID, for the past two years we haven't been able to travel to China, but continue giving virtual classes. An American colleague and I teach a course, "Shakespeare in Nanjing": Students read a play by the Bard and then devise scenes of their choosing. During a discussion of *Merchant of Venice* in which we asked students to improvise scenarios based on the play, one group equated the treatment of the Jews to the current COVID pandemic. They created a scene where the authorities accused Jews of being carriers of an unnamed "disease". In discussion I referenced the real story of the Chinese doctor in Wuhan who sounded the alarm by posting notices on the Internet warning his colleagues of a possible pandemic. He was censored into silence, eventually contracted the disease, and died.

The Chinese professor who suggested back in 2016 that I exclude coverage of the Cultural Revolution said I was "mouthing Western propaganda". Some of the students defended me on the chat board, saying that the government was unfairly shaming the doctor. What if the class had been in person and I ran afoul of the authorities? In my mind's eye, I saw myself being led away in a dunce cap in chains by the Red Guard (I suppose I could write a play about this). An Australian professor I encountered in the Department of Modern Languages said he was teaching Chinese pilots English, and some day, he joked, "these same pilots may be bombing Sidney!"

I'm still friends with the Chinese Professor who made the above comments. He was born to a poor family in the countryside and as a child, suffered from malnutrition. He studied hard and become a professor of English and very proud of the progress the Chinese Communist Party has made – even though the common people did all the heavy lifting. He recently purchased a new car and mentioned that he was "the last one in his faculty to buy one", is learning how to drive, but has trouble parking, and avoids the freeways. I hope we can return once again to China to continue our lively debates.

Conclusions

My latest project, *Caravana* (Caravan), is a one-act play in Spanish about Central American migrants traveling in a caravan to the United States. *Caravana* premiered in Honduras and was produced by *Teatro Taller Tegucigalpa* in December of 2021. The goal is to tour Central America and Mexico before arriving in San Diego, California. Written by a Chicano playwright, performed with Honduran actors, and directed by a German who specializes in "Object Theater", the production is another example of the twists and turns in the road taken on my literary journey.

Photo 6. Mural *Cosmic Fusion* by Ricardo Duffy, April 2019

Source: Ricardo Duffy.

In closing you can see how many borders I've lived in my seventy-four years. Perhaps my road through the Tao of *Mestizaje*[2] really started in 1492 with the so-called "discovery" of America. Native peoples don't "celebrate" Columbus Day, we commemorate it because we wouldn't be here if it hadn't happened. In Latin America Columbus Day is called *El Dia de la Raza* (the Day of the Race). But it's not about **ONE** race, it's the day the races started to mix. Mexican philosopher José Vasconcellos coined the term *La Raza Cosmica* (The Cosmic Race) to describe the mixture. After five centuries, we are still adjusting. Brown people are in the middle of Black and White. This is who we are. We take the best of all the worlds (Photo 6).

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[2]   Thanks to Professor Grzegorz Welizarowicz for coining the term. Special thanks to Ricardo Duffy for sharing his artworks.

Maiza Hixson[1]

Transgressing Aesthetic Borders:
Art, Sex & Marriage
in Santa Barbara's Courthouse Murals

This article centers the aesthetic re-staging of Santa Barbara after the devastating earthquake of 1925 in order to interrogate how the city mythologized a white heteronormative patriarchal version of California's history that persists today. Critiquing Santa Barbara's Courthouse Mural Room through a queer, postcolonial lens, I argue that contemporary wedding ceremonies held in the Mural Room can destabilize fixed borders between California's fantasy heritage past and present. Indexing sexuality as Western imperial history through the Courthouse Murals enables my analysis of Mural Room artist Daniel Sayre Groesbeck's "scenarios of encounter" between the Spanish and indigenous Chumash in 1542. I draw on scholar Valerie Traub's geo-spatial construction of race and sexuality in the Renaissance to explore Groesbeck's murals as erotic signifiers of white fantasy projections of a socially and erotically "stable" Santa Barbara onto indigenous bodies. Traub's reading of early modern European cartography as visual evidence of the elision of indigenous genders and sexual identity in the "New World" informs my critical intervention in Santa Barbara's contemporary marriages and material production.

Keywords: settler colonialism, indigeneity, postcolonialism, queer theory, border studies, performance studies, aesthetic placemaking

Introduction

Indexing sexuality as Western imperial history through the Santa Barbara County Courthouse Murals of Daniel Sayre Groesbeck (1878–1950), I apply queer, feminist and postcolonial theory to analyze the artist's "scenarios of encounter" (Taylor 2003: 53–54) between the Spanish and New World Chumash in 1542, as well

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Photo 1. Photograph of wedding and detail of Spanish Colonial History mural by
Daniel Sayre Groesbeck at the Santa Barbara County Courthouse, Santa Barbara, California

Source: Santa Barbara Elopement.

as Groesbeck's representation of the Spanish Missionary period between 1769 to
1821. Demonstrating that his paintings serve as the prominent backdrop to con-
temporary marriage ceremonies in the Southern California Courthouse, I draw
on Valerie Traub's geo-spatial construction of race and sexuality in the Renais-
sance to explore Groesbeck's depictions as erotic signifiers of White Anglo Saxon
Protestant fantasy projections of a socially "stable" Santa Barbara onto global and
indigenous bodies. Tracing how Groesbeck's scenic representations once partici-
pated in the U.S. Progressive Era's re-staging of Santa Barbara as a wealthy resort
town after the 1925 earthquake, I contextualize present-day weddings performed
in front of Groesbeck's murals as polymorphously dramatic encounters between
people and aesthetic representations of the past (Photo 1).

I situate my research within the field of performance studies with an emphasis
on urban performances of aesthetic placemaking. My work on the theatricaliza-
tion of cities and urban historiography overlaps with critical readings of Califor-
nia public spaces and re-readings of the Mission Revival period evident in the
scholarship of Kevin Starr and Phoebie Kropp. A city's visual culture forms part

of what French historian Pierre Nora terms "environments of memory" (Nora 1989: 7), a concept that enables this historiographic study of the performances within the Mural Room.

The Santa Barbara County Courthouse and Groesbeck's murals

Designed for the Spanish Colonial Revival-style courthouse, Groesbeck's murals were made in 1929 for the County Board of Supervisors' assembly room, which they used for over thirty years (Jervis 2014). Today, thousands of locals and international tourists alike visit the Courthouse, which was re-built in 1929 after the earthquake destroyed the original, and along with the Courthouse architecture, Groesbeck's narrative paintings reflect the city's efforts to re-brand itself as a Neo-Spanish Colonial tourist-oriented town in the 1920s (Breisch 1991: 302). Santa Barbara's elite preservationists and planners repurposed the city as the **new** New Spain, using seed money from the Carnegie Foundation to "translate their fantasies into law". Through a "comprehensive building-zone ordinance in 1924", Santa Barbara's elites "set the stage for rebuilding the city in ersatz adobe and red tile following the earthquake" (Breisch 1991: 302). California historian Kevin Starr writes, "Hispanizers, in short, seized control of the reconstruction apparatus" (Breisch 1991: 302).

Santa Barbara's gentrified stage of the 1920s contextualizes Groesbeck's murals as the scenic backdrop for the city's fantasy cultural production. The Courthouse Mural Room provides an immersive prop for its urban theater of historical illusion, and Santa Barbara's present dreamland, in which bodies re-enact imagined scenarios of discovery. Such scenarios as Diana Taylor describes, "transport 'us' (as expedition leaders or newspaper readers) from here to an exotic 'there'" (Taylor 2003: 54). These "transfers" translate "the Other's systems of communication into one we claim to understand, transform past enactments (earlier discovery scenarios) into future outcomes (usually the loss of native lands). In doing so, the scenario simultaneously constructs the wild object and the viewing subject – producing a 'we' and an 'our' as it produces a 'them'" (Taylor 2003: 54). As viewers of Groesbeck's murals today, "we" as viewing subjects are induced to "other" the bodies depicted in the scene. Transported through Groesbeck's historical past, visitors are taught how modern "America" was "formed". A kind of theater architecture, the ornately decorated Mural Room contains bench seating, dramatic lighting and an elevated platform, which provide the setting for marriage ceremonies as real-time participation in Santa Barbara's self-styled Spanish Colonial spectacle. As couples "tie the knot" within the artist's cartoonish rendering of European conquest and colonization, they affirm and normalize a U.S. narrative of colonization and inevitable indigenous loss.

A self-taught California artist, Groesbeck's painterly illustrations reflect his subjectivity and training during a pivotal time of 1920s gentrification. He was commissioned to condense the city's fraught colonial history into a visually appealing timeline, which I contextualize as an ideological map (Traub 2000: 49). Feminist scholar Valerie Traub's critique of European sixteenth and seventeenth century maps and voyage illustrations as visual evidence of Western European Renaissance fantasies of global bodies is useful to my analysis of Groesbeck's murals as a conceptual device for a nationalist agenda, predicated on the maintenance of patriarchal Christian institutions of marriage and social order (Traub 2000: 49). I read Groesbeck's depictions of Spanish, Mexican, and Chumash peoples as cartographies of a semiotic visual classification system representative of 1920s understandings of its vanquished Others. Post-colonial scholar Edward Said describes the basis of "othering" as "the idea of European identity as a superior one in comparison with all the non-European peoples and cultures" (Said 1978: 15). I draw on Said's definition of othering to contend that Santa Barbara furthers such othering practices by choosing to mythologize easy and passive colonization as a universal fact. By continually re-staging itself as a neo-Spanish arcadia, the City and County of Santa Barbara and Groesbeck's murals provide contemporary viewers with visual maps and literacy about how Santa Barbara – and by extension the United States – actively preserves its hegemonic legacy.

Groesbeck's painterly cartography provides evidence of, and inroads to, multiple scenarios of encounter today. "After returning from brief service with the Canadian forces in Russia, Groesbeck established himself as a successful painter and printmaker, exhibiting in major Los Angeles galleries beginning in 1919. His Russian subjects – Cossacks, picturesque peasants, exotic markets and churches – were extremely popular" (*Destined for Hollywood*, 2001). In a Santa Barbara newspaper article from 2011, author Michael Redmon informs us that Groesbeck was a scenic painter and set designer for legendary Hollywood filmmaker, Cecil B. DeMille. Groesbeck's career as a Hollywood studio artist spanned a quarter of a century and he worked on several DeMille pictures such as *The Ten Commandments*, *The Volga Boatman*, *The King of Kings*, *The Crusades*, and *The Buccaneer* (Redmon 2011). However, "With all his success, his [Groesbeck's] murals at the Santa Barbara County Courthouse remain among his greatest achievements" (Redmon 2011). As an example of local "orature" that furthers the myopic performance and celebration of 1920s Spanish Colonialism in Santa Barbara, Redmon's article lends credibility to my argument that the city stages its project of Eurocentric white supremacy in the present through literary, visual, and cultural productions of the early twentieth century. In other portraits of Korean, Japanese, and Tibetan people, Groesbeck exoticized the facial features, creating caricatures that fed an American cultural imagination of global bodies (Karl 2016) (Photo 2).

Photo 2. Daniel Sayre Groesbeck, *Royal Wizard, Lhasa, Tibet*, c. 1928

Source: James Main Fine Art.

In the Mural Room, Groesbeck successfully collapses millennia into a convenient record of the Native American period; European exploration period from 1542 to 1769; the Spanish colonial period, 1769 to 1821; the Mexican period, 1821 to 1848; and United States statehood, from 1850 to present day (Castillo). In this paper, I focus on the artist's depiction of the Native American, European exploration, and Spanish colonial periods. Groesbeck's narrative tableaux function as a cartography of Santa Barbara's origin story, beginning with the first scenario of encounter between Portuguese Conquistador Juan Rodríguez Cabrillo and the indigenous Chumash Canalinos (Photo 3) who formed part of the native groups of the Channel Islands, Santa Barbara, and its surrounds:

> From Navidad, Cabrillo sailed up the Pacific coast of Mexico, Baja California, and Alta California, repeatedly contacting native peoples. On October 10, the fleet sailed into Chumash territory at a village they called Las Canoas, probably located near Mugu Lagoon or Ventura. For the next eight days, the Spaniards sailed, anchored, and exchanged gifts with the friendly occupants of the "thickly populated" coast between Las Canoas and Cape Galera. Between Cape Galera almost certainly Point Conception and Las Canoas, Chumash people provided names for roughly 40 mainland towns (Erlandson, Bartoy 1995: 158).

Photo 3. Detail of Spanish Colonial History mural by Daniel Sayre Groesbeck
at the Santa Barbara County Courthouse, Santa Barbara, California

Source: Maiza Hixson 2022.

Dropping anchor

On the left wall of the Mural Room, the primary scene of the mural unfolds. The Canalinos appear clustered in a pyramidal formation on a rocky Pacific Ocean bank, across from Cabrillo and his Spanish crew. Groesbeck renders each tribe and crew in hierarchical order in terms of height. One Canalino man stands tall atop a large boulder and holds a spear. He gazes stoically at the Spanish naval procession charging up the shore with its billowing red and gold flags, which rise as high as the Chumash man's stature. Approximately eight Canalinos surround this figure in various states of crouching in preparation for the ensuing encounter. All of them are clad in nothing save for a simple rectangular loincloth, presumably made of hide or skin. Out in front of the indigenous group, a coyote perches on a jutting rock, making the animal the first line of defense against the Spanish invaders. A few feet behind the coyote, another Chumash man is hunched down on all fours, in anxious anticipation of this fateful meeting. Both the coyote and man's

mouths are slightly agape, as if calculating the intruders' next move. In this visual hierarchy, Groesbeck depicts the earliest inhabitants of Santa Barbara as savages. As a commercial illustrator, he was part of a dramatic sketch art tradition that rendered white American film directors' bestial mythologizations of "The Hollywood Indian" visible – a stereotype that Groesbeck transposed onto his Mural Room representations of the Chumash (Jojola 1998: 12–13).

A textual supplement painted at the bottom of the mural reads, "1542 Fifty years after Columbus Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo landed at Las Canoas with the Flag of Spain" (Jervis 2014). This label references the depicted scene, in which Cabrillo "discovers" what will be named Santa Barbara many years later by Sebastian de Vizcaino. To the left of this painted sign, yet another reads "The Canalino Tribe bordering the Santa Barbara Channel were the most **Enlightened** [emphasis mine] of the California Indians" (Jervis 2014). Above the text, Groesbeck paints an indigenous coat of arms – a medallion-like symbol adorned with a buffalo skull, knives, spears tipped with arrowheads, and feathers, dressing a woven basket. A lone indigenous woman's head emerges from behind the heraldry. The only reference to the existence of women within the narrative, her facial features deviate from the way in which the artist renders the indigenous men. Her nose is thinner compared to the men's wider and more flattened noses. Not only does Groesbeck depict an asexual history, he conveniently omits the rape of indigenous women from Santa Barbara's historical visual repertoire. According to James A. Sandos, "Priests taught Indians patriarchy and (…) lowered the status of Indian women within Indian culture. Such devaluation was further compounded by the shameful raping of Indian women by Spanish soldiers and settlers" (Sandos 2004: 166).

Aside from their long black hair held in place by a thin band, the muscular brown bodies of the Chumash almost blend in with their natural rocky surroundings, which partially camouflage them from plain sight. All of the indigenous people remain in profile and peer with uncovered eyes at the Spanish entourage. Our gaze follows those of the Canalinos toward the triangle of four muscular and bearded men, led by the central figure of Cabrillo who stares unflinchingly back at them. In stark contrast to the Chumash peoples' semi-nudity, the Spanish men are fully clothed, their brawn concealed beneath long-sleeved shirts of rich hues. Cabrillo's proud and sizeable chest, protected by a strapping leather vest, virtually precedes him. Although we view his head in profile, his eyes are in shadow, partially obscured by the bill of his helmet; and we mark his prominent bronzed nose and the bushy black mustache covering his upper lip. Given that his eyes remain hidden compared to those of the Canalinos, one could interpret Groesbeck's depiction as a mysterious view of Cabrillo in relation to the indigenous people. Perhaps more than the Chumash, Cabrillo serves as a commanding body to become known. While grasping at his sword in his right hand and pointing its tip down

into the rock, he holds up a giant flagpole with his left arm and summits the island, thus marking his territory. Cabrillo's pose is also in line with the American neo-classicist painter John Vanderlyn's depiction of the *Landing of Columbus* (1836), commissioned by the U.S. Congress for the Capitol Rotunda (Webster 2010: 365).

Three fellow sailors flank Cabrillo's central figure, one of whom forces a small canon up the rock, aimed directly toward the Canalinos. He too bears a sword, though carefully tucked into his side. Behind these frontal figures, a bright blue sky illuminates the background, suggesting a midday scene in which a bustling crew hauls materials and wooden barrels onto shore while another daunting ship pulls in. In contrast to the unlocked jaws of the coyote and Canalinos, the Spanish men's mouths remain firmly clinched within this pregnant dramatic encounter. Their red, gold, green, blue, orange, and yellow clothes, as well as brightly colored flags and textiles, emanate opulence compared to the unadorned indigenous people. Behind Cabrillo, a determined figure rolls up his sleeves in anticipation of what ensues. Compared to the crouching Canalinos whose toned, slender, and weaponless bodies reflect rigorous daily activity, the unfolding narrative would suggest that they are defenseless in the face of the Spanish army. Bearing no arms, swords, or protective clothing, all they possess is that which the artist provides – a delicate swath of fabric to conceal their genitals. The fact that Groesbeck does not feature women within this scene registers as a glaring absence that generates its own haunted presence. In this Canalino-Spanish encounter, Groesbeck navigates 1920s American Puritan standards of impropriety. Although he was primarily fixated on men's bodies – both indigenous and foreign – he deemphasized women and what their bodies might represent. Had the artist included women, it could have hinted at several historical facts, including war rape, which would have been unpalatable to Courthouse newlyweds and their families. Furthermore, the representation of Chumash women and children could have indicated the reality of their matrilineal society or culture (Kettman 2009). Additionally, the lack of balance between the homosocial invaders and the matriarchal Chumash would have appeared more obvious and, conceivably, evoked questions surrounding homoeroticism and Spanish culture.

In a 2014 *Noozhawk* article, Loretta Redd, a board member of the Santa Barbara County Courthouse Legacy Foundation, describes Groesbeck's art as whimsical but admits it is not entirely accurate. "The murals are representative (of the period) and historical, but with tremendous artistic license", she added. For example, the ships are depicted in "full sail, with no anchor" (Jervis 2014). For Redd, the omitted anchor and other artistic embellishments contradict the facts surrounding Cabrillo's landing. However, Redd might also acknowledge the artistic liberty of Groesbeck's other depictions, including painting indigenous people as asexual and childlike, portraying Spanish men as strapping, and rendering women as

basically obsolete. While Groesbeck glorified white male bodies in homoerotic fashion, he also diminished women and people of color. In keeping with racist and misogynistic portrayals of the period, his tourist-friendly, Hollywood version of Santa Barbara's hegemonic history conformed to the expectations of white Anglo-Saxon protestant elites at the time of its creation. Today, however, Groesbeck's Mural Room tragically perpetuates a white supremacist caricature of indigenous histories that smiling couples pose in front of during their Courthouse weddings.

Drawing on Traub's assertion that sixteenth century maps evidence the "naturalization of heterosexuality and the unnaturalness of miscegenation emerging simultaneously, as two sides of the same global body" (Traub 2000: 84), I query Groesbeck's illusory representation of indigenous gender and sexual identity in the New World, which elides difference for the sake of easy and comfortable race-sex-gender representations. However, this spatial void, or lacuna of sexuality also provides a platform for a contemporary "queering" (Coloma 2009) of the Mural Room as a scholarly intervention. Interrogating the relationship between empire and education, Roland Sintos Coloma employs queer theory and postcolonial studies as intersectional research methodologies to examine Western imperialism in the service of the decolonization of indigenous peoples in the Philippines (Coloma 2009: 270). Citing Said's 1978 postcolonial study of Orientalism and the development of queer theory and research by Judith Butler and Eve Sedgwick in 1990, Coloma expands post-colonialism to include the U.S. as a current empire. Employing queer and postcolonial methodologies to deconstruct governmental educational campaigns in former and current U.S. territories, Coloma's methodology provides a useful model for my own examination of Santa Barbara's colonial narrative as told through Groesbeck's Mural Room illustrations.

I draw on Coloma's combination of postcolonial and queer methodologies to "queer" Santa Barbara's Courthouse Murals, which I interpret as a form of civic propaganda for the U.S. Neo-Colonial empire in Santa Barbara. Manufacturing civic identity in the 1920s enabled business executives working in concert with government agencies to brand Santa Barbara as a romantic tourist destination. Indeed, selling Santa Barbara through the allure of Spanish nostalgia could be more profitable than oil, citrus, and sea. Infused with myths of Ramona and Zorro, the city itself could be aesthetically preserved and sold as an older and more aristocratic European-style alternative to those looking for a high-end leisurely escape from all of the vulgarities of other American cities suffering from outsized growth and crass commercialization (Starr 1990: 277–278). In *Material Dreams*, Starr devotes two chapters to Santa Barbara's development as a Spanish arcadia for the wealthy. He writes, "Wealth had captured Santa Barbara for its own, and now wealth envisioned its captive city as an escape from getting and spending, and this identity, paradoxically, was also good for the resort business" (Starr 1990: 277–278). Along

with the Old Spanish Days Fiesta, Starr characterizes the Santa Barbara Court-house of 1929 as an emblem of the city's idealized identity with the completion of Groesbeck's Mural Room as its "final gloss" (Starr 1990: 291).

As a queer reading, I open Groesbeck's subjects up to a re-signification process to introduce alternative queer, feminist discourse surrounding his aesthetic bodies *vis-à-vis* live marital bodies performing within the same space. Vanquished "oth-ers" such as the Chumash signify the realities of polymorphous, non-heteronorma-tive, gender non-binary erotic lives. In this performative historiographic analysis of global bodies as mapped subjects, I interpret Groesbeck's asexual representation of "others" as an atlas of compulsory puritanical and heteronormative societal de-mands of the 1920s, in which the U.S. imperialist framing of such bodies denied interracial coupling and non-heteronormative sexual practices. In the wake of the White Anglo-Saxon Protestant re-branding of Santa Barbara as a tourist destina-tion for families after a devastating earthquake, narratives of the city's colonial past were subject to a landed gentry elite's fearful reaction to urban disorder.

The missionary position

Adjacent to the Spanish-Chumash "first-contact" scene, the mural clockwise from the rear wall (containing the entry doors) reveals Groesbeck's visual mapping of the Spanish Mission period (Photo 4). A painted wall label reads: "1786 Fr. Presi-dente Fermin de Lasuen builds the Xth Mission at Santa Barbara after the death of Fr. Junipero Serra at Carmel" (Jervis 2014). Here, the artist renders the construc-tion of Santa Barbara's imposing mission tower covered in scaffolding, around which brawny workers flex their burly forearms and sinewy, serene indigenous peoples relax under the supervision of Father Lasuen (Jervis 2014). Junipero Serra, credited with the conversion of the Chumash in Santa Barbara, was a self-flagellat-ing Franciscan Friar who practiced medieval corporal torture such as whipping to discipline himself and indigenous peoples (Welizarowicz 2018: 274). Lasuen, who was no less violent than Serra, justified disciplining Indians for their laziness and "inclination to lewdness and theft" in his "Refutation of Charges", which Lasuen wrote in response to claims that Indians were being abused at California Missions (Sandos 2004: 88–89). Groesbeck's conversion narrative conveniently omits the general disregard for indigenous life that missionaries held in his staging of the city's arcadian past. In mapping life as a peaceful co-existence between the "En-lightened" Chumash and Spanish in what Carey McWilliams coined as Califor-nia's "fantasy heritage" (Welizarowicz 2018: 274), Groesbeck reinscribes a deeply condescending reality of presumptions of indigenous intelligence and sexuality. "In view of (…) admittedly unscientific opinions on the native endowment of the

various races and levels of society in early modern Europe, it is not surprising to find that many Spaniards, although by no means all, regarded the Indians of the Americas, or at least the commoners among them, as limited in their mental capacity" (Guest, Guest 1985: 224). Indeed, according to James A. Sandos:

> Franciscans failed to recognize the complex and varied forms of Indian resistance to the conversion process and the Indian struggle to retain their individual cultures. Behavior that deviated from the Spanish norm the priests attributed to an alleged Indian inability to learn the sophisticated elements of a higher spirituality and to supposed Indian deficiencies in intellect and morality. Franciscans misidentified as moral defectiveness Indian resistance to Christianity and Indian cultural preservation. Since by Spanish law the Franciscans stood as guardians or fathers to their neophyte wards, the padres visited the standard physical punishments of their culture, including flogging, upon Indians who failed to meet their Christian moral obligations (1991: 72).

Additionally, despite the fact that Franciscan narratives of contact with Chumash indicate polygamy among chiefs, premarital and extramarital coitus among commoners, as well as the existence of two-spirit gender roles (Sandos 1991: 71), Groesbeck's murals and Santa Barbara's self-mythologization as a Spanish Colonial Disneyland persistently omit these aspects of Chumash culture in their dominant cultural mapping and staging of a fantasy heritage narrative. Regarding indigenous sexuality, Brian McCormack writes:

> Spanish explorers and missionaries to Alta California also documented that the pursuit of intimacy and sexual pleasure within several Native societies of the region were not confined to the rigid heterosexual, procreative marriage form sanctioned by Roman Catholicism. The Native sexual universe and the gender and sexual forms contained within it provided additional evidence of Native savagery and debasement and the need for spiritual conquest and salvation. Several Spanish sources note the existence of *joyas* (more generally referred to as berdache in the scholarly literature, a man who adopts the social and sexual role of a woman) within various Native communities of the region. In one instance, Franciscan missionary Fray Francisco Palou briefly recounted how friars at Mission San Antonio caught two male Gentiles, "one dressed as a woman and referring to himself as a *joya*", committing a "vile sin". He added that it was common to find two or three *joyas* in the villages of the Santa Barbara Channel Island region. Their behavior was an abominable vice he hoped the missionaries would uproot with the establishment of missions across this territory (2007: 394).

In his depiction of the Chumash man on all fours like the coyote, Groesbeck's ideological map underscores common stereotypical tropes that "In their pagan state the Indians entered into no contracts marriage" and "mated after the fashion

Photo 4. Detail of Spanish Colonial History mural by Daniel Sayre Groesbeck
at the Santa Barbara County Courthouse, Santa Barbara, California

Source: The Jon B. Lovelace Collection of California Photographs in Carol M. Highsmith's
America Project, Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division. Created/Published 2012.

of animals" (McCormack 2007: 394). While monogamy was the norm, sexual activity varied among the Chumash who widely accepted premarital and extramarital sex (Sandos 1991: 71). Additionally, according to Sandos and as McCormack mentioned, "The Chumash had berdache who appeared to Europeans as effeminate men dressed as women. The Spanish called them *joyas* (jewels), a term that may have been derisive in Spanish culture but inadvertently conveyed the regard with which such men were held in Chumash culture" (Sandos 1991: 71). From the conspicuous absence of the representation of berdache in the Mural Room, it is possible to infer multiple points. Perhaps the most obvious of these is that Groesbeck was entirely ignorant of their existence. Or, assuming Groesbeck was aware of their existence, to have illustrated the berdache figure would have complicated his easy visual mythologization of the Chumash as savage, unsophisticated or lacking more complex cultural processes. Had Groesbeck allowed Canalinos to appear more nuanced, perhaps they would have registered as less one-dimensional. For example, had the artist attempted to render *joyas* as visibly effeminate next to the Spanish, it is conceivable that the ornately outfitted invaders might have in turn appeared queer alongside the berdache. Yet Groesbeck's depiction of the Canalinos could not have

adequately illustrated their multi-faceted gender performances and sexual identities. Only through their own self-representation could indigenous Chumash people have countered Santa Barbara's hegemonic visual culture of the 1920s.

Conclusions – marital bliss?

Serving as the backdrop to thousands of local weddings annually, the Mural Room generates substantial revenue for the Santa Barbara County government. A Special Events Coordinator schedules it for highly orchestrated wedding events where vows are exchanged and "culturally specific affiliations such as family, religion, and class form the social frameworks of memory" (Roach 1996: 27). The artwork silently narrates each wedding and the Mural Room itself functions as a polytemporal mental space where imagined futures of wedded bliss converge with staged memories of violent empire as well as post-earthquake urban gentrification. Borrowing from Traub, we cannot ignore the history of the West's objectified bodies in visual images, and maps as evidence in a contemporary context, particularly in art that illustrates indigenous peoples in California's history. Confronting Santa Barbara's art historical presentation of "official" colonial accounts, which Groesbeck diligently transcribes in his now-fetishized Mural Room painting, we can analyze this artistic-theatrical setting as a stage that allows for performative reenactments of the present, including thousands of "I Dos", and metaphorical "I Don'ts". The painted object functions as both actant and prosthetic device allowing contemporary heterosexual and LGBTQIA couples to transgress temporal borders. Same sex marriage was only permanently legalized in California in 2013 (*Is Same Sex Legal* 2019), but the Santa Barbara Courthouse has since become a welcoming space to gay couples (Patterson 2008). Yet the Groesbeck Murals remain as part of the white supremacist, patriarchal, and homophobic visual history of the city. Thus, when queer couples marry within this space, they must reconcile relatively recent gains in marital justice with a hackneyed twentieth century representation of a more repressive time. In spite of this, a queer re-reading of the Mural Room can also productively center LGBTQIA histories in ways that instantiate an open dialogue surrounding a more inclusive visual representation of Santa Barbara's non-cisgender and non-heteronormative past. As queer and straight couples are now both invited to share in the city's white fantasy colonial heritage in which they are transported not just to the 1500s or 1800s but to the 1900s, an opportunity exists to perform alternatively and against such white, patriarchal, and heteronormative histories. Confronting Groesbeck's Neo-Colonial painting in the twenty-first century illuminates the multitude of ways in which the Mural Room could also be re-narrated from non-white, non-cis-gendered decolonial perspectives.

In addition to intervening in Groesbeck's Mural Room depictions by demonstrating how the omitted gender and sexual narrative provides a platform for discourse surrounding Missionary perceptions of indigenous peoples as unintelligent and animalistic, I have provided evidence for the historically archived cross-dressing berdache, as well as extramarital and premarital intercourse among the Chumash. Furthermore, in his sycophantic desire to please his Mural Room commissioners, Groesbeck neglects to show the sadistic and masochistic practices of Friars Serra and Lasuen, whom Groesbeck mythologizes. Such a fear of "biting the hand that feeds" dovetails with how Santa Barbara chooses to construct its mythical past and perpetuates its fantasy heritage into the present. Through my engagement with the site and space of the Courthouse Mural Room, I have treated a range of themes that re-signify it as an expansive sexual site in which couples wed themselves to the historical past, to the period in which that past was reframed, and to the present, thereby traversing spatiotemporal borders. Here the newlyweds become the ineluctable co-stars of Santa Barbara's Spanish Colonial theater that betroths them to deeply divergent alternatives to hetero and homo-normative coupling under the law.

Reading Groesbeck's murals against the evidence of Spanish abuse and rape of indigenous peoples, in addition to Franciscan narratives describing polygamy among Chumash chiefs, premarital and extramarital coitus among commoners, I ironize the juxtaposition of romantic, hetero- and homonormative wedding ceremonies in the Courthouse chamber haunted floor-to-ceiling by sexual histories of violence and non-monogamous relationships. While these murals obscure past gender and sexual histories, they also perform in the present by reaffirming patriarchal domination and white supremacy. In this feminist, historiographic queering of Groesbeck's paintings, I perform my own desire for legibility of Santa Barbara's queer, homoerotic, and feminist artistic expression, while critiquing the city's colonial narrative of domination and control. The city's denial of its polymorphous sexual subjectivities, past and present, perpetuates the fabrication of Santa Barbara's racist, sexist, and classist aesthetic production.

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(Re)Envisioning Borderlands: Towards a More Productive Paradigm

This is a theoretical essay inspired by the crisis of the central concept of American identity – the idea of the frontier – and by the belief that in a crisis lies a chance for a new beginning. Thus, the goal is to propose an image/narrative model of alternative universal borderlands. To do this I first briefly explain the notion of the frontier in American imagination. I then evoke archaic imagination and outline how the frontier and its epistemology first came into being and crossed the ocean ushering in a type of modern subjectivity. I then contrast this with local cartographies that had existed in the Americas before European contact. Together the two cartographies engender the *transfrontera* space. This both actual and mytho-poetic space engenders "contact subjects" and is explained by examples from works by Creole and Chicano theater artists. A third spatial imagining is then proposed after Native American storytelling and theater methodology. Circles upon circles upon circles is an epistemic/procedural model of how the world is (re)made through stories in the Native worldview. The essay is subtly experimental: as it charts multiple spatio-subjective models it hopes to work on the imagination of the reader, to build imaginary cognitive maps and, perhaps, effect a slight shift in consciousness, taking the reader to the borderlands.

Keywords: frontier, borderlands, border studies, Columbus, Aleksander Hołyński, Spiderwoman Theater, Roger Guenveur Smith, Richard Montoya, Culture Clash, Frederick Jackson Turner, Herbert Eugene Bolton, Edmundo O'Gorman

Introduction – frontier and borderlands

> *One's new hands are not those that clutch iron arms, and one's new eyes are not those looking out from the caravels of the European intruders, who cry Land! with Columbus.*
>
> Enrique Dussel (1995: 74)

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In his Pulitzer-Prize winning book *The End of the Myth* (2019) Greg Grandin says: "No myth in American history has been more powerful (…) than that of pioneers advancing across an endless meridian" (2019: 7). One of the most influential intellectual paradigms supporting this myth was expressed by American historian Frederick Jackson Turner in his *The Significance of the Frontier in American History* thesis delivered in 1893 at the American Historical Association's conference in Chicago. Turner argues that the forces which gave rise to American democracy stem from energetic Anglo-Saxon settlers' encounters with the vast territory on the ever-moving Western frontier. According to him, it is the frontier-experience, violent, crude, unpredictable which shaped the American intellect and character. He envisions the frontier as a dividing line or rather what he calls the "outer edge of the wave" between savagery and civilization triumphantly advanced by restless, acute, inquisitive, adaptable, and self-reliant individuals. Grandin summarizes: "Expansion across the continent, Turner said, made Europeans into something new, into a people both coarse and curious, self-disciplined and spontaneous, practical and inventive, filled with a 'restless, nervous energy' and lifted by 'that buoyancy and exuberance which comes with freedom' (2019: 7). The direction of the edge of the wave's movement envisioned here is noteworthy for it privileges the East-West axis. Although he hails Columbus who "sailed into the waters of the New World" as the originator of America's "other name", that of "opportunity", for Turner the people who have been the most fit and adaptable in frontier conditions and seized on that opportunity are those of English-stock.

The directional preference and the silent elision of the influence of Spanish, French, Asian or Russian colonists, not to mention the civilizational achievements of the Indigenous nations, are illustrative of Turner's bias. This privileged optic and historical interpretation, however, were appealing to the United States' imagination of itself, as the nation was emerging out of the Western expansion phase (Wounded Knee happened just three years before the thesis), was at the peak of the Jim Crow segregation, and readied itself for imperial aggrandizement beyond its borders (the Spanish-American war would come five years later). Despite the concept's shortcomings the idea of the frontier provided not only a favorable interpretation of the past but allowed an optimistic outlook to the future. After all, as Jackson Turner asserted, the frontier "was a magic fountain of youth in which America continually bathed and was rejuvenated" (Grandin 2019: 106). In the frontier lay the promise of perennial rebirth. Turner's thesis became immensely influential, obligatory material for 60% of university history courses by the time of its author's death in 1932.

The challenge to the thesis came a year later. In 1933 Herbert Eugene Bolton, Turner's one-time student, delivered his seminal essay *The Epic of Greater America* also at the American Historical Association's conference. Bolton is the founder of

what came to be known as the Borderlands school of American history and the essay is a clear declaration of his position.

Bolton argues for a hemispheric, and multidirectional perspective on American history. Pointing to the example of John Truslow Adams' *The Epic of America* (1931) he says that previously the more appropriate name of the American Historical Association would have been "The United States Historical Association" (Bolton 1933: 448). Hence, he advocates for a change in the paradigm hitherto narrowly focused on the United States and proposes to envision U.S. history not through the lens of the usual Eastern seaboard and English influence but as part of the greater American story in order to, as he puts it, "supplement the purely nationalistic presentation" (Bolton 1933: 448). As Bolton observes: "In my own country the study of thirteen English colonies and the United States in isolation has obscured many of the larger factors in their development, and helped to raise up a nation of chauvinists" (1933: 448).

Looking at American history hemispherically, Bolton argues, will enable us to see the developments in each country or region not as isolated events but in relation to one another, subject to forces which have always transcended man-imposed boundaries of colonial claims, ethnicities, or languages. In other words, Bolton advocates more of a bird's eye view, a view from the "moon" as he says (1933: 474) of the Americas' history where the events in, say, South Carolina, are seen on a par with those in Peru or Barbados, where the story of California will be linked to that of Araucana in Chile, or Quebec, etc. He says: "each local story will have clearer meaning when studied in the light of the others; and (…) much of what has been written of each national history is but a thread out of a larger strand" (1933: 449).

Bolton draws attention to parallels between various colonial powers rather than their differences. All held "mercantilistic views of colonies (…) for the benefit of their own people", nearly all "revived in America some vestige of feudalism", all practiced and benefited from the system of African slavery (Bolton 1933: 452), and all dispossessed Native populations although the manner of this dispossession differed: Catholics wanted to convert and civilize them turning them into wards of the church, Protestants saw in them Biblical Canaanites to be mercilessly removed from what they considered their Promised Land. All colonial powers engaged in rivalry over lands and resources, the hemisphere became the arena of continuous turf conflicts, territories changed hands, often multiple times depending on local and global factors, European interests, market demands, innovations. One example can be that of the Manhattan-Surinam swap between the Dutch and the English due to demand for sugar and pelts. The independence movements were also not unique to the English colonies. Soon after Britain, Spain lost most of its imperial possessions in the hemisphere, while Brazil emerged as an independent nation due to events set in motion by Napoleon.

Bolton narrates this epic to argue for the need to recognize the "essential unity of the Western Hemisphere", its nations developing "side by side" (1933: 472), interrelated not only economically and historically but also culturally, as well as intellectually. Thus, he says, "the nationalistic pattern" does not afford an adequate framework for it obscures what from a larger purview becomes "outstanding and primary" (1933: 473). This angle of analysis is especially needed in borderlands research which may reveal that the histories of separate entities might "be treated as one" (1933: 473). Bolton writes: "Borderland zones are vital not only in the determination of international relations, but also in the development of culture. In this direction one of the important modifications of the Turner thesis is to be sought. By borderland areas not solely geographical regions are meant; **borderline studies of many kinds are similarly fruitful**" (1933: 473; my emphasis)[2].

Bolton's ideas – which urged scholars, in the words of Russell Magnaghi, "(1) to go beyond limiting national histories; (2) to get a better understanding of the history and culture of the entire region (…); (3) to gain more meaning for national histories when they are understood in light of the other histories" (1998: xi) – are an important legacy which helped envision the Americas as the borderlands. However, we also know that Bolton's views were not without inherent biases. For example, in his famous 1917 essay *The Spanish Mission as a Frontier Institution*, he hailed the Spanish colonial missions as pioneering "industrial training school[s]" (Bolton 1917: 57) for the Indigenous neophytes. He also extolled the mission padres as "political and civilizing agents of a very positive sort" (Bolton 1917: 47). For him, therefore, the mission enterprise, including the missions established by Junípero Serra in California, was a prominent success testifying to "Spain's frontier 'genius'" (Sandos 2004: 174). James A. Sandos calls Bolton's attitude a "Christophilic Triumphalism" (2004: 174) and reminds us that in the 1940s Bolton was appointed to serve on the Vatican's historical commission for Serra's sainthood. Indeed, Bolton's 1948 testimony in favor of canonization not only reveals his religious sentiments but also sheds light on his disregard for Indian agency and subjectivity. James Sandos (1988) argues that the already existing research (Cook 1976; Harrington 1934; McWilliams 1946) which had revealed the missions' devastating impact on the people they were supposed to serve was ignored by Bolton (1253–1269). Similarly, although Bolton's interest in the hemispheric history encompassed the Americas "from pole to pole" it was also limited in scope, to use his own words, "from

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2   The lecture is the most succinct expression of Bolton's views on American historiography that he had been developing since the 1890s and which were in response to his mentor's nationalism. Bolton was an internationalist by nature and when early in his career (1901) he landed a teaching position at the University of Texas he began to study Spanish, travelled to Mexico and was soon fully invested in the study of Southwestern history. It is from this research that he began to build his Spanish Borderlands interests which would eventually lead him to the Americas concept (Magnaghi 1998: 48).

Columbus to the present" (Magnaghi 1998: xii) – a statement which reveals his narrow, Colombian time frame and a Eurocentric interest in history told from the point of view of Western individuals.

Mindful of Jackson's frontier thesis' limitations and its legacy, inspired by Bolton's Borderlands concept, wary of its shortcomings, yet taking to heart his advocacy for "borderline studies of many kinds" as well as heeding the recent "border aesthetics" scholars Johan Schimanski and Jopi Nyman's call for a "heightened focus on images and narratives as means of approaching the border" and for contributions "to a political aesthetics of borders" (Schimanski, Nyman 2021: 3), I want to propose a (re)envisioning of the notion of the borderlands in the Americas. If the frontier myth has come to an end, it is the right time to consider an alternative.

Several movements are performed in what follows. I first excavate the origins of the borderlands concept reaching to the past anterior to Columbus both in Europe and in the Americas. I remember the originary European – as well as American – American borderlands and schematically outline the diachronic development of the paradigm since the European invasion. Later, I point to examples of artists whose works draw from the past in order to reimagine the maps of American agency and memory and bring fore in the present the idea of expansive, multidirectional borderlands, a *transfrontera* space. Finally, I evoke the Native feminist Spiderwoman Theater's cognitive model of circles upon circles upon circles to provoke an imaginative reorganization of our coordinates, of how we map the world. If America is, as Grandin holds, at the end of the myth of the endless frontier the last thing it needs is more of the same. If the way out of crisis is developing a new paradigm which is to be, as cultural theorist Fred Moten advocates, "a turn away from centrality's technics and metaphysics" (Moten online: 2) Spiderwoman's model may offer just the right reimagination, rearticulation or a (re)envisioning of the universal frontier or borderlands. This would be one positive answer to the ethical conundrum America faces between democracy and "barbarism" (Grandin 2019: 251).

From the island of the earth to a terraqueous globe

Edmundo O'Gorman, in his *The Invention of America* (1961) reminds us that before Columbus' voyage Europeans believed themselves to be inhabitants of an island, "the Island of the Earth" (O'Gorman 1961: 128). According to ancient beliefs the *Orbis Terrarum* was an island consisting of Europe, Asia and Africa and bounded by the Ocean. The Ocean was the original border of the world and everything which lay beyond it was not the Earth. With Columbus' voyage and with the publication in 1507 of *Cosmographiae Introductio*, the first map upon

which America as an island and the fourth part of the *Orbis Terrarum* appears. The Ocean ceased to be "regarded as [Earth's] boundary": "now for the first time [the *Orbis* was] conceived as including not only the Island of the Earth, but the Ocean itself, and therefore not only the newly-found lands but any other land that may appear in the future" (O'Gorman 1961: 128).

The implications of this new understanding of the world as not limited to the Island of the Earth but including "the entire terraqueous globe" (O'Gorman 1961: 130) were profound. For if the archaic notion held that the Earth was "a limited space in the universe assigned to man by God" now, once the bounds were transcended, the wall of the Ocean was broken, a New Man was born who could claim "sovereignty over the whole universe" (O'Gorman 1961: 129). "[N]o longer circumscribed only to the Island of the Earth" (O'Gorman 1961: 128), freed from the confines of the border of the sea, the European man comprehended that the world was, to cite O'Gorman, "something of his own making, and therefore something for which he is responsible as owner and master" (1961: 128). Thus, O'Gorman continues, the European "opened for himself the road to the conquest" of the globe (1961: 129). The universe was revealed as "a vast inexhaustible quarry" (O'Gorman 1961: 129) out of which one would now "carve out his world, depending (…) solely on his own initiative, daring, and technical ability" (O'Gorman 1961: 129). The Modern idea of individual freedom was contingent on that moment. It was then, we could add after Enrique Dussel, that Hernan Cortes' actions "gave expression to an ideal of subjectivity that could be defined as the *ego conquiro*, which predates Rene' Descartes's articulation of the *ego cogito*" (Maldonado-Torres 2007: 244–245).

It was this new conviction of unlimited space and potentials, this new epistemology, born out of "modern man's contempt for and his rebellion against the fetters (…) of archaic religious fears" (O'Gorman 1961: 129–130), against the limits hitherto imposed by cosmology that brought Europeans first to the islands of the Caribbean where they met the Taino, the Arawak and the Caribs and then to the rest of the globe. When this epistemology was combined with a conviction supported by the new cartography that as part of the new *Orbis Terrarum* the Western hemisphere could not be in any essential way different from other continents, America and then the world were invented as "the land of opportunities, of the future, and of freedom" (O'Gorman 1961: 129–130) to be shaped in Europe's image that is, as Tzvetan Todorov puts it, denied the right to difference not reduced to inferiority (Todorov 1999: 160). In other words, when what had hitherto been the border of the world was breached what lay beyond it became the vast global borderlands for *Ego conguiro/cogito*'s agency. The borderlands initiated the procedures of the coloniality of being and knowing (Maldonado-Torres 2007; Mignolo 2011) and thus is the originary, central locus of Modernity/Coloniality.

There would be no Modernity/Coloniality with its complimentary ideas of free-dom/slavery and progress/backwardness, etc. without the emergence of the imagination of the borderless frontier or the borderlands (spatial, of ethics, of being, of knowing, of sexuality, etc.).

Columbus stands as the originator of this locus and its corollary practices of invention and evasion. It was Columbus who imposed on the Americas his expectations – he had anticipated to arrive in India and hence the people living there could be no other but Indians. The misnomer was the first in a series of misperceptions which have haunted the Americas ever since, becoming the continent's inseparable double. It is this shadow of the hyperreal – what Jean Baudrillard explains as "models of a real without origin or reality" (Baudrillard 2002: 166) – which I believe feeds what Junot Díaz calls the "*Fukú americanus*, (…) the Curse and the Doom of the New World" also known as "the fukú of the Admiral". This curse has kept us "in the shit ever since" says Díaz (2007: 1). It is in this sense that I want to understand Todorov's statement that "we are all the direct descendants of" (Todorov 1999: 5) the Admiral. We are all subject to the interpellation of the hyperreal.

I propose that one way of exorcising the spell of the *fukú* may be by going back to what Díaz calls the "ground zero of the New World" (2007: 1), that is by revisiting the Caribbean basin at the moment of the birth of Modernity/Coloniality's border-lands and the invention of the West. We may approach this by reviewing the development of the cartographic toponymy of the region before the "Caribbean-sea" was popularized by Thomas Jefferys' *West Indies Atlas* (1773).

Note that Columbus' original mandate issued by the Spanish Crown on April 30, 1492, spoke not of the Indies but of "Islands and Tierra Firme in the Ocean Sea'" (Sauer 1966: 1) and that it was the Spanish title to "certain islands and mainlands" that pope Alexander VI's Bull later affirmed. Columbus reached such islands and, in his third and fourth voyages, caught glimpses of the mainland/*tierra firme* but failed like many others who followed him to understand the uniqueness of the region, its difference. The territory was first understood only as part of the global Ocean Sea; then, when in 1513 Vasco Nuñez de Balboa announced the discovery of the Pacific or the South Sea, the Caribbean became the first part of the North Sea or what later came to be called the Western Atlantic. In 1574 López de Velasco first tried to find a proper name for the region by proposing to call it the Gulf of the Cannibals: "*de los Canibales llaman el golfo grande del mar Oceano desde la Deseada y Dominica por toda la costa de Tierra Firme, Yucatan, Golfo de Tierra Firme, y de las Islas del Mar del Norte*" (Sauer 1966: 2)[3]. Within this Gulf of the Cannibals the Spanish distinguished different parts. The littoral of South America

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[3]   "The great gulf of the Ocean Sea from La Esperada and Dominica along the entire coast of Tierra Firme, Yucatan, Gulf of Tierra Firme, and the North Sea Islands was named after the Cannibals" (transl. GW).

acquired the name *Tierra Firme* which the English translated as the Spanish Main. In English usage this latter designation, however, soon expanded when the ports of *Tierra Firme* as well as the Spanish galleons *en route* to or from Spain became targets of attacks around the approaches and exits of *Tierra Firme* by pirates – those epitomes of freedom from all restraint who equipped with *lettre de marque* from European kings lurked and provisioned in the many islands of the Lesser Antilles. As Carl Sauer notes: "Thus sailing *to* the Spanish Main became called sailing *on* the Spanish Main. By this extension and transfer of meaning the English language acquired the first inclusive name for Tierra Firme, the West Indies Islands, and the intermediate sea" (Sauer 1966: 3). Thus, the English terminology, The Spanish Main, became equivalent to the original Colombian Islas and Tierra Firme.

The Spanish Main is thus an interesting example of a designation which simultaneously stood, on the one hand, for one empire's (Spanish) turf and the central role it played in that empire's possessions – note, for example, the *Castilla de Oro* nomination which suggests both likeness to and immeasurable difference from the metropole – and, on the other hand, for a borderlands territory, Spanish control of which was being continually contested and undermined by emerging powers (England, France) who, brought on the wings of the same untethered and capitalist idea of freedom, scrambled for pieces of the Americas yet unsecured using to this end a legion of mercenaries like *Frères de la Côte* or the Brethren of the Coast also known as pirates, buccaneers, or freebooters. The Spanish Main became the theater of this rivalry, while the most notorious Brother of the Coast was perhaps Henry Morgan who in 1670 destroyed Panama City, kidnapped its wealthy citizens for ransom, and stole away with most of the loot to Jamaica, where he was granted governorship, admiralship and the title of "sir" by Charles II. A popular song hails Morgan and implicates the Spaniards: "Ho! Henry Morgan sails today / To harry the Spanish Main, / With a pretty bill for the Dons to pay / Ere he comes back again" (Setz after Bolton 1933: 455).

The Americas as borderlands

What the example of the Spanish Main illustrates is that the territories claimed by Europe in the wake of Columbus have never been mappable in a way that is stable, and that contested claims have always overlapped albeit often hidden by names and discourse. Therefore, only by (re)membering these conflictive interests and remembering that they originate from the same root cause of breaking away from the "old", will we be able to piece together a more informed map of the colonial Americas as European borderlands.

To achieve this, however, there is another borderlands map that needs to be remembered and brought to bear on our contemporary vision. A chance of glancing at it was offered to Columbus during his fourth and last voyage which began in March 1502. By October that year his four ships reached the coast of Central America for the first time. Near the coast of Honduras they made landfall on the island of Guanaja (named by him *Isla de los Pinos*) occupied by the Mayans (Sauer 1966: 130). There, his son Ferdinand reported an important encounter: "a canoe as great as a galley (…) came loaded with merchandise from western parts (…)" (Sauer 1966: 128). The Admiral ordered the canoe captured and thus came in the possession of:

> a sample of all the things of that land. He then ordered that there should be taken from the canoe whatever appeared to be most attractive and valuable, such as cloths and sleeveless shirts of cotton that had been worked and dyed in different colors and designs, also pantaloons of the same workmanship with which they cover their private parts, also cloth of which the Indian women (…) were dressed such as Moorish women of Granada are accustomed to wear (Ferdinand after Sauer 1966: 128).

Other items included swords "cutting like steel", copper hatchets, "bells and crucibles for smelting", roots, grain, corn wine "like the beer of England", and seen for the first time, cocoa "kernels which serve[d] as money" for the Native populations (Ferdinand after Sauer 1966: 128). Sauer comments that the pillage of the peaceful Indigenous traders,

> gave a preview of an extensive and elaborate native commerce, in this instance between central Mexico and the Gulf of Honduras. The cargo was being brought from the west and some of it came from distant parts. The cotton goods (…) from Yucatan. The tools and weapons (…) from central Mexico (…). The copper bells and good copper axes indicate Michoacan as a source. The kernels that served as coins (…) [from the] Pacific coast (Sauer 1966: 129).

Sauer explains that "[t]his was the first contact with the merchant class which would later be found throughout New Spain and even farther (…). When Nuño de Guzman came to Pánuco coast at the northern end of the high native culture, a native merchant there gave the first account of the Pueblo peoples of New Mexico, a thousand mile journey to the north" (1966: 129).

The Admiral's obsession with gold, however, blinded him to the significance of the moment. Identifying "the new coast with Champa of Indochina" (Sauer 1966: 129) he sailed on to Panama. The encounter with the Indian trading canoe packed with goods of the Americas stands symbolically as the first European contact with the high cultures of the New World. It signaled the existence of "an elaborate and

extensive native commerce" (Sauer 1966: 129), trading networks stretching from the interior of North America to the interior South, from the Gulf to the Pacific. These networks can be understood as borderlands.

Another such network, this time stretching between the North American interior westward towards the Pacific was revealed in a 1542 encounter between Juan Rodríguez Cabrillo and the Kumeyaay at the present-day San Diego Bay in California. A day after Cabrillo anchored there, the official report of the expedition reads,

> three large Indian men came to the ship. With gestures they indicated that bearded men who were clothed like us and armed like the men on the ships were wandering about the interior. They called the Christians "*Guacamal*". They gestured that the men were carrying crossbows and swords. They ran around as if on horseback and motioned with their right arm that the men were throwing lances. They indicated that they were afraid because the Spaniards were killing many Indians in the region (Beebe, Senkewicz 2001: 36–37).

Evidently, the Kumeyaay had heard of the Spanish activities in the Americas. Steven W. Hackel suggests that they "had anticipated the Spaniards' arrival, perhaps even prepared for it" (2005: 32). But how would they have known? One possible explanation can be inferred from documents of Francisco Vásquez de Coronado's expedition in search of the cities of gold (Cibola) which spanned the current territories of Sonora, Arizona, New Mexico, Texas, Oklahoma, and Kansas. In a letter to Viceroy Mendoza dated August 3, 1540, Coronado reports: "They tell me this valley of Los Corazones is five days travel from the Mar de Oeste. I sent [someone] to summon Indians from the coast to tell me about their existence" (Coronado after Flint, Flint 2005: 255). It is possible that the men that the Kumeyaay told Cabrillo about were Coronado's soldiers on a mission to "summon" Indians from the Pacific coast. For even though the hypothesized location of Corazones is either the "Ures Gorge … in what is now central Sonora" (Flint, Flint 2005: 601) or "near modern Rosario, Sonora" (Flint, Flint 2005: 653, fn. 35), while the Pacific Ocean here refers to the Gulf of California, we know that the Kumeyaay and other tribes maintained intertribal links spanning great distances. Rupert Costo speaks of California tribes journeying "miles and miles to a southwestern Pueblo knowing there would be a chance to trade, to gamble, to participate in a festival, and to renew friendship" (Costo 1987: 15). Florence Connolly Shipek says that the Kumeyaay and other California tribes, maintained links with the Colorado River tribes, as well as the Pueblo and Hohokam tribes through "long and continued interaction and intermarriage between the two areas" (Shipek 1987: 30). Because Coronado's journey was marked by violent conflicts with numerous Indian tribes it is also possible that the news of these confrontations, for example at Cibola (Zuni Pueblo)

in July 1540, could have also reached the Kumeyaay along these routes. Richard Flint and Shirley Cushing Flint speak of "rapid, long-distance communication and even intervisitation that were commonplace among people of Tierra Nueva. About two months after the vanguard of the Coronado expedition arrived at Cibola (…) linguistically unrelated people more than 350 miles away already had detailed and quite accurate descriptions of Europeans" (Flint, Flint 2005: 189).

These examples reveal to us only some of the maps of America's borderlands that had preceded the European contact and which the colonists would later exploit for their own purposes, building upon the ancient established routes their own dreams, imposing their own names like Camino Real.

Columbus' debacle in Panama is well known. There, however, he was first to learn about the passage to the Pacific. Once Balboa crossed the Isthmus a whole new world of borderlands opened up. Consider that a mere fifty years later "Luis de Velasco, (…) viceroy of New Spain based in Mexico City, commissioned conquistador Miguel López de Legazpi to establish a Spanish presence in the Philippines" (Starr 2007: 34). Legazpi achieved the transpacific assignment "within seven years and thus linked New Spain and the Philippines across the Pacific. New Spain would continue to rule the Philippines from Mexico City until 1822" (Starr 2007: 34). Starting in June 1565 the "Spaniards traded throughout the region – in Japan, China, the Moluccas, Siam – gathering into Manila the riches of Asia for shipment" (Starr 2007: 34) and transporting them by galleon across the Pacific, along the coast of the Californias, then across the Valley of Mexico, and later via the Spanish Main to Spain. Thus, the Pacific was turned into Europe's borderlands. And note that once the Americas were thus connected with Asia, the Columbian misnomer for the Indigenous Americans gained a retroactive validity.

The Manila enterprise postponed the project of colonization of California but the passage through Panama served as an important new super-borderlands of the Americas, a transit zone between the North and South Seas, a passage to and from Peru and later on a superhighway to and from the gold mines of California. Aleksander Hołyński was a Polish journalist who in 1850 travelled on steamboat from the US to Havana and then via the Isthmus to San Francisco. His, *La Californie et la routes interoceaniques* (1853; in Polish translation *Byłem przy narodzinach Kalifornii* (1981)) was the first book on California published in Europe. The French title clearly suggests the author's global borderlands vision, with California framed within the context of an intercontinental, international global network of exchange.

Hołyński's account of the passage through Panama gives us a portrait of a tumultuous era of movement, when thousands upon thousands, mostly but not only Anglo-Saxon gold prospectors crossed daily in order to get on the first steamship going north. Most were drunks, loafers and men full of reckless bravado coming in what in today's terms might be termed unruly caravans, packed into boats to

twice their capacity. The Yankees, says Hołyński, attempted to monopolize the transportation on the river Chagres (1981: 72), which resulted in a bloody conflict with the local Indians. They established the city of Colón to build a railroad there. Hołyński describes the city of Panama: "This city, a gateway to the lands favored by ambition, lust for fame and gold, has become **a meeting place** of peoples (…). **A meeting place** of precious metals from South America and goods brought from Europe, a permanent market place between the two worlds" (Hołyński 1981: 89 – transl. GW; my emphasis)[4]. Hołyński also asserts that after decades of tribulations, not the least of which was its burning and sacking by Morgan and two other pirate attacks later, the isthmus and the city of Panama was on the brink of "resurrection". This had already begun around 1840 when the Wheelwright's steamboat connection to Peru, Ecuador, and Chile was opened (Hołyński 1981: 93). But "the true resurrection" asserts Hołyński (1981: 94 – transl. GW)[5], and "a future more luminous than its past"[6] Panama owes to California (1981: 94 – transl. GW). Like a snake, Hołyński adds, Panama sheds its skin and starts anew although here and there ruins of the former glory stand out despite nature's rapid reclamation of what is left untouched. He links then the future of the isthmus, the bustling meeting place of peoples and markets, with the future of the gold region in the north.

Although he was mistaken about the potentials of the gold deposits in California (Hołyński 1981: 179) he was right in linking Panama's future with that of the big player in the north. The popularity and the lasting legacy of the Panama California exposition which took place in 1915 in San Diego in celebration of the opening of the Panama Canal testify to the vital links between the two regions and the central role of Central America for California's identity. It was the Isthmus of Panama and more generally, Central America, that has continually offered Americans a location of great strategic value. Indeed, the last time Americans showed how much they value that region was a little over thirty years ago when George H.W. Bush invaded Panama.

Contact zones and artistic practices

I have tried so far to revive our memory of some American routes of exchange. On the one hand, I have pointed to the anterior American borderlands, networks of communication that had existed before and coevally with the European intrusion.

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[4] "To miasto, brama do krainy, którą upodobały sobie ambicja, chęć sławy i żądza złota, stało się miejscem spotkań ludzi (…). Miejscem spotkań cennych metali z Ameryki Południowej i towarów z Europy, stałym targowiskiem wymiany między dwoma światami".

[5] "[p]rawdziwe swe zmartwychstanie".

[6] "przyszłość bardziej błyszczącą od przeszłości".

On the other hand, I have argued that the European arrival was spurred by a new European epistemology of untethered freedom which often translated to violent subjugation of the periphery and created planetary borderlands stretching from Europe across the Atlantic via the Spanish Main to Mexico, the Isthmus of Panama, on to South America as well as to California, further to Asia and back. Such a conceptualization of the borderlands builds on and expands historian Donald C. Cutter's idea of the Spanish Borderlands extending "as far as Hawaii, Guam and the Philippine Islands" (Cutter after Habell-Pallán 2005: 23). Turner's glorification of the Anglo settlers' movement across the North American continent is thus placed in a proper perspective. Westward movement across the North American land mass was just one of many projects articulating European aggrandizement and Eurocentric narcissism. This was never unidirectional, but it was frequently very ugly.

My text's multidirectional, multicentric, transborder movement of historical memory and imaginations, or to adapt Michelle Habell-Pallán's phrasing, "[t]his geographical imagining of a *transfrontera* space" (2005: 23) aims to problematize the idea of a modern insular nationhood, the insularity of borders of modern bounded states, and narratives upon which these states build their myths. In this project I follow the example of Mary Louise Pratt who in *Imperial Eyes* (1992) develops the concept of the "'contact zone' (…) the space of colonial encounters, the space in which peoples geographically and historically separated come into contact with each other and establish ongoing relations, usually involving conditions of coercion, radical inequality, and intractable conflict" (1992: 6). Pratt explains that for her, "'Contact zone' (…) is often synonymous with 'colonial frontier'" (1992: 6). Pratt writes:

> "contact zone" is an attempt to invoke the spatial and temporal copresence of subjects previously separated by geographic and historical disjunctures, and whose trajectories now intersect. By using the term "contact," I aim to foreground the interactive improvisational dimensions of colonial encounters (…). A "contact" perspective emphasizes how subjects are constituted in and by their relations to each other. It treats the relations among colonizers and colonized (…) not in terms of separateness or apartheid, but in terms of copresence, interaction, interlocking understandings and practices, often within radically asymmetrical relations of power (1992: 7).

Thinking in terms of *transfrontera* spaces or contact zones, concepts related in many ways to the Black Atlantic (Thompson 1984; Gilroy 1993), allows us to see the connections between distant regions and peoples, and puts the homogenizing identity projects, represented by, for example, what anthropologist Arjun Appadurai calls "corporate America" in their proper perspective underscoring instead

"multiple attachments, multiple identities, and multiple commitments" (Appadurai after Burszta et al. 1998: 112), as well as a proliferation of difference. Appadurai says that "what America and other countries (…) need is (…) [a] cosmopolitanism of the past (…) an image that would enrich our historical imagination" (Burszta et al. 1998: 111). He adds: "Myths are things to be imagined, and I (…) place a remarkable emphasis on the idea of imagination as a key part of the social property that must be cultivated" (Burszta et al. 1998: 112). In connection with this, he advocates building a cosmopolitan future "around difference and not universalism" striving toward the acknowledgement and not suppression of "social complexity and peaceful multiplicity" (Burszta et al. 1998: 112) which can be envisioned as cosmopolitan borderlands of geographies and imaginaries.

Just like historians and anthropologists, artists have an important role to play in this project of ushering in the conception of "contact subjects" and the world as borderlands or contact zones. For example, as Habell-Pallán reminds us, Latino theater has for a long time worked with the idea of the "Greater Borderlands (…) in the development of a sense of 'Hispanicity,' to use Nicolás Kanellos's term, connecting – however tenuously – Latino populations in the Southwest and in the Southeast" (Habell-Pallán 2005: 23). She adds that an imagined "*transfrontera-space* is consistent with those of more recent theorists of the Greater Borderlands who take into account both areas' territorial conflict and the cultural *mestizaje* that occurs there. This more expansive conception of the borderlands as a Greater Borderlands *transfrontera* phenomenon laid the groundwork for the construction of the narrative of an inter-American diaspora" (Habell-Pallán 2005: 23).

The work of Los Angeles-based actor/performer/director Roger Guenveur Smith can serve as one example of an artistic practice which seeks to break from the confines of bounded and linear identity formation and envisions a broader trans- and inter-American space which as it enacts a geographical movement across space also engenders a trans-historical and trans-subjective imagination of difference rooted in the plural subversive maroon oppositional consciousness. In his solo show *Blood and Brains* Smith says: "I've gone from Jamestown / To Trenchtown / To Jonestown [Guyana] / … / Fugitive / In the jungles of Surinam / and the hills above South Central" (Smith 2000: 340).

Another example of an artistic practice which seeks to break from the confines of bounded and linear identity is a scene from *Anthems* (2002) a play by Richard Montoya of Chicano performance trio Culture Clash. It brings to the fore the subjectivity of a Panamanian refugee. Speaking directly to the audience at Arena Stage Theater in Washington D.C the character declares: "your President Bush, he killed thousands of people here in Panamá" and he adds, "Muerte a los Americanos" (Culture Clash 2003: 184). Crucially, in the capital of the United States, this indictment of American interventionist policies brings to the fore the

irrepressible connectedness between the epicenter of American policies and the epicenter(s) of their consequences. It also foregrounds the moral weight that corporate America incurs and the affective toll it inflicts in the pursuit of its interests. This weight, a historian could add, is not unlike that incurred by Don Colón. Both Bush and Columbus instrumentalized territories and disregarded their peoples in universalist, absolutist fashions. In other words, Montoya speaks not only of the borderlands of military interventionism or those of the diasporic movements caused by them. He speaks also of the affective borderlands, of lasting burdens carried across borders, of borderlands of festering psychological wounds, and repressed or denied guilt.

"Circles upon circles upon circles"

I want to finish this consideration of contact zones in connection with artistic practice with an excerpt from *Sun Moon and Feather* (1981), a play by the Spiderwoman Theater, the longest running feminist Native American Theater in the United States. Founded in the 1970s by Muriel Miguel (founding member of the Native American Theater Ensemble, artistic director Hanay Geiogamah, and former member of Joseph Chaikin's Open Theater) and her two sisters Lisa Mayo and Gloria Miguel, Spiderwoman Theater takes its name from the Hopi goddess Spiderwoman "who taught weaving to her people" (Haugo 2000: 238). The artists are of Kuna/Rappahannock ancestry. Both their tribal lineage and the name of the company are significant.

Kuna are the people of the San Blas islands on the Caribbean coast of Panama while the Rappahannock are Indigenous to the Virginia lands in the vicinity of Jamestown, the first successful English settlement in the Americas. In other words, the ancestors of the sisters may have once encountered both Columbus (or Balboa) and John Smith. Thus, the sisters' genealogy offers us another justification to think jointly of the Spanish Main and North America, that is, to (re) think the epic of greater America. The theater's name, taken from the mythology of the Hopi, adds to this spatial imaginary another element, that of the Southwest. Together these three orientation points allow us to think of the group in terms of inter-American *transfrontera* borderlands both anterior to and resultant from the European presence. The adoption of the name from the Hopi mythology is also of epistemic and/or procedural significance. The theater describes its method as "storyweaving" which critic Ann Haugo describes as "combin[ing] the philosophies and styles of feminist theater with a traditional understanding of the power of storytelling and oral history" (Haugo 2000: 238). Muriel Miguel explains Spiderwoman Theater's method:

Storytelling is the way you feel and know where you are within your family, your clan, your tribal affiliations, and from there into the history of how you fit into the world. Storytelling starts at the kitchen table, on your parent's lap, on your aunt's and uncle's laps. Storytelling begins there, about who you are … Then it continues from there about who you are in the family; of where you are as a tribal member, as part of that particular nation; then where that nation is in the community; and where that community belongs in the world. There's always circles upon circles upon circles. And that's how Spiderwoman approaches theater, through circles upon circles upon circles (Miguel in Haugo 2000: 228).

How this model of "circles upon circles upon circles" is put into action is illustrated by *Sun, Moon and Feather*, which is a layered narrative of overlapping private stories and sendups of popular culture. In one central scene the three sisters stand together in line:

MURIEL Every summer, my family went to the beach. We had a beautiful red and white bungalow on a beautiful beach by a beautiful bay.
(GLORIA *gives* MURIEL *an incredulous look*)
GLORIA Cedar Beach. A dilapidated old bungalow in New Jersey on a dirty beach off a dirty polluted bay.
LISA There was a fish house and twice a day there was a god-awful odor.
MURIEL My father bought a great big red and white boat with a great big windshield and a great big motor.
LISA That boat was a little bigger than a row boat and it had a motor in it that never worked.
GLORIA And Daddy and Uncle Joe set about to make that boat seaworthy.
MURIEL My father would stand at the helm of that boat with his brown safari hat and his wooden staff and he'd look out over the ocean. He was going to sail the seven seas.
LISA The only trouble was 'em.
ALL It never went into the water.
GLORIA It just stayed in the backyard.
MURIEL And every summer, my father would paint it, caulk it, pet it, hose it down; then all our friends and all our family would come (ALL *push very hard* SL.) And he would –
ALL Puuush it. To the other side of the yard.
GLORIA Then we would pose by it, on it and under it. (ALL *strike poses like being photographed by boat.*) And Daddy and Uncle Joe wold [sic!] stand at the helm and pretend.
LISA And then next summer, my father would paint it, caulk it, pet it, hose it down; then all our friends and all our family would come (ALL *push* SR.) And we would –
ALL Puuush it. To the other side of the yard.
GLORIA Then we would pose by it, on it and under it. (ALL *strike poses.*) And Daddy and Uncle Joe would stand at the helm and pretend. And the next summer, my father would paint it, caulk it, pet it, hose it down; then all our friends and all our family would come. (ALL *push* SC.) And we would –

> ALL Puuush it. To the other side of the yard.
> MURIEL Then one summer, it was ready to go into the water.
> LISA My mother gave a party. She made potato salad, punch and sandwiches.
> GLORIA All our friends and family – (ALL *push* DSC.)
> ALL Puuushed it into the water – (ALL *stare at the same spot on stage.*)
> MURIEL It started to take on water –
> LISA It was like a sieve –
> MURIEL We had to bail out the water –
> GLORA And then it sank.
> (ALL *still staring at same spot*)
> LISA Then Daddy said, oh well. Next summer. (ALL *shrug*) (Spiderwoman Theater
> 1996: 306–307).

The vast ocean before Daddy's boat is the Atlantic as seen from the east shore of North America. But only preparations, posturing at the helm and photos are accomplished. The boat never leaves, or rather is sunk upon its launch. The excerpt is part of a long performance, or only one story "circle" interwoven with many other circles of stories. But in our context, this particular story/circle offers an interesting counterpoint commentary to the myth of European agency opening the global borderlands and even in it we can discover not one but many circles of stories.

First, as it tells the story of the sisters' Daddy's boat it offers a mock restaging in reverse (eastward) of the Colombian enterprise, of *our* (after Todorov) Daddy's project. What remains of Daddy's boat are precisely pictures and inflated gestures not unlike those of Columbus as, for example, depicted by Emmanuel Leutze in the grandiose *Departure of Columbus from Palos in 1492* (1855) or in many other versions circulated in American history textbooks or films. And not only Columbus comes to mind. Leutze's *Washington Crossing the Delaware* (1851), Westward *the Course of Empire Takes its Way* (1861) resonate in this story/image. So do Daniel Sayre Groesbeck's depictions at the Mural Room in the Santa Barbara courthouse (see Hixson's essay in this volume). The sisters' Daddy seems to have internalized these narrative, mythical poses, images. Perhaps he believes himself now to have also inherited that unstoppable, future-oriented, manifest agency? His safari hat and staff in hand seem to suggest this. However, the shrug of the shoulders and "Oh well. Next summer" when the boat sinks would suggest otherwise. Although as with Columbus, narrative is his point of departure, unlike Columbus, it is not his end. If Columbus' "discovery seems in truth subject to a goal, which is the narrative of voyage" (Todorov 1999: 13) the sisters' Daddy is not impelled to leave, conquer, or even narrate **his** voyage. His project is circular ("Next summer") not linear, collective not individualistic, playful as opposed to profit-hungry. This is a family or communal ritual which is not subject to a goal other than its own circular doing.

Second, the story of Daddy's restaging of Columbus (and of Washington, Daniel Boone, and other "safari" explorers, etc.) is told and **restaged** by the three sisters. The performance in theater serves as a secondary (even tertiary) frame. It elevates Daddy's seemingly insignificant and futile project to the status of an origin myth. The contrasting of the wished-for "beautiful beach by a beautiful bay" with the actual "dirty beach off a dirty polluted bay" serves to confront the imaginary of the national origin myth of the pristine continent Columbus first saw and recorded in his journal in "superlatives" (Todorov 1999: 24) with the more mundane results of the Colombian legacy (dilapidation, pollution, odor, dirt). It points to imagination and memory as contested sites in which the public and the private are being continually negotiated. The retelling is a collective act. In Native American tradition oral storytelling is the fundamental communal act. Truth is arrived at in a collective enactment of circles of stories. Importantly it is a feminine agency that takes the lead here. The stories of the two men, the deep cultural code of Columbus (and all other "great" explorers) and the private story of Daddy's humble boat, are collapsed now by the force of the ancient practice of the women's storytelling. In other words, the restaging is both subsequent to both scripts and anterior to them. The male agency is enfolded within, secondary to the feminine web of weaving stories.

Gloria Miguel says, "I survive by telling my stories" (Huago 2000: 233) but that survival is not only her own. As we now know it is contingent on circles upon circles upon circles of other stories being told and retold. Thus, this is never an individualist story but one of family/tribe, of relations thus sustained. This is a democratic, multicentric, ever-transforming imaginary model of universal borderlands of stories.

Conclusions

Drawing on Spiderwoman Theater's methodology I submit in closing that the paradigm of circles upon circles upon circles may serve as a productive image and narrative model for (re)envisioning the idea of global borderlands. It may help us reimagine the overlapping/competing spatial trajectories, histories, narratives, imaginations, memories, affects which have been built since the island of the world broke free from its bounds of the ocean. On the one hand, Leutze and Jackson Turner privilege linearity of progress and heroization, and Bolton looking back and Hołyński looking forward envisage multidirectional routes linking points on the map. On the other hand, the pre-contact Indigenous people's routes stand as alternative maps of communication and trade in the Americas. The paradigm of circles upon circles upon circles engenders a map of the world

in a pluralistic and humane way: multi-centric and decentralized, coeval border-lands in which not only the private and public, the Indigenous and global but also the temporal, mythical, epistemic, affective, and anamnestic dimensions of our experiences are accorded equal standing. None is privileged, none occludes others. This is a spatio-temporal vision which is one response to decolonial scholar Enrique Dussel's call for the "new eyes … of the other *ego*" (1995: 74) and which can perhaps be rendered best by George Lipsitz's definition of ethnomusicology: "universalism rich with particulars grounded in the dialogue of all, the dignity of each, and the supremacy of none (…) [and which] can help us see which differences make a difference" (2011: 189). This is the new frontier.

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Krzysztof Ulanowski[1]

The Figure of the Seer as an Example of Contacts and Crossing the Boundaries Between Mesopotamian and Hellenic Civilizations

The idea of contacts and boundaries between civilizations, cultures and people is as old as the notion of civilization. These physical (economical, personal) contacts accompanied the more subtle religious, spiritual and ideological borrowings, imitations, and exchanges of thought. Additionally, both these phenomena have taken place simultaneously but at a different pace. In this article, the author focuses on the figure of the seer who stood as an authority for people and institutions in antiquity. According to Cicero, divination played the decisive role in societies of the ancient Near East, Greece, Rome etc., as its role in many civilizations was extremely important in religious, political and civil spheres of life. This article focuses only on the religious-military activities of the seer. In spite of the great differences in terms of functioning of the Eastern, often called Oriental (Mesopotamian civilization) and Western (Hellenic civilization) worlds, which have been recorded in our understanding of history, the author presents a different picture, in which the influences of different civilizations and religious impulses flowed from East to West over the centuries.

Keywords: seer, Mesopotamia, Hellenic, contacts, boundaries, civilization, divination, religion, military, antiquity

Introduction

The issue of mutual contacts and transgressions between civilizations in the world of antiquity has become a more popular topic in contemporary scholarship. Earlier only a few scholars paid attention to the influences of the Mesopotamian civilization on the Hellenic one. Today this issue has become a regular subject of research, with the result that there are now many spheres of the activities of

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civilizations that are under investigation. This article focuses on one of the most important manifestations of religious life in antiquity i.e., divination and even more precisely the activity of its divinatory representatives – the seers. These individuals had many obligations and because of that, to make the study clearer, I only focus on the military aspects of their actions. The most interesting point of these investigations are those contacts which led to the crossing of borders between civilizations. These influences and borders in this case study are understood in both a physical and an ideological (religious) way.

In the case of Mesopotamian and Hellenic civilizations, it is a great challenge to trace the direct relations between them. Both civilizations developed in different time periods and originated in separate regions. Therefore, the main purpose of this article is not to trace step-by-step the physical places of meetings but to present similar approaches to many religious and military aspects of life which resulted from cultural borrowings and imitations. In connection with this, it is worth noting that especially in the case of antiquity, our interpretation of historical facts is related to the sources that we use. With regard to this, there are opposing historical testimonies referring to Alexander's approach to divination. According to Curtius, Alexander knew how much power vain religious scruples had over uneducated minds, while according to Plutarch, the same Alexander always supported prophecy zealously (Plut. *Alex.* 25). Thus, the interpretation of Alexander's attitude toward divination depends mostly on the author of the account and his assessment of divination and its pragmatic effects. In contrast, in the case of Neo-Assyrian historical sources, the picture is uniform because it was successfully reviewed by the official state propogandists.

Aspects such as supernatural rituals and divination were an integral part of war. Magical technologies and rituals can be described as the semiotics of war, they delineate the parameters for the correct and incorrect conduct of war (Bahrani 2008: 16). In the Mesopotamian civilization the king, after consultation with the gods, had to ensure that a war could be considered fair[2]. It would also seem that in the case of the Assyrian kings' aggressive attitude to their neighbors, to find such a justification could not have been a simple matter, but ideology solved this problem (Bahrani 2008: 14). In the case of Assyria, war was waged only on the instruction of the gods. For this reason, one had to know what the will of the gods was.

The Greeks also had an obligation to wage just wars. The Greek philosopher Onasander explains that divine powers had to be propitiated before battle. In his *Strategikos*, he says that "soldiers are far more courageous when they believe they are facing dangers with the good will of the gods" (Onasander *Strat.* 10.26). Wars

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2   *Bellum iustum* was invented much earlier than the Latin phrase would indicate.

were given religious justifications. The Spartans[3] in particular, cared about divine permission to conduct wars (see Hdt. 9.7; Thuc. 4.87, 2.74–5, 7.18; Xen. *Hell.* 4.7.2; Xen. *Lac. Pol.* 13.2; Paus. 3.4.4). Walter Burkert says of the ritualization[4] of Greek warfare: "war may almost appear like one great sacrificial action" (2007: 267).

Divination, the basic definition and practice

There is overwhelming evidence that portents played an important role in all areas of life in the ancient world. Divination[5] is a particularly salient characteristic of the Mesopotamian civilization, but its popularity cannot be denied in Greece as well.

Divination interprets the signs of the divine. The Mesopotamians believed that gods wrote signs into the universe, and therefore the world could be read by those who were educated enough. This conviction was based on the idea that to some extent the future was pre-determined; that gods, especially Shamash and Adad, made certain indications of the future (omens and portents) available in the world to man, which could be interpreted (divined) by experts with specialist knowledge. For the Mesopotamians, the future as crystallized in the present was not considered as created solely by the gods but rather as the result of a continuous dialogue between men and god (Maul 2008: 362).

The seriousness with which divination was treated is presented in *Naram-Sin and the Enemy Hordes* (Westenholz 1997: 263–368), where we read of king Naram-Sin (2254–2218 BC) who does not comply with the divine words heard during extispicy[6]. This act of disobedience gave rise to a series of military defeats and was detrimental to the entire kingdom.

It might seem that the situation was quite different in the case of the "rational" Greeks. However, divination was also central to Greek religion (see ThesCRA 3: 1–51; Lateiner 2007: 810). In the case of the Greek civilization it was the awareness of the presence of the gods that motivated all human activities. The Greeks were totally helpless when making decisions without consulting their gods. This resulted not from any lack of ideas or creativity, but from the fact that such a behavior would be ungodly and demonstrated misuse of divine prerogatives (*hubris*). The

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[3] According to Xenophon, only the Spartans were experts (*technitai*) in warfare (see Xen. *Lac. Pol.* 13.5).

[4] There are a number of books by Walter Burkert in which he explores the similarity between myth and ritual: (Burkert 2001, 1997, 1979).

[5] On the complex subject of Mesopotamian divination, a good place to start is, for example, (Oppenheim 1977: 206–227). Detailed introductory discussions are also given in: (Bottéro 1995: 125–137; 2001: 170–202; Flower 2008: 104–131).

[6] Alexander the Great behaves similarly, although victorious in battle, after the battle his health deserts him, see Arr. *An.* 4.4.

religious obligations of the times often prevailed over purely military considerations and the final decision was often made by seers (Pritchett 1971: 126).

Cicero was convinced that the use of divination was universal amongst all humans. Divination is, in his opinion, irreplaceable because it deals with crisis and conflict, and does so with a high degree of rationality (Cic. *De Div*. 1.1.1–2). This kind of attitude does not differ substantially from the case of the Neo-Assyrian king Esarhaddon, who, before his expedition, asks the god Ashur, through the oracle, about almost everything: "If they go and set up camp before the city Amul, will they, be it by means of war, or by force, or through tunnels and breaches, or by means of ramps, or by means or battering rams, or through friendliness or peaceful negotiations, or through insurrection and rebellion, or through any other ruse of capturing a city, capture the city, Amul?" (SAA 4: no. 63).

The role of diviner (*bārû*) in Mesopotamian civilization

Scholars were an important part of the Neo-Assyrian royal court. The five disciplines of Assyrian wisdom *(nēmequ)*, based on religious and metaphysical concepts, are represented by a chief scholar, the *ummânu*[7], and his assistants: the *āšipūtu*[8] or "exorcistic lore", the *āsûtu* or "medicine, therapy", the *bārûtu* or "divination, extispicy", the *kalûtu* or "science of lamentations" and *tupšarrūtu* or "science of the scribes", that is, astrology (or rather celestial divination) (Veldhuis 2006: 78). The list of the scholars that accompanied Esarhaddon during the second invasion of Egypt starts with seven astrologers (*tupšar EAE*, literary "scribe of the canonical omen series *Enūma Anu Enlil*"; often abbreviated to "scribe" *tupšarru*), followed by nine exorcists (āšipu), then five diviners (*bārû*), nine physicians (*asû*) and six lamenters (*kalû*). So far, this is an expected range of experts representing the five main branches of Mesopotamian scholarship (Radner 2009: 222).

In Akkadian, *pašāru* means a multilayered reading or decipherment of texts. *Pašāru*, as a form of textual exegesis, was closely linked to divination (*bārûtu*) which was, in turn, related to vision as an act of seeing. A *bārû* was a type of priest who was also a diviner, the noun *bārû*, which is derived from the verb to "see", literally means observer or seer. The *bārû* then was an expert in *bārûtu*, the

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[7]   The human sages, *ummânu*, appear for the first time in the Neo-Assyrian king lists. The *apkallu* are for the first time listed by name and correlated with legendary and historical kings. While Mesopotamian kings remain on the throne, the *apkallu* remain confined to myth and ritual. In the Seleucid period, after the loss of native kingship, the *apkallu* enter anew in history. Evidence of a historically developing identification between the Mesopotamian ritual practitioner and the *apkallu* in general and Adapa, finally emerges in Seleucid Uruk (see Sanders 1999: 144–145).

[8]   Āšipu/*mašmaššu* relates to white magic and to the gods Ea and Asalluhi (one of the names of the god Marduk) (see Hutter 1996: 90).

observation of signs in the world (Bahrani 2008: 63–64). The diviners in Mesopotamia viewed themselves as integral links in a chain of transmission going back to the gods. A privileged place for the occurrence of such signs were the entrails and livers of sacrificial animals, for it was believed that the gods placed such signs there. This knowledge about the will of the gods was believed to be gained by consulting a diviner (*bārû(m)*).

Bārû participated in military expeditions. As early as the Old Babylonian period, a diviner accompanied the king into battles. In Mari archives records were preserved as to how a *haruspex* used extispicy to confirm prophecies and dreams or even predict a lunar eclipse (Durand 1988: 3–80). There is an example of a military expedition marching out from Babylon under the leadership of *bārû(m)*-priest:

> Ilušu-nasir, the *bārûm*-priest, a servant of my lord "leads" the forces of my lord
> A Babylonian *bārûm*-priest goes
> With the Babylonian forces
> These 600 troops are (now)
> In Šabazim. The *bārûm*-priests are gathering
> Omens. When an omen appears favorable
> 150 soldiers
> Go out and 150 return (ARMT II, 22.23–3; see Kang 1989: 42).

Presumably diviners accompanied the army in all its operations (Dalley 2006: 421). The oracular consultations were requested for signs of sanction from the gods at the moment of battle and were a necessary step in justifying war and ensuring victory through the approval of the war by the divinities. These cataloged battle omens and strategic queries reveal an intense anxiety and unease about deciding the tactics and strategies of war (Bahrani 2008: 188–9, Fig. 7.1–2; Launderville 2003: 214, 216; Reiner 1995: 64).

The Greek seers – *manteis*

The term *manteis* is translated as soothsayer, diviner, or prophet. He was an expert in the art of divination and the Greek counterpart of *bārû* (Flower 2008: 188). The seer is the most obvious type of religious professional and warfare is certainly the most conspicuous context for divination (Parker 2007: 118). *Manteis* practiced what the Greeks called a craft or skill (*mantikē tekhnē*), with the aim of ascertaining the will and intentions of gods in relation to human action (Aesch. *PB* 484; Soph. *OT* 709; Hdt. 2.49, 2.83). Xenophon's general observation may be taken to apply to the whole of archaic and classical Greek culture:

> In a war enemies plot against one another but seldom know whether these plots are well laid. It is impossible to find any other advisers in such matters except the gods. They know everything, and they give signs in advance to whomever they wish through sacrifices, birds of omen, voices, and dreams. And it is likely that they are more ready to give advice to those who not only ask what they should do when they happen to be in need, but even in good fortune attend to the gods in whatever way they are able (Xen. *Cav.* 9.8–9).

Divinatory rituals were essential prior to combat. The most important role of the seer in Greek society was without doubt on the battlefield (Parker 2000: 299–314; Jameson 2004: 197–228). No general would leave camp or begin a battle without first consulting his seer (Flower 2008: 240). Each plan for a campaign was tested in advance by means of extispicy. Only with the *manteis*' consent and the fulfillment of specified conditions were the troops moved into battle (Xen. *Hell.* 2.4.17–8). The *manteis* regarded himself as the official means of ascertaining the will and intention of the gods, quite apart from the exigencies of the tactical situation (Pritchett 1979: 78).

Alexander the Great surrounded himself with *manteis*, at least four of whom (Aristander, Demophon, Cleomantis and Peithagoras) are known by name, and also with *magoi* and "Chaldean" priests who were seers "borrowed" from other civilizations. A priestly journal of sacrifices with records of divination was kept during his expedition (Pritchett 1979: 146–147). Confirmation that historical military seers were capable of reporting more than simply whether the *hiera* and *sphagia* were favorable or not, is to be found in the activities of the greatest seer of his day, Aristander of Telmessus, who served first Philip II and then his son Alexander the Great between c. 356 and 327 BC (Flower 2008: 93). Aristander accompanied Alexander on the way to Asia in 334 BC and he is an outstanding example of a seer whose competence covered the interpretation of entrails, bird signs, and dreams, as well as natural phenomena. He probably wrote a book on portents, and more certainly a book on the interpretation of dreams (Pliny *HN* index 17.243, and for the dream book, Artem. 1.31, 4.23; see Flower 2008: 52).

Extispicy as a dominant divinatory method in antiquity

Extispicy clearly dominated other forms of manticism in Mesopotamian divination. The divinatory liver is divided into parts according to the areas responsible for interpreting specific signs (Koch-Westenholz 2000: 45). For example: "The 'Hole' was associated with death, the 'Weapon' with warfare, the 'Foot' with an approaching enemy" (Jeyes 1980: 25). The roles of the "Weapon" (*kakku*, giš.tukul) and the "Path" (*padānu*) were especially connected with war, battles, power and

armed forces (Koch-Westenholz 2000: 48–51; Hutter 1996: 100). The "Strength" (*danānu*) deals with secrets but also with military strength and impregnability (Koch-Westenholz 2000: 46–47). Here are some examples:

> *Manzāzu* Commentary 1
> A iv 7, 8, 9 C iii 27, 28, 29 100) If the Presence has disappeared and a Weapon is placed in its normal place and it points to the Thin Part of the Yoke: The armed forces of the prince will prevail over the forces of his enemy.
> A iv 32, C iv 10 116) If a Weapon lies cross wise in the middle of the Presence: My army will divide the spoils (Koch-Westenholz 2000: 146),
>
> Chapter 4 of the Babylonian extispicy series *bārûtu*, *Padānu*, 'the Path'.
> *Padānu* Tablet 3
> A 1', B 2, C 2 2) If there are two Paths and they lie side by side: My army will abandon its campaign and embark on another.
> A 2', B 3, C 3 3) If there are two Paths and the second one is bent and points to the normal one: Weapons that were not brought inside will attack the prince (Koch-Westenholz 2000: 187),
>
> *Pān tākalti* Commentary 7
> A 5', B 3' 4) [If the Str]ength is turned and its base is split: My army will capture the leader of the enemy army.
> A 6', B 4', 5' 5) If the Strength is bent and its rear end is split: Your secret will go out to the enemy.
> A 8', B 7' 7) If 2) the head of the Strength is erased: The gods [will desert] my army.
> A 9', B 8' 8) If 3) the base of the Strength is erased: Witchcraft will seize my army (Koch-Westenholz 2000: 424).

Greek iconography depicted seers examining livers from about 530 BC onwards (Burkert 1995: 49). Representations of warriors examining entrails appear on nineteen black-figure and three red-figure Attic vases dating from the last quarter of the sixth century and the first quarter of the fifth century BC, that is, from c. 525 to 475 BC (Straten 1995; ThesCRA 3: 1–3, Fig. 27a, b, c, 66a).

In the Greek military context, the organs used for divination in the sacrifices termed τά ἱερά (*hiera*) are designated as either the liver or σπλάγχνα (*sphagia*)[9]. Extispicy was very popular in the Greek world; if the liver was not smooth, clean and light-colored, especially if it was missing one lobe, it was an unfavorable omen (Pfiffig 1998: Fig. 46; Xen. *Hell.* 3.4.15, 7.7.7). Invisible patches in the liver sealed the fate of Hephaistion and Alexander (Plut. *Alex.* 73.4 records the omen being told to Alexander outside of Babylon by the mantis Pythagoras *vel* Peithagoras

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[9]   In Plut. *Alex.* 73; *Arat.* 43; Arr. *An.* 7.18.4; Paus. 6.2.4 reference is expressly made to the liver (τὸ ἧπαρ). In Polybios 7.12 the word used is σπλάγχνα, but since in this passage the organ is portable, the liver may have had the part of the sole removed (see Pritchett 1979: 74).

shortly before his death, comp. Arr. *An*. 7.18.4). It is worth comparing this with the Babylonian prophecy: "If the entire liver is anomalous: an omen of the king of Akkad regarding catastrophe" (Jeyes 1989: no. 2; Guinan 1997: 423).

The warrior-goddess as the main protector of the king

As I wrote earlier, diviners were part of the military cortege; they participated in and enabled a dialogue between the gods and the king. Without the gods' agreement, it was impossible to begin or finish a war, i.e., to make a treaty. Here are examples of such texts related to military affairs found at Mari and Eshnunna (Nissinen 2003: 13–95):

> Thus says Ishtar of Ninet:
> ["W]ith my strong weapons
> I will stand by you (31.A.2666 = AEM 1/1, 193, 16–8 in: Roberts 2002: 217).
> As soon as I heard the tablet of my lord,
> I summoned the diviners, and
> The question as follows
> I asked them, saying,
> ["M]y lord made an urgent question
> And [wro]te to me. What do you counsel? (48. M.5704 = AEM 1/1, 225, 6–19 in: Roberts 2002: 241).

In the collection of oracles to Esarhaddon, mostly from the goddess Ishtar, it is the goddess who throws the king's enemies at his feet, before flaying them. She promises: "I will finish off your enemies" (*Esarhaddon and Ishtar* in: Foster 1995: 218). There are letters to Esarhaddon which make explicit appeals to the gods in relation to the king's military success. In one of them, the writer reiterates the idea that it is the gods who are the active agents on the battlefield, bringing victory to the king whose role is passive: "all the [gods of hea]ven are ready (for battle). [May they march] in the presence of the king, my lord, and [bring] the enemies of the king, my lord, [quick]ly to submission before the feet of the king, m[y] lo[rd! May they let] the wishes of the king, [my] lord, [be fulfilled]" (SAA 16: no. 132). The meaning of oracles given by Ishtar of Arbela and other gods is decisive for military campaigns and political affairs (see Fales, Lanfranchi 1997: 99–114). Here is one of the examples:

> *Oracles of Encouragement to Esarhaddon*
> (i 4) [Esarh]addon, king of the lands, fear [not]!
> (i 6) What wind has risen against you, whose wing I have not broken? Your enemies will roll before your feet like ripe apples.

(i 11) I am the Great Lady; I am Ištar of Arbela, who cast your enemies before your feet. What words have I spoken to you that you could not rely upon?

(i 18) I am Ištar of Arbela. I will flay your enemies and give them to you.

(i 20) I am Ištar of Arbela. I will go before you and behind you.

(i 24) Fear not! You are paralyzed, but in the midst of woe I will rise and sit down (beside you).

(i 30) King of Assyria, have no fear! I will deliver up the enemy of the king of Assyria for slaughter. [I will] keep you safe and [make] you [great in] your Palace of Succession.

(ii 2) What [......] I would not have heard you? [The enemies …] in neck st[ocks], [the vassals] under tribu[te]; I defea[ted] your enemy in a single [encounter].

(ii 27) Do not trust in man. Lift up your eyes, look to me! I am Ištar of Arbela; I reconciled Aššur with you. When you were small, I took you to me. Do not fear; praise me! (SAA 9: no. 1).

In Diodorus we find a similar story of the proximity of the king and goddesses. When Alexander arrived at the temple of Athena at Ilium, he noticed that a statue of Aribarzane, a former satrap of Phrygia was overturned, and an oracle given by a seer explained that Alexander with his own hands would slay a general of the enemy in battle and that Athena would help him in his success (*DS* 17.17.6).

Consulting the battle strategy with divinity

In the Neo-Assyrian queries to Shamash, an entire complicated battle strategy was drawn out on papyrus and placed before the god (in front of his cult statue in the temple). The questioner then asked, "Should this particular strategy, in this document, be followed?" The strategy was not written out in detail, like other queries, but put before the god in the form of a drawing or diagram. The god, in the guise of his cult statue, observed the document and gave his response through the entrails of the sacrificial animal, which was offered at the same time as the submission of the document for divine consent. The oracle was described as having been written (*šatāru*) into the body of the animal, just as other omens were written into the sky or the city and could be read by expert seers (Bahrani 2008: 188).

Alexander the Great experienced the same kind of divinatory practices at the Siwah oasis. Before a meeting of Alexander with the god Ammon, Callisthenes reported on the process of consulting the oracle of the god Ammon. The god gave responses by nods and signs, and a similar method we know from Greek culture (17.1.4). Gods might spontaneously enter their statues and cause them to move, weep, or do various other things, which their worshippers were then expected to interpret. Lucian tells us about a statue of Apollo in Hieropolis/Bambyce (a popular ancient resort city near the Euphrates) that was especially renowned for this

sort of behavior. It moved around on its throne whenever it wanted the temple priests to pick it up; if they delayed too long, it would move more vigorously and begin to sweat. Once they had picked it up, the statue indicated to them the direction in which it wanted to be carried. After the statue had reached a place where it was happy, the high priest would ask it questions. If the statue moved backwards, the answer was "no", if it moved forward, the answer was "yes". Similar statues in Egypt are mentioned at about the same time (Curt. 4.7.15–24; *DS* 17.50.6)[10].

Astrology and the mysterious case of lunar eclipses

In conjunction with prophetic divinatory texts, there are many scholarly and epistolary texts which refer to other types of divinatory legitimation for warfare. One refers to the state of the Moon as the reason why "the cities of the Mannean will be plundered, his people taken in captivity" (SAA 10: no. 112, o 16).

Esarhaddon received many letters and astrological reports from the chief lamentation-priest (*galamāhu*) of Sin from Harran (Holloway 2002: 482). The Neo-Assyrian texts direct attention to a period of eclipse. During Esarhaddon's reign, there were no fewer than twelve full or partial lunar eclipses and two solar ones (Leichty 2006: 953; Farber 2006: 1903). The most extreme situation posed by an omen was that of the lunar eclipse that portended the death of the king (SAA 8: no. 19; Rochberg 2004: 77).

Generally, an eclipse is a source of troubles: "and either plague will strike the king's army at the command of a god, or it may be defeated on the battlefield by force of arms, and a revolution may take place in the palace" (No. 2b (lunar eclipse), ll. 27–8 in: Lambert 2007: 47). 122 tablets including 2065 lines of observations of eclipses and oracles taken from the eclipses in Esarhaddon's reign are known of to date, as well as predictions based on the movements of the Moon (Bottéro 1995: 128, Fig. 3). The lunar eclipse which occurs in the month Tishrin is a source of war, and great crisis for Babylon (*AM* 212: 19–213: 2 in: Müller-Kessler 1999: 437). "Eclipse of the Moon in the Morning. (r 9) If there is an eclipse in Sivan (III) on the 14th day: a mighty king who is famous will die, but his son who had been designated for kingship will take the throne, and there will be hostility, variant: there will be deaths" (SAA 8: no. 4).

Diodorus emphasizes Alexander's great appreciation for the skills of the Chaldaeans (*DS* 17.116.4), especially when it came to astrology (*DS* 2.30–1, see

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[10]   This way of divination is typically Egyptian. Particularly, a papyrus dated to the fourteenth year of pharaoh Psammentichus I (651 BC) shows the image of the god, Amon-Ra, carried on a boat-shaped litter by twenty priests, while the enquirer stands in front facing the procession (Parke 1967: 200). See more *Cic. De Div.* 1.74; 1.98–9; 2.58; *Luc. Syr. D.* 36; cf. *DS* 17.50–1.

Murphy 1989: 39, 41). The importance they attributed to lunar signs was shared by Alexander. Indeed, a lunar eclipse was explained as a sign of success in his campaign. On 20/21 September 331 BC (month Boëdromion), after Alexander had crossed the Tigris and the Euphrates, he rested for two days. During the night, an eclipse of the moon occurred. Curtius says that the consternation in the army bordered on mutiny. Alexander assembled his officers (according to Curtius) to hear a declaration from his own *mantis* Aristandros (according to Arrian) and from Egyptian seers (according to Curtius). They proclaimed that Helios favored the Greeks and Selene the Persians; hence the eclipse portended the victory of the Macedonians (Arr. *An.* 3.7.6; Curt. 4.10.1–5; Plut. *Alex.* 31.4; Pliny *NH* 2.180; Cic. *De Div.* 1.53; cf. Pritchett 1979: 112).

Augury, bird omens "flying" from Mesopotamia via Greece to Rome

Bird oracles are strictly connected with war (Hazenbos 2007: 103). The bird watchers operating in Assyria are frequently identified as originating from Anatolia and Northern Syria (Högemann, Oettinger 2008: 17)[11].

A letter to Sargon II illustrates why a group of *augurs* travelling with the Assyrian army was kept under watch because they were so precious to the war machine. Their strategic importance guaranteed them a comfortable standard of living and powerful social position (SAA 5: no. 163). Indeed, it was the Assyrian practice to drain an annexed country of its specialists, while the *augurs* in service to the Shubrian royal household would certainly have been used by Esarhaddon (Radner 2009: 237).

For the Mesopotamians birds of prey were viewed as signaling omens (Freedman 1998: tab. 64–79): "If a raptor seizes prey, and flies before the king and breaks the prey with its beak, the king will achieve victory and triumph over his enemy" and "If a raptor seizes prey, and flies before the king and lifts up the prey in its beak, the king will achieve victory and triumph over his enemy" (see Nötscher 1930: 168–169; Noegel 2007: 200). "If a raptor seizes prey, and flies before the king and lifts up the prey in its beak, the king will achieve victory and conquer his enemy" (BM 108874; see Smith 2013: 57–58). Similarly, in Penelope's testimony: "In my dream, I saw a great eagle with a curved beak swoop down from the mountain and break their (the geese's) necks, killing them. There they lay heaped in the great hall, while he soared up into the clear sky (…)" (*Od.* 19.536–59).

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[11]   For an opposing view about the origins of Mesopotamian bird divination, see Smith (2013: 67–80).

Livy comments, "such great honor was brought to the *auguries* and the priestly office of the *augurs* that no action was taken, in war or in the city, without the auspices: assemblies of the people, levies of the troops, all the greatest affairs would be broken up if the birds did not approve" (*Liv*. 1.36.2–6; Cic. *De Div*. 1.17). The strength of this kind of manticism lay in the fact that it was very difficult to manipulate (Radner 2009: 233).

In 331 BC at Gaugamela, those who were around Alexander believed that they saw an eagle quietly flying a little above the king's head, not terrified by the clash of arms, nor by the groans of the dying and for a long time it appeared around Alexander's horse. It is certain that the seer Aristander, clad in a white robe and displaying a laurel wreath in his right hand, "kept pointing out the bird to the soldiers, who were intent upon fighting, as a sure omen of victory (rousing confidence among the Greeks and terror among the Persians). Hence, great courage filled the beholders, and after mutual encouragement and exhortation the cavalry charged at full speed upon the enemy and the phalanx rolled on after them like a flood" (see Curt. 4.15.26–28; Plut. *Alex*. 33.2).

Conclusions

The great convergence of divinatory practices in the Mesopotamian and the Greek civilizations is astonishing. A detailed analysis of the approach to divination taken by the Mesopotamians and the Greeks presents many similarities, a number of which have been presented in this article. Greek heritage is commonly understood as completely rational and related to philosophical ideas rather than divinatory practices. This popular assessment has to be corrected and enriched after studying their approach to divinatory practices. For the Mesopotamians, asking the gods for signs through the use of various kinds of magical procedures was part of the official religion and the difference between magic and religion remained blurred, or rather, it did not exist at all. In connection with this, therefore, where are the boundaries between these two civilizations and is it possible to trace the contacts between them?

As I mentioned in the introduction, divination is a common component of both civilizations. The role of *bārû* and *mantis* is very similar especially in their duties related to war. In both civilizations, the seers decided about the strategies of battles and the outcome of their dialogues with the divine was decisive for the course of the war. The only real difference in their experience is set by their education; *bārû* is connected with scholars, a systematic education that required many years of intensive training and cooperation with the royal court, while *manteis* is linked to individual charisma. However, Aristander, the seer of Alexander is also

associated with special, not only magical, but primarily scholarly skills. Divination in Assyria is better organized and completely subjected to the royal court, but the ways, methods and general meaning are congenial, while the strong need to believe in a close relationship with the divine and unmediated contact with the gods is one of the fundamental traits shared by seer representatives of both of these civilizations. According to Richard Stoneman, "the Mesopotamians made divination into a guild practice, but the Greeks formalized the procedure of making the gods speak" (Stoneman 2011: 112). In my opinion, the Greeks largely used the previous experiences of Mesopotamian civilization, of course, adapting them to their capabilities and the needs of their own civilization, i.e., their recipients.

In both civilizations, seers were perceived as having special bonds with divine powers and means of communication with gods. Some of them enjoyed the special protection of particular goddesses, divine patrons who were responsible for the course of a war (respectively Ishtar and Athena). Additionally, the interpretations of many of the divine signs in both civilizations are so similar that taking them for accidental would be inappropriate and would merely be an artificial obstruction to further studies covering the dynamics of contact between the two of them.

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Izabela Morska[1]

Oceania Is at War with Eurasia: The Stalemate of the Polish Government and the Catholic Church in Poland Over the Polish-Belarusian Border Zone

This text discusses the growing tension in relations between the Polish government and the Catholic church in Poland over the plight of refugees on the Polish-Belarusian border that reached a critical state in August 2021. Although the Conference of Polish Episcopate (KEP) emphatically encouraged prioritizing the value of Christian mercy, the government insisted on a dehumanizing narrative (people as tools of war) to conclusively replace the Gospels with a new object of worship: the border. With the state of emergency imposed on November 9, 2021, altruistic activities were defamed, organized humanitarian support removed, and the right of residents to privacy suspended. A new verbiage, such as "weaponization of migrants" and "tightness of the border", justified stop-and-search procedures within "the zone", performed by various uniformed forces operating concurrently and acting with unconditional authority. Over the course of the fall and winter of 2021/2022, a parallel universe emerged, enforced by local authorities in small towns and villages located along the border with Belarus. What consequently unraveled was an impromptu narrative of a dystopian crisis rooted in the premise that migrants are the enemy in a war that is not hybrid but holy. Moreover, this text traces similarities between the evolving alternative reality experiment on the Polish-Belarusian border and the constricted world of George Orwell's novel *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, as a vision of a society harnessed to the task of perpetuating political fiction, while the state apparatus produces an incessant flow of propaganda, effectuating the state of unrest and danger at the border.

Keywords: Usnarz Górny, migrants, George Orwell, dystopia, Poland-Belarus border

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The perishability of migrants:
the metafiction of a migration crisis

The choice of finding an appropriate register in which to write about violence inter-twined in the experience of migration is a crucial one. Several contemporary philosophers and scholars (Gatrell 2013; Noiriel 1996; Woolley 2014; Krępa, Fiałkowska 2022) express an urge to practice new forms of writing; the point is to counteract the propensity for annihilation of personhood apparent in routine proceedings of refugee-processing agencies, to emphasize instead the importance of ethics and ethical writing about refugees, stressing the importance of the refugee experience and perspective, or even engaging in such writing which, while prioritizing the safety and privacy of asylum applicants counters the formulaic anonymity of refugees. My method is about comparing and juxtaposing narratives (Ryan, Thon 2014; Baroni, Revaz 2016). I observe narratives concerning refugees in Polish political discourse or see them reiterated in discourses elsewhere and then reference them back to Poland, a place where the dreams of colonial hegemony and postcolonial ruthlessness converge. Some of these narratives contain key words, such as "hybrid warfare" or "Lukashenko's collaborators" (in reference to volunteers who offer legal and practical support to refugees), which deserve perhaps a separate analysis. The role of the EU remains unclear – or perhaps too painful to be soberly accepted.

Peter Gatrell in *The Making of the Modern Refugee* highlights the danger of presenting refugees as virtually erased by bureaucratic processes and "deprived of the capacity to exercise a degree of control over their own lives" (2013: 9). Yet one could argue that the case of Middle Eastern and African refugees resembles an earlier one, that of Jewish refugees on the *St. Louis*, turned down by several countries in 1939 and eventually forced to return to Europe. The refugees on the Polish-Belarusian border, indicated as racially and culturally other (Sadura, Urbańska 2021), are rendered "indistinguishable" (Gatrell 2013: 10) and thus perishable; nameless, unprotected, exposed to various forms of violence and rough weather, not prepared for the challenges of surviving in the primeval forest, slowed down by the presence of children and the elderly, their exact number – including age, gender, mobility, and other characteristics – unknown (*Die Here or Go to Poland* 2021; Ciobanu 2022a), they are, as in Roland Barthes' *Mythologies*, reduced to the "eternal essence of refugees, which it is the nature of the east to produce" (Barthes 1993: 95–96; qtd. in Gatrell 2013: 10). Serena Parekh in *No Refuge: Ethics and the Global Refugee Crisis* (2020) underlines the sheer impossibility of establishing a clear distinction between migrant and refugee and unavoidable arbitrariness of any such divide. Although the UN Refugee Convention of 1951 (Convention 1951) presents an official definition of the refugee, its wording is not applied consistently in various regions of the globe; conclusively, the UN "considers people to

be refugees in a much broader set of circumstances than most countries" (Parekh 2020: 29). Although Parekh and several other philosophers tend to agree that "it is the severity of the harm and the need for international protection, rather than the source of the harm, that should ground our definition of a refugee" (2020: 30), asylum processing officers operate under a routine obligation to sort the asylum seekers from the migrants based on a source of violation; consequently, people fleeing their homes and seeking international protection are likely to be turned down as economic migrants if they are fleeing poverty or hoping to improve their overall quality of life, regardless of the fact that poverty is more often than not associated with a lack of agency and vulnerability to violence. The arbitrariness begins as soon as an asylum seeker is unable to argue their case effectively or to present a proof of being targeted based on "race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion" (Parekh 2020: 3); a sudden change in admission laws may also result in denied entry. Due to its inscrutability, the global refugee regime, ostensibly officious, with its processing results distinguished by "randomness" (Parekh 2020: 30), is also a kind of metafiction, a riddle whose outcome depends on sheer luck.

In *Illegal Immigration in Europe: Beyond Control?* (2006) Franck Düvell, a scholar affiliated with the Center on Migration, Policy and Society (COMPAS) at the University of Oxford, discloses that the enlargement of the EU in May 2004 created new responsibilities – specifically, for the newly admitted countries – in exchange for a relative freedom of movement granted to denizens of accession countries within the fifteen "old" states; to quote verbatim: "At the same time, enlargement creates a new duty for the new, post-communist member states from Central Europe to protect the EU from unwanted migration from the East and South" (Düvell 2006: 3). Strictly speaking, as the EU acquired a new set of border states, consisting of Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Czech Republic, Slovakia, and Slovenia, the underlying condition was made apparent (Szymański 2021). Tasked with the border control of the European Schengen Area, Frontex was created as the European Agency for the Management of Operational Cooperation at the External Borders in 2004 to restructure itself as the European Border and Coast Guard Agency with its headquarters in Warsaw.

According to an ongoing investigation, Frontex, in complicity with some EU member states, could be responsible for thousands of deaths resulting from border pushbacks, which the agency denies, despite the launching of *The Black Book of Pushbacks* (Barker, Zajović 2020) by the Border Violence Monitoring Network (BVMN), a network of organizations, active from Istambul to the Italian-Slovenian border[2]. The 1,500-page document containing statistics from the

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[2]   A pushback means forcibly pushing a person or persons back over a border without consideration of their circumstances and without any chance to apply for asylum (Kuschminder 2021).

years 2017–2020 and 892 testimonies details the experiences of 12,654 victims of human rights violations against asylum seekers along the Balkan migration route on Europe's external border. Conclusively, the pushbacks have become "an institutionalized part of EU border policing" according to the data collected by the BVMN; incidents involving minors constitute 44.8% cases and physical violence in 74.7% cases (Degering 2021). The practical implementation of pushbacks flies in the face of the 51 Geneva Refugee Convention (Fotiadis 2021). Specifically, Article 31 stipulates that no penalties should be imposed for "illegal entry or presence" if refugees "show good cause for their illegal entry or presence" (Convention 1951). Indeed, to develop Parekh's (2020: 34) example, we might find it oddly anticlimactic if the Von Trapp family from *The Sound of Music* were to be pushed back as they complete the "Climb Ev'ry Mountain" finale. And yet, it would have sufficed to associate the singing family with a threat of terrorism in the minds of their potential hosts to activate the exception to Article 31; that is, Article 33b: "The benefit of the present provision may not, however, be claimed by a refugee whom there are reasonable grounds for regarding as a danger to the security of the country" (Convention 1951). This exception, as well as the specification contained in Article 31 that refugees must be "coming directly from a territory where their life or freedom was threatened" is precisely the argument brought up by the xenophobic movements in Europe (more pronouncedly since the migration crisis of 2015–2016), thereby undermining the ancient principle of hospitality delineated by Derrida in *Adieu to Emmanuel Levinas* (Derrida 1999: 87; qtd. in *Migrant Cartographies* 2005: 141). Consequently, the imagery of influx or invasion referring to the refugees' storming the borders has proven an effective vehicle for any regime to convince its voters of the actuality of danger and the reliability of protection.

The regulation of refugees:
the case of Afghans in Usnarz Górny

Several reports from the Polish-Belarus border emerged between December 2021 and July 2022, including Amnesty International's (*Polska: Okrucieństwo zamiast współczucia na granicy z Bialorusią* 2022; "*Witamy w Guantanamo*" 2022), Helsinki Foundation for Human Rights Poland's *Legal Analysis of the Situation on the Polish-Belarusian Border: Situation on September 9, 2021* for Helsinki Foundation for Human Rights (Górczyńska 2021), Fundacja Ocalenie's (Palęcka 2022), the Balkan Investigative Reporting Network's *Polish Forest Full of Fear* (Ciobanu 2022a), *Die Here or Go to Poland. Belarus' and Poland's Shared Responsibility for Border Abuses* by Human Rights Watch (HRW) of November 24, 2021 (on June 7, 2022, HRW released another report, *Violence and Pushbacks at Poland-Belarus*

Border), and *Humanitarian Crisis at the Polish-Belarusian Border* by Grupa Granica released on December 12, 2021. However, it should be noted that sidestepping the ban on media entry into the border zone, journalistic reports (Said-Moorhouse et al. 2021) from villages and towns just outside the forbidden area, mostly by the independent news portal OKO.press (Miniszewski 2021; Mikołajewska 2021; Borodaj 2022; Rumieńczyk 2022), continued to appear throughout the fall and winter of 2021/2022.

The findings of HRW are as follows: Poland does not provide statistics on the number of people detained or pushed back to Belarus, and the 30,000 crossing attempts reported by the Polish media could include the same people making multiple attempts to cross. A spokesperson for the Belarusian government was quoted on November 18, 2021, saying that 7,000 migrants had stayed in the country. These figures coincide with the opinion issued by Grupa Granica (Border Group), a formation encompassing nongovernmental organizations and activists who assist people experiencing migration, that the humanitarian crisis taking place on the Polish-Belarusian border is not a migration crisis (Grupa Granica 2021: 3).

People from faraway countries, such as Iran, Yemen or the Democratic Republic of Congo found themselves enmeshed in a scheme designed by the Belarusian dictator Alexander Lukashenko, trapped in a primeval forest with no recourse or help. The HRW report notes a significant increase in flights from airports in Istanbul, Damascus, Baghdad, and Amman to the Minsk international airport since August 2021. The number of people trying to enter the European Union (EU) via its Eastern Borders (Lithuania, Latvia, and Poland) had been rising steadily all throughout the spring of 2021 to six hundred in June and three thousand in July 2021 (Grupa Granica 2021: 5). On July 2 Lithuania introduced a state of extraordinary situation across its entire territory (unlike Poland, Lithuania did this without barring the Red Cross access to the border area) and initially resolved to assist persons with special needs; that is, people with illnesses and disabilities, victims of violence, and women. Even more commendably, children were registered, and an effort was made to offer them shelter (Hyndle-Hussein 2021a). Significantly, however, since the Lithuanian parliament's almost unanimous vote for a state of emergency on November 9, 2021, the language of care vanished to be replaced with the kind of phraseology that Orwell in *Politics and the English language* calls "the defense of the indefensible" (Hyndle-Hussein 2021b; Orwell 1981 [1946]: 156)[3]. Meanwhile, Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia aligned their activities with Frontex, requesting assistance.

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[3]   Contemptuous statements, often presenting violence as a "solution to the problem", such as "don't let them in", "shoot like ducks", thoroughly dehumanizing (announcing the need for an "animal shelter") are examples of such phraseology (Kamiński 2021).

Poland was dallying, and when new guidelines for the Border Guard finally appeared in the middle of August, these three legislative acts limited access to asylum procedures and worsened the living conditions in centers for foreigners. The first was the Regulation of August 13, 2021, amending the Regulation of the Minister of the Interior of April 24, 2015, allowing for the placement of migrants in accommodation cells with a floor space of 2 m² per occupant (Górczyńska 2021). This law presently contributes to catastrophic conditions in refugee centers, resulting in unrest and mutinies or depression and suicide attempts – in the EU the recommended floor space for accommodation cells is 4 by 4 meters (*Violence and Pushbacks* 2022). The second was the Regulation of the Minister of the Interior and Administration of August 20, 2021, suspending or restricting border traffic at certain border crossings (Górczyńska 2021). Finally, the October 14, 2021 amendment to the Act on Foreigners of 12 December 2013 (2013), passed by the Polish Parliament, justified pushbacks and approved the construction of the border wall (*Die Here or Go to Poland* 2021; *Poland: Parliament Approves* 2021; Rządowy projekt ustawy 2021). The last law violates several legal provisions, including the EU Charter of Fundamental Rights, which guarantees the right to asylum and other directives (Directive 2008/115/EC 2008) issued in alignment with the 1951 UN Convention and the 1967 UNHCR Protocol relating to the Status of Refugees (*Handbook on procedures and criteria* 2019), such as the prohibition of "collective expulsion of aliens" (Protocol No. 4 1963) (*Die Here or Go to Poland* 2021).

Giorgio Agamben reading Hannah Arendt's essay "We Refugees" notes that "in the context of the inexorable decline of the nation-state and the general corrosion of traditional legal-political categories, the refugee is perhaps the only imaginable figure of the people in our day" (Agamben 1995: 114). Twenty-seven years after Agamben's essay was published, this passage argues that the nation-state revives itself chiefly with the help of various social bogeymen; the refugee is the only figure capable of being accepted by disenchanted citizens as "the sole category in which it is possible today to perceive the forms and limits of a political community to come" (1995: 114). With the situation that exists on Poland's eastern border, Agamben's political community has just arrived: as in a futuristic dystopia, the state, protecting itself against its citizens' disenchantment, revamps the refugee narrative to the point that, whether it takes the shape of aimless single young men, educated professionals, or multigenerational families with children, its content is adjusted every time to suit the purpose of erecting steel-and-concrete barriers (Kogovšek-Šalamon 2016).

From mid-August 2021 onwards, the events at the Polish-Belarusian border have taken on the shape of a narrative which recalibrates both the Hungarian tale of success (the authoritarian state closes its ranks to protect national purity) and German or Swedish cautionary tales (the refugee as a trigger to strengthen

nationalistic alliances), while also mutating into something imminent and unspeakable. On or before August 9, a group of thirty-two Afghan migrants, of whom five were women, including a sixteen-year-old among them, appeared in Usnarz Górny (Palęcka 2022: 21). Pushed back by the Polish Border Guard patrol towards the Belarusian side of the border, the migrants were not allowed to return, so they sat on a strip of land between two lines of armed guards. Initially, migrants were permitted to contact, among others, a Member of the Polish Parliament, who provided them with tents, sleeping bags, and power of attorney for legal representation; they also established contact with employees of the Ocalenie Foundation, and representatives of the Ombudsman Office. All these visits took place on August 19, 2021 (Borodaj 2021; Górczyńska 2021; Palęcka 2022: 20). Providing the migrants with support locally or opening a humanitarian corridor would have been a tried and tested route (Kogovšek-Šalamon 2016; Beznec et al. 2016; Bužinkić, Hameršak 2018). However, on August 20, the Polish Minister of Internal Affairs and Administration issued an act recommending expulsions (Rozporządzenie Ministra Spraw Wewnętrznych 2021). All the while, the Usnarz group of migrants remained trapped.

For the remaining days of August, the migrants could only communicate with the activists from the Ocalenie Foundation and Grupa Granica from a distance, through an interpreter, shouting over the rumble of military vehicles and wailing sirens. Incredibly, they were denied both international protection and contact with legal representatives (Grupa Granica 2021: 27; *Wizytacja KMPT ad hoc* 2021). The Border Group report mentions "their deteriorating health, lack of access to any medical assistance or medication", as well as "their poor mental state", no sanitary facilities, and no access to drinking water (Grupa Granica 2021: 3), which was additionally confirmed by the Polish Ombudsman's Visitation Report of August 24, 2021 (*Wizytacja KMPT ad hoc* 2021). For incomprehensible reasons, the Border Guard firmly refused to hand medical supplies and feminine hygiene products over to them; when one person lost consciousness, the guards who stood in a tight semi-circle around the camp refused to call an ambulance (Palęcka 2022: 19, 20).

All further proceedings took the shape of a state-sponsored barbarity (as in state-sponsored health care, housing, childcare or "state-sponsored war, terrorism, and individual acts of sadism" (Nelson 2011: 7, 40) or, more precisely, a lesson in social disempowerment aimed at progressive groups in Polish society. These included people who had earlier protested the dismantling of democracy, organized for the future of the planet, rallied for the release of LGBT activists, and participated in women's marches. By midnight of September 1, due to the just imposed state of emergency, the humanitarian groups had to leave the site; all the same, pictures of stranded migrants continued to circulate on social media

eliciting spontaneous responses ranging from calls to organize for help to death threats. Their ordeal lasted until October 20, when the most desperate members of the group broke through a wire fence that had, in the meantime, kept them cooped up. Tear-gassed, handcuffed, and bereft of their phones, they were separated into smaller groups and expelled to Belarus. Apart from one young man who managed to re-enter Poland and remains in the guarded center for foreigners, the fate of all the others is unknown (Palęcka 2022: 20).

The plight of Afghans in Usnarz foreshadowed further developments. On September 2, a state of emergency was introduced in 115 towns in the Podlaskie Region and 68 towns in the Lubelskie Region; this exceptionally stringent measure barred the entry of humanitarian organizations, including the Polish Red Cross, as well as the ambulances spontaneously organized and supported by public contributions. Having barred entry to the media, the Polish Parliament (Sejm) authorized pushbacks of children and placed the region entirely under the control of various military and paramilitary formations supported by another vote in the Sejm on October 14. The state of emergency provided justification for a "theater of cruelty" (Nelson 2011: 15)[4], which met with an instant response from civil society. Diverse social groups organized with the purpose of collecting funds, clothing, and sleeping bags suited for extreme temperatures brimmed with questions: "If this is indeed a war, shouldn't civilians be protected?", "if crossing the border illegally is a crime, shouldn't the trespassers be jailed; or (…), if they are weapons of war, shouldn't they be treated as POWs and transferred to camps?", "if children show up and then disappear from sight, shouldn't some kind of record of them be kept?" Rodziny Bez Granic (2021–2022) (*Families without Borders*), a group established on Facebook by Polish users who opposed the official governmental bias already in the early fall of 2021, open only to registered participants and still active, shared practical information on how to help specific migrants and served as both consciousness-raising and emotional support circle for people immersed in fundraising and networking. Some other Facebook users, particularly in the milieu of cultural activists, experienced border drama vicariously ("I lie in bed

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[4]   Nelson draws the term "theater of cruelty" from Antonin Artaud's volume of manifestos *The Theater and Its Double* (1938). While acknowledging Artaud's protesting "vociferously against the literal interpretation of his cruelty" (Nelson 2011: 26), Nelson draws the direct and practical application of this term from Jean Baudrillard's piece in *Le Monde*, published shortly after 9/11, in which Baudrillard called the terrorist attack on the Twin Towers "our theatre of cruelty, the only one left to us" (Nelson 2011: 29). Nelson adds: "Nor did he [Artaud] live in the age of, say, beheadings available for casual viewing on YouTube. Nor, thankfully, did he live to see the results of my Google search this morning under 'theater of cruelty': up first, a piece from the *Nation* that describes the acts of torture committed by Americans at Abu Ghraib – and the circulation of the photographs of those acts (loc. 428). This updated understanding of the term appears to be reflected in the accounts of refugees and activists on the border collected in the magazine "Karta" (Avci, Galdamez 2022: 6–39).

and imagine what it would be like to lie in that forest and freeze"). Others felt guilty watching their children play. Yet others posted inquiries asking how to explain to a child the ordeal of the kids in the woods. Such posts began to appear in October (as temperatures in the Białowieża Forest began to drop) and became a common phenomenon in November and December of 2021. Similar sentiments were expressed by the philosopher Mirosław Miniszewski who lives in the "zone" near the border and was able to bring public attention to the first larger group of migrants in Usnarz Górny in a Facebook post of August 17, 2021 (a detailed report by TVN appeared on the following day (Miniszewski 2022; *Koczują na granicy* 2021)). After months of providing direct help to migrants he succumbed to a profound sense of powerlessness in response to an investigation, when it became obvious that Poland was treating his life-saving efforts with suspicion (Szczęśniak 2021; Miniszewski 2022).

For many Polish intellectuals, the overall experience was like a belated loss of innocence. Watching reports about refugees drowning in the Mediterranean implies a safe distance; becoming aware of their plight within a three-hour drive from the capital denotes your consent if not participation. It might have seemed at first that such an excruciating awareness of collective responsibility for the procedures on the border was probably what the government wanted to produce. And yet it suffices to read Article 15 of the European Convention of Human Rights (2013) (ECHR) to be reminded of the fact that it too allows for the suspension of basic rights under emergency conditions: "Derogation in time of emergency 1. In time of war or other public emergency threatening the life of the nation any High Contracting Party may take measures derogating from its obligations under this Convention to the extent strictly required by the exigencies of the situation, provided that such measures are not inconsistent with its other obligations under international law" (European Convention 2013). If no governmental representative referred to Article 15 to justify the hard-heartedness of this state of emergency, it was only for the lack of habit of referencing the ECHR in all other contexts.

Despite the ban on recording, personal accounts, interviews, and photographic snippets began to circulate on social media. The distribution of images was not forbidden. Volunteers told stories of encounters with Border Guard patrols. Doctors in local hospitals reported migrants suffering from limb injuries, dehydration, and hypothermia, who were intercepted in the middle of medical procedures, and then vanished; presumably, driven back to the frontier and pushed back to the Belarusian side. Survivors of repeated expulsions told stories of being beaten with clubs by Belarusian guards, of families separated at the border by Polish Border Guards (*Die Here or Go to Poland* 2021), and of watching others die from exposure. Some amateur video recordings proved exceedingly dramatic. Consisting mainly of screams and shouts, recorded clandestinely in the middle

of the night, they offered no background and no reasonable explanation for the excessive violence that was being blatantly administered.

One such recording sparked an "inappropriate reaction" from Barbara Kurdej-Szatan, a TV-series actress who called the members of the Border Guard "murderers" and "machines unquestionably following orders" amid a torrent of obscenities in an Instagram comment (Glińska 2021). The video in question documented a moment of escalation: women with crying babies in their arms who struggled against Border Patrol officers. Kurdej-Szatan was instantly criticized for her outburst. The actress is a petite blonde and yet her post was taken for an outright attack on the security of the state. The director of Polish Television, Jacek Kurski, announced that the actress would no longer appear in any series produced by the state-run TVP. Otherwise, no explanation or a follow up was ever offered concerning the reason for distress of apparently besieged women and children recorded in the video or their subsequent fate.

Consequently, Kurdej-Szatan apologized to the Border Guard: "I would like to stress in the strongest terms that I respect the hard work of all uniformed services and appreciate their efforts to keep us safe" (Glińska 2021). A snappy celebrity and the mother of two learned to control her outrage, but her public apology proved insufficient, and the court proceedings were initiated, with penalties ranging from a fine to imprisonment. At last, Kurdej-Szatan was acquitted on December 7, 2022, but the prosecutor's office threatened to appeal, as if dragging her through litigations was a metonymy of harsh punishment. This cautionary tale reads like an illustration to Orwell's *Politics and the English Language*:

> A speaker who uses that kind of phraseology has gone some distance toward turning himself into a machine. The appropriate noises are coming out of his larynx, but his brain is not involved as it would be if he were choosing his words for himself. (…) And this reduced state of consciousness, if not indispensable, is at any rate favorable to political conformity (Orwell 1981 [1946]: 166).

Although the actress saved her career, Orwell's disenchanted narrator's voice in *Nineteen Eighty-Four* advises that such transitions are never superficial. It will never suffice to modify one's language and correct one's attitude by submitting to the demand of "a lifeless, imitative style" (Orwell 1981 [1946]: 166). Public apologies are staged for others to learn from. Kurdej-Szatan's public apology represented a cautionary tale for her followers on social media, her fans reading women's magazines, and the public devouring their favorite television series. These audiences also needed to learn the trick of responding with "ready-made phrases".

Escaping postcolonial exploitation
to meet with totalitarian erasure

Ewa Majewska (2011: 35) in *La Mestiza from Ukraine? Border Crossing with Glo-ria Anzaldúa* grapples with the notion of the borderlands, as "spaces of economic and sexual abuse". Poland's eastern border, Majewska points out, was notorious as a site known for "trafficking human beings, especially women" and – with the outbreak of World War II – for the silenced cries of people removed to deporta-tion camps. Majewska overlays a postcolonial perspective upon Poland's eastern territories based on a certain similarity between the ambivalent presence of the Hispanic people in America (beginning as proud colonizers to be subsequent-ly dominated) and the ethnic Poles both colonized by Germans and colonizing their Eastern neighbors (2011: 38). This parallel is additionally reinforced when we note that Christianity was introduced to Slavic territories in a manner that resembled the earliest colonization practices in the Americas. When read along-side *Migrant Cartographies* in which Daniela Merolla and Sandra Ponzanesi note how throughout European literatures not only people but ideas travel, transcend-ing and interconnecting "apparently separate colonial legacies" (2005: 3), this ap-proach invites us to observe how divergent multicultural scenarios multiply and the dynamics of identity and belonging coincide upon constantly evolving maps overshadowed by genealogy. In the case of East Asian and African migrants on the Polish and Belarusian border, postcolonial and totalitarian dynamics converge; to be observed, for instance, in the plight of migrants from the Free Republic of Con-go, an area most blatantly affected by both colonial and postcolonial exploitation (from rubber harvesting to cobalt mining), who arrive at the Eastern gates of the EU to meet with totalitarian erasure.

   Gloria Anzaldúa (1987) in "The Homeland, Aztlán" recalls crossing the border "through the hole in the fence / to the other side" (2), feeling "the gritty wire" (2), and pressing her hand "to the steel curtain", incongruously "crowned with barbed wire" (2). Contrasting with "a narrow strip along a steep edge" (3) of the U.S.–Mexican border, a borderland is "a vague and undetermined place" inhabited by "the troublesome" and "the half dead" (3), a place where "trespassers will be raped, maimed, strangled, gassed, shot" (3), where the racial division is obscenely un-equivocal: those in power are "the whites and those who align themselves with whites" (4). Majewska (2011: 36) recalls Gayatri Spivak who questions the ability of the colonizers to hear the subaltern's speech. But perhaps a set of totalitarian metaphors as vehicles of communication could help clear the debris from at least one such point of connection, provided by a man who absconded from the ranks of those in power. Such is the case of George Orwell, born in Motihari, Bihar prov-ince, in British India. His great-grandfather was an absentee landlord in Jamaica,

his father worked in the Opium Department of the Indian Civil Service, and his mother took him to England when he was five. He was a scholarship student at Eton but neglected his studies, and his parents could not send him to a university without another scholarship. In 1924 he passed an exam to become a policeman and chose Burma because this was his mother's place of birth; he still nurtured romantic ideas about the East. In a nutshell, he was raised to be a civil servant, a cog in the mechanism of oppression. In 1927 he returned to England due to illness and resigned from the Indian Imperial Police with an idea to become a writer. His life had to take a few more turns, which included embracing poverty as an object of his research, doing menial jobs, and eventually setting out to fight in the Spanish Civil War in 1936. This was when he became disheartened. He and his friends came to Spain to fight against fascism; and yet, to their utmost surprise, they were met with a campaign of lies that smeared them as fascists. It may just be feasible, therefore, to read the Polish-Belarus narrative of entrapment through the Orwellian lens, which provides a unique meeting place for postcolonial and totalitarian topoi.

In Orwell's memoir from the Civil War in Spain, *Homage to Catalonia* (1938), the leading theme, the war, is laced with various descriptions of freezing in the trenches. Having arrived in Spain as a volunteer, Orwell recalls "shabby soldiers creeping to the front" (4) and "the muddy, ice-cold trenches in the mountains" (4) in the late December of 1936. He had come to Spain "with some notion of writing newspaper articles" but joined "the militia almost immediately, because at that time and in that atmosphere it seemed the only conceivable thing to do" (4). Orwell remembers that "the shirts and socks were wretched cotton things, however, quite useless against cold" (8). The uniforms were nonexistent, and not every militiaman had a blanket. Arrival closer to the frontline is announced by "the characteristic smell of war"; that is, "a smell of excrement and decaying food" (16). War means "roaring projectiles and skipping shards of steel; above all it meant mud, lice, hunger, and cold" (18). Still, he admits: "It is curious, but I dreaded the cold much more than I dreaded the enemy" (18). Even in May "the night was getting cold" (126). One such icy night, he makes a list of the clothes he wore in his diary: "a thick vest and pants, a flannel shirt, two pullovers, a woolen jacket, a pigskin jacket, corduroy breeches, puttees, thick socks, boots, a stout trench-coat, a muffler, lined leather gloves, and a woolen cap" (30). And yet, "I was shivering like a jelly" (30). Not surprisingly, the soldiers spent their days fighting lice and searching for firewood (30), and their nights – fighting insomnia (no one can "sleep properly in a beastly hole in the ground with your feet aching with the cold" (40–41). The effect of sleeplessness is that "one grew very stupid, and the job of climbing up and down the hills grew harder instead of easier" (41). During one military maneuver he finds himself "lying in a horrible marsh" for seven hours, "in reedy-smelling water into which one's body subsided gradually deeper and

deeper: the reedy smell, the numbing cold, the stars immovable in the black sky, the harsh croaking of the frogs" (81). The night in the marshes is by far the coldest he ever experienced. Henceforth, he finds himself reduced to a "passive object, doing nothing in return for my rations except to suffer from cold and lack of sleep" (103). This fate is shared ("Perhaps that is the fate of most soldiers in most wars" (103)) and yet singles him out ("But I admit I'm unusually sensitive to cold" (30)). The cold, the encampments that can be smelled from afar, became a shared experience of soldiers with the invention of trench warfare. In recent years, this experience is the domain of refugees, held in makeshift camps or in no camps at all, in conditions that seem and often are impossible to endure.

George Lakoff in *The Political Mind* (2008) unravels the twofold ethics of care that shapes any government, because every government grounds its rule in protection and empowerment offered to the people. Lakoff writes: "Protection is more than just army, police, and fire department (…). It means social security, disease control and public health, safe food, disaster relief, health care, consumer and worker protection, environmental protection" (2008: 47). A government can steer clear of these complex issues by maintaining a state of perpetual crisis and redefining protection as the defense against invented threats. This is how the state in Orwell's *Nineteen Eighty-Four* operates; its disregard for the daily comfort of its citizens is evident in the opening scene. A patrolling helicopter hovers over the city rooftops, peering into people's windows, but electricity is disconnected during the day to cut costs. Food is scarce, while alcohol tastes like gasoline. The smell of boiled cabbage lingers in the hallway. Party slogans read: "WAR IS PEACE; FREEDOM IS SLAVERY; IGNORANCE IS STRENGTH" (Orwell 2003 [1949]: 6). The people of London, the city reduced to a metonymy for dystopia, have accustomed themselves to these external circumstances that turn even the members of the privileged caste into resigned sufferers. Winston Smith is a party member and yet he, just like any commoner, expects the elevator to be out of order. A combination of learned helplessness and fear prompts most people, except for some scarce borderline enthusiasts, to create a semblance of compliance, so their passivity becomes the only viable form of defiance, interrupted only by "their periodical frenzies of patriotism" (172). Suspending disbelief, they expect their country to be at war (with Eurasia or Eastasia). They neglect their appearance, their health, and their bodies, as if the collapse of the body promised relief from a comfortless life. Smith is thirty-nine years old and in a pitiable shape even before his demise; his varicose ulcers are acutely psychosomatic, while "his face, from long habit … [is] expressionless" (23). His place of work happens to be the Ministry of Truth; the content of his daily toil is pure propaganda, that is, lies.

Blatant lies provide nurturing glue for the regime; suspension of disbelief is an essential component of the functional psyche. The totalitarian state "is impossible

without lies", says Rebecca Solnit (2021: 228) in synch with Orwell (1946) and Arendt (1951). This society is thoroughly demoralized. The terrifying Ministry of Love (read: Ministry of Hate) runs all matters pertaining to law and order from an ominous windowless building. Smith's state of mind reflects that of his country. He is about to start writing in a journal, but then he halts, worried: if such pastimes are not deemed illegal, that is only because "there were no longer any laws" (Orwell 2003 [1949]: 9). And yet privacy signals a possibility of treason; seeking an object of beauty in "a frowsy little junk-shop" (9) betrays a certain nostalgia. He has just bought a book whose creamy paper pleases him, a souvenir from a bygone era. More importantly, the drive to put facts down and to present them to oneself without adornments spells out the pursuit of some reliable form of truth. Like the writer Joan Didion, Smith will use his writing to find out what he thinks. But first he needs to reveal to us (and, as it will turn out later, also to his pursuers), the appalling state of his mind.

After much prevarication, Smith describes his experience of the previous night at the movies, having accepted long ago that watching war films counts as entertainment. The audience laughs at the sight of a fat man unsuccessfully trying to escape from a helicopter that is chasing him. Smith neither condemns such a lack of empathy nor sets himself apart from the prevailing consensus. He appears strangely dispassionate – as if he was feeling nothing. As "a ship full of refugees" is bombed "somewhere in the Mediterranean" (Orwell 2003 [1949]: 11), a lifeboat appears, full of children, and the audience's anticipation grows palpable at the sight of a woman holding a three-year-old in her arms. Smith jots down the woman's futile attempts: she is "blue with fright herself" (11), and yet she is holding the child "as if she thought her arms could keep the bullets off him" (11). Smith appreciates "a wonderful shot of a child's arm" (11), already dismembered (the helicopter documents an act of bombing the refugee boat with a camera planted in its nose). He refers to the woman as a "jewess" (11) most likely because her looks are Middle Eastern. For all we know she could be Syrian or Palestinian – or indeed Jewish. But then in a flash something odd happens – another woman in the audience, apparently also a mother, has a fit; she is "the prole" woman, audacious and abrupt, and she is "kicking up a fuss and shouting". Smith's response is dismissive at first; to all intents and purposes, he is siding with the rest of the audience. And yet, when recording her exclamations, his grammar abandons him entirely: "they didnt oughter of showed it not in front of kids they didnt it aint right not in front of kids it aint" (12). After this momentary regression, he discovers that one can think in a relatively unrestrained manner and does not die. At least, not at once.

For us, readers of Polish independent news, also under the threat of a shutdown when another motion was introduced to the parliament in the late fall of

2021, an evening ritual of skimming through the visual documentation of disheveled people sitting on the ground in the middle of a forest or children being packed onto a military truck by armed men in balaclavas, raises the question of complicity. Knowing that people are perishing in the marshes and doing nothing means passive cooperation, tacit assent; in short, connivance. Consequently, a network of support was established across the country, starting with collections for food, gasoline, and specific items, such as thermal sleeping bags. Simultaneously, petitions and open letters by major scientific institutions were written, signed, and delivered. A statement by the Scientific Council of the Institute of Philosophy and Sociology of the Polish Academy of Sciences, dated October 6, 2021, stressed "the growing concern with which [the council] observes the tragedy of migrants who are seeking refuge"; adding that "the fact that this is a provocation by a ruthless dictator does not diminish the suffering of its victims". The statement did not mince words, calling the events on the Polish-Belarusian border, along with the accompanying political discourse, "a ruthless laboratory" and advised against "detaining people in conditions leading to devastation and tracking down those who are trying to get out of this situation" (*Oświadczenie Rady Naukowej Instytutu Filozofii i Socjologii* 2021). An open letter initiated by the ombudsman for academic rights and freedoms at the Jagiellonian University spoke against "migration policies that condemn those at the border to death from starvation, dehydration and hypothermia" and demanded "that the government of Poland take measures that guarantee those currently on the border access to legal protection and humanitarian aid, safe shelter, water and food, and medical assistance" (Chojnowska 2021). Biologists sounded the alarm that the planned construction of a fence on the Polish-Belarusian border would divide the Białowieża Forest, in consequence preventing "movement, migration, and gene flow in populations of rare and protected species to become a death trap for animals trying to cross it and threaten the survival of isolated populations" (*Stanowisko Rady Naukowej Instytutu Biologii* 2021). The Presidium of the Conference of Rectors of Academic Schools in Poland demanded that the government "take all possible measures to ensure respect for the dignity and safety of those seeking international protection and attempting to cross the EU's eastern border" (KRASP 2021). The Senate of the University of Wroclaw reminded the Prime Minister that "Polish people also had been immigrants in the past, for political as well as economic reasons"; as such, they "often crossed borders in defiance of the law of the destination country" (Uchwała Senatu 2021). All such exhortations, calls to reason and appeals to conscience, fell on deaf ears, for obvious reasons: if a regime wants to establish and sustain power, it must set about creating a parallel, illusory reality, and such a task cannot be achieved without ignoring science. In *Nineteen Eighty-Four* the only education worth having is provided by the Party;

the Ministry of Truth concerns itself with news, entertainment, and education alike. Universities are not even mentioned.

The issue of complicity became even more pressing for local people inhabiting the border zone. A bleak landscape, complete with a helicopter flying low over the roofs, as though peering into the windows, became their daily reality. Different ethnicities coexist in this region: some villages are predominantly Belarusian; others – Tatar. Ethnic Poles are relative newcomers to the region, and they too divide into settlers who arrived attracted by job openings in wood factories after World War I or due to the post-World War II relocations and the recent arrivals, freethinkers attracted by the ideal of life in harmony with nature; while lately, newcomers from other EU countries have begun to trickle in, attracted by the beauty of the primeval forest. The imposition of the state of emergency crushed any hope for expanding tourism. Rather, the militarization of the border zone (Palęcka 2022) completes the project of turning the primeval forest into a wood factory and the imposition of nationalistic values on the inhabitants of the border zone. Miniszewski (2022) recalls his stupefaction at how some members of the Border Guard, his former students whom he remembers vowing that they would never harm defenseless people, had no qualms about perpetuating human misery once habituation to violence dissolved a thin layer of ethical scruples.

The initial scene of *Nineteen Eighty-Four* reads like an archetypical scene in which we, the disempowered audience of the autumn and winter developments of 2021–2022, can recognize ourselves. There is always someone to play the part of a woman protester who can be easily dismissed as ignorant and vulgar; there is always room for a wise man who sees more than others but remains inscrutable and withdrawn; finally, the rowdy majority, satisfied with protection and perks afforded to them by the state, silences all other voices, including inner ones. No longer able to write after his visit to the cinema, Winston reflects on the rest of the evening in his own mind. As to the uppity woman, the police arrived to "turn her out"; Winston convinces himself that she will come out unscathed (we doubt it); he attributes her rebellion to "typical prole reaction" and calls his own writing "this stream of rubbish" (Orwell 2003 [1949]: 11). Once he becomes more comfortable with his diary, Winston dares to express his belief in "proles" against better judgement, soon to repeat to himself on different occasions: "If there is hope, it lies with the proles"; that is, with the proletariat, the uncouth and impertinent ones, who could (with universities erased and great works of literature joyfully translated into Newspeak) overthrow the power of the theocratic orthodoxy. Why the religious tone all of a sudden? Because, as Orwell states in his essay *Prevention of Literature* (1946), "A totalitarian state is in effect a theocracy". It is, in short, the state cultivating a belief in its own infallibility.

The blessed state of Polish politics: returning favors

Writing about the symbolic expansion of populism in Poland, Stanley Bill builds on Marta Kotwas and Jan Kubik's exegesis of Poland's Law and Justice (*Prawo i Sprawiedliwość*, PiS) party's narrative strategies as the "thickening" of the previously "thin" populist and political narrative (Bill 2020: 120). Kotwas and Kubik admit to having been in turn inspired by Mudde's distinction between "thin" and "thick" populisms: "While the former are associated with a more inclusive, open vision of collective identity, the latter serve to define narrower visions" (Kotwas, Kubik 2019: 17). At the moment of coming to power in 2015, PiS had only a few catchphrases at its disposal: a program called "a good change", which soon came to mean the dynamic replacement of "pseudo-elites" with the "counter elite"; i.e., better fitted to represent the nation's interests; this process was accomplished through purges in state institutions, personnel changes in the judiciary and military ranks, monopolization of the public media, and the dismantling of the Constitutional Tribunal (Sadurski 2019). Throughout these sweeping changes, Poland's United Right (*Zjednoczona Prawica*) government received strong backing from the Conference of Polish Bishops (*Konferencja Episkopatu Polski*, the central organ of the Catholic Church in Poland), as well as from individual bishops, eager to serve as government mouthpieces, vociferating against "gender ideology" (since December 2014, particularly through the spring of 2015) and "LGBT ideology" (hence the LGBT-free zones of 2019–2020)[5]. Last but not least, thanks to generous government subsidies, Father Tadeusz Rydzyk, who heads a Christian media empire in Toruń, having already contributed to a string of election results, is the true oligarch of the United Right (Bill 2020: 122–123; Kaczyński 2015; Mikołajewska 2021), while photographs presenting Polish politicians who kneel before various religious authorities were common long before PiS took power (Rogojsz 2012).

Agnieszka Graff and Elżbieta Korolczuk suggest that the demonization of gender might indeed be a strategy of the Church to discipline liberal Catholics or, on the other hand, it can serve as an exemplary and "generalized evil that to some

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[5]   In September 2016, the Conference of Polish Bishops scorned a conciliatory campaign "Let us offer each other the sign of peace", initiated by LGBT communities, because it was actively supported by progressive Catholic luminaries (*Komunikat Prezydium KEP* 2016). In March 2019 Polish bishops voiced their opposition to the LGBT Bill of Rights (introduced on the municipal level in Warsaw), deeming its conciliatory tenets a threat to Poland's *raison d'état* (Sosnowski 2019). The strongest voice in the Christian resistance to the "rainbow invasion" (clearly inspired by the ideal of *Antemurale Christianitatis*) was Abp. Jędraszewski of Kraków. Although initially criticized for his dehumanizing utterance of August 1, 2019, when he applied the label of the "rainbow plague" to the LGBT activists (Makarewicz 2020), he was soon cleared by a court of law; undeterred and uncensored, the bishop continues to dress LGBT persons and their allies in metaphors suitable for invaders: "they are trying to seize our Polish and Christian land" (*Abp Jędraszewski* 2020).

extent replaced Jews in their role of a scapegoat associated with modernity and moral degeneracy" (2022: 40). The idea of gender equality and LGBT visibility occasionally portrayed as "a demonic force, in need of being exorcised" (Graff, Korolczuk 2022: 40) facilitates the transformation of the religious movement into a political mobilization. Bill adds synergy to this model, noting how PiS's own "thickened" rhetoric, promising victories over imaginary threats while also encouraging perseverance, coactively returns the favor; regrettably, the narratives that "thicken" are oftentimes used "to exclude minority groups, narrowing the scope of who belongs to the national community" (Bill 2020: 120) in addition to effectively promoting organizations with right-wing profiles, with or without links to Father Rydzyk's media circle, and simultaneously defaming individuals and organizations opposed to the government (Bill 2020: 122–123). In the case of refugees at the border one delineates the potential not just for thickened narratives but for a consistent plot.

Christian appeals slighted as well

*Why did you despise the word of the L*ORD *by doing what is evil in his eyes? … You killed him with the sword of the Ammonites.*
Samuel 2, 12: 9 (*The NIV Bible*)

In the passage quoted above the prophet Nathan reproaches king David for murdering Uriah, his soldier, by proxy. To all appearances Uriah died because he was killed by an opposing army. But Nathan, or rather the Lord speaking through him, will not be fooled: It was David who ordered the soldiers to abandon Uriah in the middle of the battle, thus handing him over to a ferocious enemy. David pleads guilty, which is the only reason why the Lord shall spare him. But he will lose his newborn child because that is how accounts are settled in the Old Testament. Yet the deception that David committed is obviously a grave offense, casting a long shadow over the future of his kin. Nathan adds: "Now, therefore, the sword will never depart from your house" (Samuel 2, 12: 10). The issue of feigning ignorance and shifting responsibility to a remote other party is of the essence here: in the official governmental narrative, Belarus is the source of evil, luring the unfortunates (migrants or refugees, this remains undetermined) with the promise of a free passage to the EU (at a high price paid to a tourist agency), then funneling them across the border, and transforming them into weapons of a "hybrid war". Pushed back, the migrants or refugees are transformed again into naïve, reckless people who will have only themselves to blame if they are killed by admittingly more brutal Belarusian guards. All the while, Poland's treatment

of refugees is beyond reproach (*RPO: Wstrzymać pushbacki* 2022). The migrants' counternarratives highlights their often futile and yet repeated efforts to counteract the ruthlessness encountered in the "zone" by bringing international attention to their plight (*Polska: Okrucieństwo zamiast współczucia* 2022). In the specific case of Usnarz Górny, the migrants set up camp in a narrow strip of land, as the Belarusian guards prevented them from returning. The fact that Belarus is not a safe country for migrants and asylum seekers should not have come as a surprise to anyone at the time. President Lukashenko's government unleashed a massive civil society crackdown in response to a public protest of 2020. In the summer of 2021, the Belarusian authorities announced a "purge" of nongovernmental organizations, shutting down at least 270 NGOs between August and October; consequently, Belarusian human rights defenders had no means to organize humanitarian aid for migrants or to provide them with legal or other assistance (*Belarus Authorities Purge* 2021; *A Year of Dismantling Civil Society* 2021; *Die Here or Go to Poland* 2021). The Belarusian parliament voted on suspending an agreement with the EU that regulated taking back migrants who crossed its territory into the EU on October 4, 2021, but the move had already been announced by Lukashenko in June (*Belarus Parliament Votes* 2021). The awareness of this larger context prompted the Polish Border Guards to be initially supportive of the migrants, so that they provided them with food, hoping for a favorable outcome (Miniszewski 2022; *Koczują na granicy* 2021).

Operating within the bounds of international law (The 1951 UN Refugee Convention), the United Nations Human Rights Council representative in Poland, Christine Goyer, called on the Polish authorities to end the impasse on the Polish-Belarusian border with an emphasis on providing immediate assistance, legal advice, and psychological support to the people stranded near Usnarz Górny on August 24. On the same day, Christian Wigand, the European Commission (EC) spokesperson, skillfully siding with both the proponents of a humanitarian approach and the hardliners, called for "full respect for migrants' fundamental rights" while also stating that the EC could not accept "any attempts by third countries to incite or acquiesce in illegal migration" towards the EU (*Poland claims* 2021). Arriving in Usnarz on the same day Marcin Wiącek, the Polish Ombudsman, reported that the thirty-two persons stranded at the border, including five women, had "no access to sanitary facilities and have to satisfy their physiological needs near the camp". If the Polish government turned a deaf ear to these voices, it could be attributed to the fact that all of them represented the secular ethics rooted in the democratic values of the EU – not the "preferred" Christian ones. And yet two days before these visitations and two days after the release of the first ministerial act condemning migrants to expulsion, Bishop Krzysztof Zadarko, President of the Conference of Polish Bishops (KEP) Council for Migration,

Tourism and Pilgrimages issued *The Message of the Council on Refugees Arriving in Poland*. The public had every reason to believe that the administration was going to obey KEP's guidance.

Published on August 22, 2021, and quoting Pope Francis' call to welcome "every foreigner who knocks on our door" as "an opportunity to encounter Jesus Christ", *The Message* rests on the official albeit outdated concept of "the fundamental difference between refugees – who are fleeing a country for political, religious, ethnic, or other forms of persecution or war – and those who are simply seeking illegal entry into a country to improve their material situation" (Zadarko 2021b). Contrarily, several migration scholars (Parekh 2020; Beznec et al. 2016; Kogovšek-Šalamon 2016; Bužinkić, Hameršak 2018) supported by testimonies and memoirs (Nayeri 2019) stress that a firm distinction between "opportunistic migrants" and the "unselfish refugee" is both unrealistic and harmful. First, no regime targets only its opposition; indeed, mature regimes tend to be fickle, harassing their victims at random for no other purpose than that of keeping an entire population in a state of submission. Second, the charge of opportunism specifically undermines the claims of women seeking refugee status. Is a female resident of a Kurdish village an opportunist because she hopes to avoid sexual violence or an Afghan woman who desires professional opportunities an opportunist? Apparently, yes – she is, according to the criteria for refugee admissions, unless she challenges the authority to the point of risking her life to prove that her drive for professionalism is strong enough (Nayeri 2019). But to do it justice, Bishop Zadarko's document also warns that

> human dramas must not become an instrument for arousing xenophobic sentiments, especially those fostered in the name of a falsely understood patriotism, which humiliates people coming from another region of the world, another culture or another religion. Instilling fear of the other is inhuman and unchristian. Our ancestors were emigrants and refugees during the partitions, during World War II and during the years of communism. They experienced the help of people from other cultures and religions. To deny newcomers their fundamental rights is to turn our back on our own history and to deny our Christian heritage (Zadarko 2021b).

But the erasure of fundamental rights is exactly what happened. Following the introduction of a state of emergency by President Andrzej Duda on September 2, 2021 (*Orędzie prezydenta Andrzeja Dudy* 2021), Mariusz Kamiński, the Minister of Internal Affairs and Administration restated that Poland acted within the limits of what was customary for the protection of the Schengen Area borders, remaining in daily contact with and relying on exchange of information with Frontex on the same day (*Kamiński o stanie wyjątkowym* 2021), even though some voices argue these acts were passed in defiance of both the Geneva Convention of 1951

and Polish Constitution (Górczyńska 2021; Pałęcka 2022). Another Decree of the President of the Republic on the extension of the state of emergency was issued on October 1, 2021. In practice this meant a ban on public meetings, mass events, including artistic events, restricted access to the area to all who were not residents of the zone, including humanitarian organization activists, curtailed access to public information, and a ban of recording by technical means. More than a dozen exceptions to the prohibition of free movement of citizens could be applied to residents of the locality (allowed to move freely only in the vicinity of their locality) and various military and paramilitary formations (Górczyńska 2021; Pałęcka 2022). These restrictions were restated in the amended State Border Law of November 17, 2021, extending the limits on movement until June 30, 2022. Thus, as if following the principles underlined earlier in Philip Zimbardo's 1971 experiment[6], Poland did to the border zone what Belarus did to the whole country.

Another coincidence can help us shed some light on KEP's noteworthy intentions to provide a solution to the humanitarian crisis. On October 18, two days prior to the dismantling of the migrant camp in Usnarz, the local paper *Głos Wielkopolski* published excerpts from the 2021 Corpus Christi sermon by archbishop Stanisław Gądecki who, addressing the migrant crisis, expressed the necessity for the migrants "to be welcomed, protected, promoted and integrated" by means of a humanitarian corridor (Ossowski 2021). The article went on to describe the program of humanitarian corridors, implemented by the Italian Community of Sant'Egidio and its intention "to help the most needy: persecuted, ill and families with children" without overwhelming local communities. In addition, it depicted the practicalities of providing "shelter, security and basic services", offering "opportunities for work and formation", and fostering "family reunification and protection of young people" (Ossowski 2021). With its reasonable tone, the article was clearly meant to appeal to the voters of the ruling party by recalling how Jarosław Kaczyński, the PiS leader and a puppet master of Polish politics, supported the idea of humanitarian corridors in 2017, and President Duda visited the community of Sant'Egidio in Rome in September of 2020, exemplifying the President's previously benevolent stance. However, it sank in a flood of evidence of the refugees' aggression of October 20 and November 7. The newcomers were evidently threatening the integrity of the Polish border; for this offence they had to be condemned to "a game of ping-pong" (the term "ping-pong pushbacks" denotes being pushed back and forth by both Polish and Belarusian guards) until death from hypothermia (*Die Here or Go to Poland* 2021). Winter was inevitably coming.

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[6]   An experiment into how social context can influence a person's actions. College-aged men volunteered to become either prisoners or guards in a mock prison environment. The study, originally scheduled to last two weeks, was cancelled after six days because of the cruelty and abusive behaviour shown by the guards. Also known as the Stanford Prison Experiment [editor's footnote].

Meanwhile, the group Researchers on the Border was established in the first half of November, 2021 (the ban on free movement did not explicitly forbid research). Activists participating in the first hybrid seminar (out of four) organized by Researchers on the Border in the spring of 2022 recalled an acute sense of unreality when being stopped and searched by unidentified yet uniformed service personnel: long searches, questioning, and intimidation based on a suspicion that they might be assisting refugees. They also experienced a sense of unreality upon having helped someone fill out an asylum application only to be informed in the course of a few days by the Border Patrol that such a person did not exist. The forest, previously a welcoming area, became a site of trauma and danger for the volunteers, and while this danger was often symbolic, limited to harassment (like the stop-and-search routine performed at check-points several times a day), the excessive presence of the state combined with a lack of clear guidelines was apparent, contributing to an atmosphere of ostracization for anyone inclined to become involved in support networks (Researchers on the Border First Hybrid Seminar January 22–23, 2022; *Die Here or Go Back to Poland* 2021).

Despite the continuing arousal of xenophobic sentiments, KEP did not abandon the issue. The debate in Warsaw of November 24, 2021, *The Church in Poland in Relation to Migrants and Refugees*, promoted an inclusive approach based on the 2013 document of the Pontifical Council for the Pastoral Care of Migrants and Travelers and the Pontifical Council Cor Unum, *Welcoming Christ in Refugees and Forcibly Displaced Persons*, which states: "Each of us must have the courage not to look away from refugees and forcibly displaced persons, but to let their faces penetrate our hearts, and to welcome them into our lives. If we listen to their hopes and despair, we will understand their feelings" (*Abp. Polak: Stanowisko Kościoła* 2021). But neither the November debate, nor the December 22 *Declaration of the Permanent Council of KEP regarding the appeal of Pope Francis on the Admission of Refugees* (*Oświadczenie Rady Stałej KEP* 2021), signed, this time, by the President of the Polish Episcopal Conference, Archbishop Gądecki, under the patronage of Pope Francis, brought even the slightest change in border practices.

Meanwhile, the schism between the church and the state must have become obvious to the sensitive instrument of social media because both Bishop Zadarko and Primate Polak found themselves "flooded by a wave of online harassment" (*Abp. Polak: Nauczanie Kościoła* 2021), the latter following his sermon on November 11, the day of the usually volatile celebration of Polish Independence Day dominated by nationalistic groups. Only a few days earlier, on November 8, as if goaded by an impeccable albeit fatal sense of timing, a large group of migrants was announced to be planning to cross the border between Belarus and Poland. When the migrants appeared at the border crossing point, Polish police and the military were at the ready. The situation quickly turned into a skirmish, following which

the material evidence of the refugees' aggression against Poland was shared and retweeted for several days and helped to turn the November 11 march into a patriotic upheaval (*Orędzie prezydenta Andrzeja Dudy* 2021). Against Primate Polak's November 11 conciliatory sermon, Prime Minister Morawiecki's announcement of the sacredness of the border on his Facebook account (Morawiecki 2021) and in the press (*Morawiecki: Ta granica jest świętością* 2021) was enthusiastically received by nationalists.

Conclusion: the border sanctified, its crossing a sacrilege

The end of 2021 marked an apparent disunion; the migrants continue to be pushed back into the territory of Belarus where they are beaten, injured, harassed, robbed, dispersed, denied help, pushed back; finally, if they survive yet another attempt, locked in Polish centers for foreigners where, according to the recent reports by Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch, they suffer further isolation, abuse, and mistreatment. Even an unexplained failure of imagination could not prevent the Polish authorities from envisioning the dire, potentially lethal consequences of pushbacks to the migrants. The Usnarz case was perhaps the first instance of the ruling party defying the Church since the 2015 electoral victory, most likely carefully considered, as divorcing an ally at a pivotal moment always carries a certain risk. Moreover, the dividing line between the Church and State is not obvious; some church officials align themselves with the governmental hardliners. As Bishop Zadarko (2021a) revealed to *Więź*, even a certain faction of the religious press ignored the August 22 message, never quoting from it or reprinting it. Considering how welcoming the Jasna Góra sanctuary had been to fringe elements in the nationalistic movement, opening its gates to their pilgrimages and eulogizing their militaristic traditions, and how consistently and ardently useful the Church had been, joining the government in its crusade against gender equality, pride marches, and ecological awareness, while also faithfully supporting the ruling party at all local and national elections, this sudden turnabout, and such a manifest governmental unwillingness to listen to and follow episcopal guidance, must have been a humbling experience to the nation's spiritual guardians from the Conference of Polish Bishops (*Dotychczasowy apel o przyjęcie uchodźców* 2021)[7].

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[7]   It must be added, however, that one year later, Bishop Zadarko and the KEP Council for Migration, Tourism and Pilgrimages did not veer from its course, in a communiqué for the World Day of Migrants and Refugees in the Church stating that the situation of incoming migrants and refugees "is increasingly opening up the prospect of creating a common future in Poland. The appeal for humane treatment of all those seeking refuge and a better life in Poland, regardless of their status,

Common internet trolls and perhaps also respectable citizens attacking Primate Polak in the aftermath of his sermon on November 11, continued to reiterate their leaders' rejection of "humanitarian corridors" and other conciliatory policies offered by KEP. The Christian ideal of charity was in the course of winter 2022 officially replaced by the idea of the "sacredness of the border", reiterated on February 16, 2022, at the construction site in Kuźnica, where Prime Minister Morawiecki assured the public that the 186-kilometer-long border barrier would "bring stabilization" and was intended as "a strategic investment to protect our border and citizens". This is how the idea of the "sacredness of the border" found its way from a Facebook post to an official announcement on the Chancellery of the Prime Minister webpage (*Morawiecki: polska granica to świętość* 2022). The turning point is not towards the secularization of the state; quite to the contrary, the state invites its citizens to reshape themselves as followers, as they shift their religious sentiments to embrace not the words of the Gospels, or even the cult of John Paul II, but the cult of the border. The border, through the filter of patriotic feeling, is transformed, redeemed by the sacrificial blood of those who have fought for it. Such a border is no longer a matter of secular agreements. Crossing it is a sacrilege (Girard 1977). From the cult of the border, we are only one step to the cult of the state itself.

Epilogue: an unexplained failure of imagination

On February 24, 2022, Russia attacked Ukraine, and the stagnation of the Polish-Belarusian border zone faded into the distant background. Refugees began to arrive from a neighboring country; people whom at last we were allowed to help. After hearing for almost the entire year that if we wanted refugees so badly, we could welcome them into our homes, we did just that. Meanwhile, in the border zone, "the removal of foreigners" solidified into an expression rooted in the November 2021 Polish law and entered the official language of Border Guard commanders (*Violence and Pushbacks* 2022). The continued expulsions of the Afghans, Iraqis, and Syrians contrasted all the more sharply with the warm welcome offered to the people fleeing from the war-ravaged areas in Ukraine (*Witamy w Guantanamo* 2022; *Violence and Pushbacks* 2022; Miniszewski 2022; Ciobanu 2022b). All throughout the spring, some activists supporting refugees at the Polish-Belarusian border had to clear their names in courts of law, even though the same assistance earned praise when extended to the people fleeing war in Ukraine (Rumieńczyk 2022).

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nationality, or place of crossing the Polish border, is timely. Their dignity must never be curtailed or suspended by any law", communiqué of September 21, 2022 (Zadarko 2022c).

The astonished Ukrainians, albeit grateful, also protested about this double standard, calling the pushbacks of families coming from outside Europe "shameless and cruel" (*Apel organizacji ukraińskich* 2022).

A press conference of June 30, 2022, by the completed border wall, at first glance presents a rational narrative; the government has every right to praise its efficiency and foresight upon bringing a difficult project to a completion. But why **efficiency and foresight**? According to Minister Kamiński, Poland successfully dismantled Putin's plan to destabilize Poland, the Baltic states, and even Europe itself (*Premier Mateusz Morawiecki: zapora na granicy z Białorusią* 2022); *Mateusz Morawiecki, Mariusz Kamiński, Maciej Wąsik* 2022). Poland prevented the emergence of an eastern European illegal migration route to destabilize the political and social situation in that part of the world. Instead of multiplying problems, we solve them, which is why, the Minister concluded, "we can now boldly support Ukraine" (*Mateusz Morawiecki, Mariusz Kamiński, Maciej Wąsik* 2022). In this narrative the refugees from Asia and Africa figure as both weapons of destabilization and unfortunate, misguided individuals, and Polish border guards as their kind-hearted supporters, saving their lives by bringing them to the hospital (*Mateusz Morawiecki, Mariusz Kamiński, Maciej Wąsik* 2022). Not a word was said about the practice of separating families on such occasions, reported by the HRW in November 2021 (routinely, only one person was allowed to stay with a sick family member; all others would be promptly subjected to pushbacks) (*Die Here or Go to Poland* 2021).

And yet the border wall is a miracle of transubstantiation. Its task is to symbolically separate us from the evil whose kernel is Belarus. The steel barrier (made of Polish steel, manufactured by state-owned companies) will be supplemented with an electronic barrier: sensors and cameras, completed in a timely manner in defiance of the opposition's doubts and criticism. Its timely completion stands for the end of all crises. Not a promised land, but a promised border wall is delivered to the people. Any distress sparked in part by war and in part by inflation; more precisely, by the 15.6% inflation rate in June (Szymański 2022) will be appeased by the announcement that a 186 km (115 miles) long and 5.5 metres (18 feet) high structure is cutting through the wilderness at a cost of 353 million euros ($407m) (*Poland completes Belarus border wall* 2022). The question of moral obligations, drawn from the Kantian morality rooted in human reason, as opposed to Machiavellian efficacy, whereby the goal (effective defense of the borders) is the only measure that should be applied to actions, and therefore justify the means, is not even raised (Parekh 2020: 50–56).

In the alternative reality of the border wall press conference, time has a circular movement – just as sacred time is wont to do – as if no formidable enemy emerged in the meantime, as if Russia was not keen on aiming its rockets, always

"by accident", at all kinds of outstanding architectural achievements and other manifestations of national pride in the neighboring country of Ukraine, as if no threats had just been verbalized by Belarus, no attacks on Polish military targets announced (*Szef białoruskiego wywiadu ujawnia* 2022). "Roads have been built along the entire border so that it can intervene in a flash", the Prime Minister proudly announced (*Morawiecki przed zaporą* 2022). The "it" most likely refers to the Border Guard, which is presently opening new career opportunities in the Polish-Belarusian border zone. Henceforth, the rest of Poland can sleep soundly because the symbolic construction of political reality is complete.

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Satisfaction Despite Precarity.
Applying the Concept of Flexibility to Understand Tricity Uber Drivers' Attitudes to Their Work

App-mediated work-on-demand is a socio-economic phenomenon which can be successfully analyzed using the concepts of borders and boundaries. In the article, a perspective from the sociology of work is implemented in connection with an international ride-hailing company in the Polish labor market. The boundaries that are present in the flexible/precarious work of Uber drivers will be examined. Based on twenty-one semi-structured interviews with Uber drivers conducted during the first wave of the SARS-CoV-2 pandemic in Europe, this article analyzes answers given by drivers concerning their level of satisfaction with work co-existing with poor working conditions. Using the concept of flexibility, workers positions in the platform economy are characterized according to a typology proposed by Don Jonsson. In conclusion the flexibility/stability distinction is supplemented by the boundary between labor power and work as a process. The main observation resulting from the analysis points to the fact that Ubers drivers praise flexibility not because they inadvertently understand their position but because they are under pressure from transformations taking place in the social division of labor. As a result of this, drivers and other on-demand workers are in a situation of variability to which the flexibility provided by the platform is – from their point of view – one of the few possible solutions.

Keywords: labor, on-demand, gig, Uber, precarity, flexibility

Introduction

In the article, the perspective of the sociology of work[2] will be applied in connection with the problem of internationalization. Considerations of borders will include the socio-economic intersection of a multinational corporation with a local,

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semi-peripheral labor market. To be more specific, the paper reports the results of a study conducted among Uber drivers in Gdańsk, Gdynia and Sopot. Uber as a global company crosses international borders, but it also crosses social and economic borders interfering in supernational (i.e. the European Union), national (in the case presented here, Poland) and local businesses[3] (the Pomeranian region of Poland). In doing so, Uber has changed the way the ride-hailing industry operates disrupting, among others, (self)employment patterns.

Uber's operation in Poland will be considered below as part of the platform economy or, more precisely, work-on-demand (WOD). In this article, according to the definition provided by De Stefano (2016), the latter is understood as a form of engagement in which the execution of traditional working activities such as personal transport, cleaning and running errands is channeled through apps managed by firms that also intervene in setting minimum quality standards of service and in the selection and management of the workforce. In relation to this, the management element of the phenomena of WOD is a point of special interest, while relations between the platform and worker are viewed from the perspective of the concept of flexibility.

Jan Ch. Karlsson (2007) points out that flexibility in the past, as with WOD today, was seen as beneficial for workers, employer, both groups, or neither of them. Moreover, WOD or gig work more broadly, can be analyzed directly through the lens of flexibility by applying Karlsson's (2007) question concerning which entity in the labor relation has flexibility and who is flexible? From the perspective of border studies, the use of the concept of flexibility has additional advantages. It can clearly indicate the moments of transgression, the crossing of borders and the disappearance of the boundaries of work (for example, work-life and the border between different forms of employment).

Based on the existing literature on WOD, it seems clear that workers experience flexibility directly connected with precarity and extensive algorithmic surveillance (Rosenblat 2018; Rosenblat, Stark 2016). On the other hand, it has been noted that gig workers in general and Uber drivers specifically, report strong satisfaction with the flexibility they gain by working through the platform (Harris, Krueger 2015; Hall, Krueger 2017; Polkowska 2019b; Schor et al. 2020). In the research presented in this article informants also expressed satisfaction. For example, Marcin aged 27 said that he worked for Uber because: "flexibility is the advantage".

Consequently, it remains unclear why WOD workers experiencing precarity (Aloisi 2015; Polkowska 2019a) remain satisfied with their position. Although applications, such as Uber, Bold or Lift in the case of drivers, apparently make the work of gig workers precarious in many different ways, workers themselves see their

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[3]   So called "incumbent" business.

position as suitable to their needs. Polkowska (2019b) proposes an explanation of this paradox pointing to the "illusory authority" of the WOD workers. It seems that the concept of "illusory authority" can be applicable to a single worker or an aggregate of workers, but it does not explain the structural mechanism behind the paradox (that is, poor working conditions connected with high satisfaction). Vili Lehdonvirta (2018) tries to find such structural constraints on worker-controlled flexibility showing that in some "online piecework" the platform's autonomy on scheduling can result in a competitive zero-sum game where one worker's flexibility is another's structural constraint. Moreover, Lehdonvirta's study confirms Alex J. Woods' (2016) observation that with little bargaining power the formal flexibility of workers can easily turn into manager-controlled flexibility.

These are instructive insights but still the question can be asked: how should we understand flexibility and how does the definition of the phenomena influence the answer to the above paradox. Taking into consideration the above question, the purpose of this study is to re-examine the decade-old discussion on flexibility and to gain new perspectives on the "satisfaction paradox" in WOD based on the conditions reported by Uber drivers. Taking Schor's (2020) summery of the literature on WOD and Dan Jonsson's (2007a) distinction between flexibility and stability as points of departure, the concept will be developed further. In particular, it will be elaborated by adding the Marxist concept of the division of the labor force (or ability to work) and work as a process. The argument will be made that a proper answer to the above paradox of the WOD workers' assessments of their own situation has to consider not only the question which party of the work contract gains from flexibility but how it influences work as a process and the worker as an owner of labor power (on the ownership of labor power see Tittenbrun 2018). In other words, I ask how flexibility as a concept crosses the boundary between unstable work and the precarious condition of selling labor power seen from a broad socio-economic perspective.

Flexibility and work-on-demand

In the past decade much research in the sociology of work has focused on the platform economy in general and WOD specifically. The American sociologist Juliet Schor (2020) enumerates three frameworks most often used to analyze the work on platforms: precarity, algorithmic control, and efficiency. The first highlights the precariousness of platform workers stressing long working hours, low wages, lack of social security and lack of employment contracts (for example: Aloisi 2015; Polkowska 2019a). The second perspective adds to the picture in terms of algorithmic control (Rosenblat 2018; Rosenblat, Stark, 2016), where it has been observed that

platforms rely heavily on algorithms to manage, control, and even manipulate contractors. The approach shows the inevitability of algorithmic management but has also recently revealed the ability of workers to resist and "play" with algorithms for their own purposes (Reid-Musson et al. 2020). The third framework for analyzing platform work sees workers as independent entities gaining freedom and autonomy from an advanced technological infrastructure (Sundararajan 2016; Hall, Krueger 2017).

Stewart et al. (2020) call the latter approach an **economic opportunity narrative** whereby WOD workers are described as proprietors of their own small businesses, claiming more autonomy and flexibility for themselves than they could achieve through traditional employment. In this approach, Uber's way of organizing the ride-hailing business is simply more efficient than the incumbent system (i.e., Taxis, hence the label of efficiency). From the perspective shared by Sundararajan (2016) and Hall and Krueger (2017), algorithmic control is a new incarnation of a justifiable managerial prerogative and precarity is only another name for desirable flexibility.

Obviously, the perspectives discussed by Schor (2020) remain, at least in part, contradictory and mutually exclusive. Interestingly, this state of affairs resembles previous discussions around the issue of flexibility. The literature on flexibility in the platform economy is substantial but also divided. On the one hand, the narrative of economic opportunity describes gig workers as entities seizing the chance to use their own "idle" assets and turn them into a means of providing services (Schor, Attwood-Charles 2017). The entrepreneurial ideals behind this point of view are associated with worker autonomy and freedom, not only in task assignment and working schedule but also in equal relation with the platform and service recipient using it. In addition to this, the lack of formal constraints advertised to workers as a great advance over traditional forms of work (Stewart et al. 2020) connected with the content of casual, piece or *gig* work, creates a picture of a strong worker-controlled flexibility. Meanwhile, the features of work organization crucial for platforms are presented as characteristics which are beneficial for entities engaged in work on the platform.

On the other hand, the above narrative is rejected by scholars who point to the fact that work via such a platform provides a great deal of formal flexibility for workers but only in the sense that it provides solace in poor working conditions (Aloisi 2015). As Lehdonvirta (2018) stressed little is known about the structural constraints in this type of work, while the WOD platforms, especially Uber, are strongly criticized for enabling "casualization" or precarization of employment under the label of "flexibility". In such a situation, the model of employment relation implemented by the platforms is described as 'selling a pig in a poke.' A Taylorist-like, fragmented work routine, lack of employment contract and digital surveillance are seen as the

true nature of such extensive work that is branded as including a bulk of tasks which allow the worker to experience freedom and entrepreneurship.

In other words, flexibility in WOD is described as ideological and business oriented – *Nihil novi sub sole*. Indeed, flexibility as a concept has been criticized as one-sided and ideological from the beginning. In the book *Flexibility and Stability in Working Life*, Furåker et al. described it as follows: "flexibility [is] an excellent basis for forming ideological and value-laden discourses on the new working life" (2007: 1). Other authors add to this idea when they write that "the flexibility concept has been well used, if not overused, in discussions of different staffing models, particularly since the late 1980s when 'lean production' concepts, such as 'just-in-time', became popular" (Håkansson, Isidorsson 2007: 125). Furthermore, in many cases flexibility is treated as the inherent property of a particular company, branch, or even the economy. In the case of the platform economy, WOD included, the whole sector is treated as if it is based on flexibility.

For Karlsson (2007) flexibility is a historical idea related to changes that occurred in developed economies in the late 1990s and the early 2000s. It is connected with the intensification of competition, technological change, globalization and the growing demand for profit maximization on behalf of stockholders. These changes led to the search for a new model of work organization suitable to a dynamic and consumer dominated market. From this perspective, WOD is just another incarnation of the processes described by Karlsson. To be more specific, it is an answer to the challenge of increasing work productivity in the service sector. Aloisi (2015) correctly observed that the time workers spend working on the platform online is a key issue for their daily compensation. To earn a significant sum of money, not to mention a living wage, gig workers usually work more hours than employees on standard contracts – something which is also confirmed in the study presented in this article. In short, the main challenge for worker productivity in services is the time between particular acts of service. WOD platforms deal with this issue by establishing rules according to which the worker performs a service and gains income or stays idle without remuneration. Simply put; idle time has been eliminated. Usually in the market economy efficiency gains are achieved by tighter control of the work process. It is no different in the case of Uber (or WOD platforms in general). Greater efficiency is accomplished by workers "being flexible" i.e. being at the disposal of the platform[4]. This idea will be developed in the last section of the article.

The authors of *Flexibility and Stability in Working Life* elaborate on the concept of flexibility going beyond its ideological bias by building a distinction between

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[4]   Efficiency gains should by understood here simply as savings for the company. The service itself usually does not change its content (see Hill 2015; Mika 2020).

flexibility and stability. In chapter two Karlsson (2007) tracks four discourses on flexibility and comes to the conclusion that whether or not flexibility is good, depends upon whom it is for. He recalls the distinction on being flexible and having flexibility he developed with Eriksson (Karlsson, Eriksson 2000) and states that flexibility is a double-edged concept. "If employers are to have flexibility, workers must be flexible (…). If, on the other hand, workers are to have flexibility, employers must be flexible: for example, if workers are to have flexibility in accumulating leave, management must be flexible in working time arrangements" (Karlsson 2007: 29). So having flexibility means enjoying benefits from it and to be flexible means submitting to the requirements of the other party. In the case of WOD platforms, as was mentioned above, this requires the elimination of idle time. Having flexibility is a desirable situation while being flexible is not desirable. Interestingly, later in this article, an interesting paradox that was observed among Uber drivers is presented: drivers enjoy being flexible as they perceive the situation in which they are flexible as one in which they have flexibility.

With regard to desirable and undesirable situations in relation to flexibility, Jonsson (2007a) proposes a slightly different approach to Karlsson's. The author stresses that variability rather than flexibility is the thing that should be considered desirable or undesirable. If a situation is to be volatile, then flexibility and stability are the responses to it.

Table 1. Interrelations among the concepts of flexibility, stability, inflexibility and instability

Type of situation	Variability is desirable	Variability is undesirable
Situation with variability	Flexibility	Instability
Situation without variability	Inflexibility	Stability

Source: own elaboration on: (Jonsson 2007a: 34).

Jonsson's (2007a) concept of flexibility is built on the boundary between stability and flexibility as a proper response to a situation (respectively) with and without variability. However, instability and inflexibility are inappropriate responses to the situation seen from the perspective of one side of the employment contract. Jonsson (2007a: 73) points out that his analysis allows a systematic typology of flexibility and stability. He enumerates five types of flexibility/stability: a) employment relation, b) working time, c) workplace, d) work (i.e. content and intensity) and e) remuneration. These types are used in the analysis below.

Following Jonsson's (2007a) argumentation, Karlsson's question can still be asked: for whom is the variability desirable? In the work-on-demand ride-hailing business variability from the perspective of the worker can be observed. Drivers perceive themselves as people who, objectively, are in a situation of volatility. In

that sense, comments on the false consciousness or misplaced ideas on their situation are inaccurate. Drivers recognize their variability and respond to it with the need for flexibility. As Reid-Musson et al. (2020) accurately point out, Uber drivers are waiting for independence and flexibility and act with resistance when the company does not meet their expectations.

Labor process and labor power

Below, both Karlsson's distinction (on being flexible and having flexibility) and Jonsson's typology will be used in an analysis of the behavior of Uber drivers in the Tricity urban area during the SARS-CoV-2 pandemic. Nevertheless, the theoretical orientation accepted by Jonsson, Karlsson and other authors in *Flexibility and Stability in Working Life*, has a serious limitation. It does not make the distinction between labor power (or ability to work) and work as a process. For example, when Jonsson (2007a) distinguishes between flexibility/stability of working time (how long and how systematically a person works) and remuneration (stability of earnings) he treats those factors as separate types.

Applying the classical Marxist observation that in capitalism a worker's ability to work is treated as a commodity and is bought and sold on the market, questions can be asked about the properties of this commodity. Is a worker's labor power bought because of her/his ability to put this means of service in motion or because the worker has special skills and knowledge? In the words of Jacek Tittenbrun (2018): is the worker labor power Achievement-Based or Ascription-Based? If the latter is the case, the worker receives a salary irrespective of the amount of work actually done. For example, the physician performs a particular form of service i.e., health care but is renumerated no matter how many patients s/he examines. In this case the salary is Ascription-Based which results from the state's guarantee of a monopoly on the special education and power of the occupational association of doctors. Comparing the position of physicians with taxi or Uber drivers it is easy to see that the latter are remunerated only for the work actually done (Achievement-Based). It is worth mentioning that the employment status of taxi drivers does not differ significantly from those of Uber drivers. The Polish ride-hailing industry was "uberised" before the platform was introduced onto the market (and not only in Poland – see Tsoneva (2015) for the case of Bulgaria).

The example used here shows that remuneration could be closely related to employment flexibility/stability but is directly connected with the features of labor power (Tittenbrun used the concept of the ownership of labor power). In other words, labor power as an object of transaction has its own features separate from work as a process.

Table 2. Flexibility of labor power and work

Labor power (as an object of transaction)	Work (as a vector variable)	
	Variability within a single work process (in tasks connected to a single position)	Variability in the relations between positions
Individual features (skills, knowledge, personal qualifications)	Flexibility as an adaptation to the requirements placed upon the position (i.e. work scheduling, daily routines deskilling, reskilling)	Flexibility as an adaptation to changes in the technical division of labor (promotion, degradation, spatio-temporal mobility)
Collective (or social) features (professional standards, craftsmanship)	Flexibility as an adaptation to the changes in the content of competences within the profession	Flexibility as an adaptation to changes in the social division of labor

Source: the author.

As shown in Table 2 flexibility should include not only the individual perspective of the single owner of the labor power but also the social relation within the technical and social division of labor. Accordingly, it should not lose sight of the collective dimension of the employment relationship. Taking the ride-hailing industry as an example of a WOD platform, it can be seen that drivers experience flexibility in two mutually connected senses: as an adaptation to the requirements of the position and as an adaptation to the changes of the social division of labor. This idea will be elaborated in the *Results of the study* section below.

Methodology of the study

The reported research on Uber drivers was based on a study conducted from April to June 2020 in the middle of the first wave of the SARS-CoV-2 pandemic in Europe. Semi-structured interviews (forty to ninety minutes long) were used as the main tool of investigation. In total twenty-one phone interviews were carried out with Uber drivers from the Tricity urban area (the whole agglomeration numbers 800 000 inhabitants). The interview situation was similar to the CATI technique (computer-assisted telephone interviewing). Additionally, the initial research plan was different; it was to have included personal contacts between researcher and drivers. However, because of the lockdown and the public health threat posed by face-to-face meetings this was abandoned. Instead, the researcher decided to conduct the study based on interviews via phone with the questioner visible on the screen of the computer.

Drivers were selected using web-forums, social-media group pages and direct personal contact (during a ride). Elements of snowball sampling were also included. Every driver was asked if s/he knew other Uber drivers willing to participate in the study. In the sampling process the help of students was crucial as the personal contacts and the frequency of use of the Uber application of this group created an opportunity to recruit participants. The general sample included four women and seventeen men aged between twenty-one and sixty. Three of the study participants were migrant workers from Ukraine and Belarus (all of them male). For twelve drivers in the sample, app-mediated work was their main source of income and for six of them, work as an Uber driver was their only source of income.

The variety of professional situations is potentially important because it creates an opportunity to learn about the different responses to variability and thus potentially different forms of flexibility. Previous studies show, for example, important differences between platform-dependent drivers and others while, on the whole, differences are especially valid in respect of working conditions (Donavan et al. 2016; Piasna, Drahokoupil 2019; Schor et al. 2020). This research was also special because of the pandemic which created another circumstance of variability, or to be more specific, a situation of risk and hazard. In the period of the study five of the twenty-one interviewees temporarily suspended their app-based work fearing SARS-CoV-2 infection and two completely abandoned the activity.

The distinction between work and labor power was pivotal for the concept of the study and was figured into the questionnaire (Tittenbrun 2018). A semi-structured interview questionnaire was used so the coding procedure was one-stage. However, because of the size of the sample and extraordinary circumstances, the interview answers were usually long and comprehensive. Cross sectional coding was necessary to capture the central theoretical categories connected with stability/flexibility and the social dimension of the latter. The references to the categories that are important to the study and which are presented in this paper, include questions on reasons for working as an Uber driver, work scheduling and who is responsible for its preparation, level of control over the work process (for example, the number of rides, speed, route selection, music in the car, reputation system built into the app), subordination to management authority (coping with the algorithm), payment and remuneration (amount and frequency), level of platform dependency (additional source of income, the size of the household), and the amount of spare time at the driver's disposal.

Switching to the category level, the following research questions were asked: a) Do drivers appreciate the flexibility of working on the platform? b) Is flexibility beneficial to drivers (using Karlsson's categories – do they have flexibility or are they flexible)? and c) How is the flexibility of the drivers linked to the social division of labor? To answer these questions, first the Jonsson typology was used, then it was supplemented by the analysis which is summarized in Table 2.

Results of the study –
a flexible and (not always) happy Uber driver

As has been pointed out above, Jonsson's (2007a) typology used here (marked in bold) starts with **employment relation**, which can be summarized with the question of whether a person is employed by a single employer. In the literature on WOD in general, and Uber in particular, there is an ongoing debate on the legal status of service providers (Alosi 2015; De Stefano 2016). The institutional regime itself has undergone change during the last decade making WOD workers in some countries employers and in others self-employed. In Poland, the so-called Uber-lex adopted in 2019, and brought into force on January 1st, 2021, obliges drivers to register their activity or work with someone who has made such a registration. The law makes no distinction between taxi and Uber drivers. Therefore, WOD drivers became formally equated with other personal drivers. Formally Uber drivers should be self-employed but in fact they often work with so-called **fleet partners**. Partners are intermediaries, usually former drivers, car dealers or employees in car-selling salons. They take on the cost of setting up a business and lease their legal umbrella to other drivers, usually also offering the lease of a car, accounting services, and legal support. In the study, for example, only three drivers were completely independent from the partner, while twelve of them leased their car from a fleet partner.

Fleet partners create a market environment with low entry barriers for newcomers. Drivers do not need any education certificate or work experience. Most respondents in the presented study started driving Uber as an additional source of income during collage (for instance, Olaf was 21 years old when he started) or after returning from emigration (Trojan aged 34, or Zbigniew aged 60). Some simply supplemented their income or changed their previous job for Uber.

> I like driving a car. It is an easy job. Better, compared to being a construction worker and the money is the same [A.23].

> I was looking for something else. I went to a DIY store (as a driver) and after 3 days I quit. I had an Uber offer up my sleeve. I got along with the fleet partner I knew [P.42].

The employment relation in which Uber drivers are involved, therefore, is usually more complicated than the standard description in the literature on the subject. They use the app tool and are subordinated to its algorithms but at the same time they work with partners, although it should be stressed that the arrangement with the partner looks different depending on the seniority and position of the

driver. Some of them work twelve-hour shifts while others can freely choose how much they work. The employment relation is still flexible, however, in the sense that both the partner and the driver do not expect loyalty or any social security benefits. Drivers are not formally the partner's employees. Interestingly the flexibility is mutual (Karlsson's (2007) win-win situation). The partner is able to get rid of the driver without any cost and the drivers are happy with the arrangement.

For example, Wiktoria (aged 22), a person that suspended her activity due to the pandemic, praises the fact that she receives a fueled and washed car directly from her partner (the driver using it during the previous shift). Meanwhile, others, especially immigrant workers, express their satisfaction because of the access they have to a leased car and accounting services. As Aleksiei (aged 37) put it:

> it is easy to get into this job, without formalities, especially when you are an immigrant. At the beginning I was a member of a cooperative[5]. Next I rented a car from private people. Now I have my own car [A.37][6].

When discussing their beginnings in the ride-hailing sector none of the interviewees mentioned any selection or hiring procedure whatsoever. There were minimal expectations[7] and they simply started to drive. This fact is significant because it indicates that the drivers do not need any formal education or special skill. They enter the employment relation as owners of diffuse labor power (Tittenbrun 2018) and are renumerated based on the amount of work they perform. The amount of income from the job is therefore strongly connected with the time devoted to work, so **remuneration** flexibility can be discussed here along with **working time** flexibility. Aloisi's (2015) observation above might usefully be recalled here: that to earn a significant sum of money, platform workers have to work more hours every day than an employee on a standard work contract. If the "standard contract" means eight hours a day, five days a week, then Aloisi's point is in line with the declaration of the interviewees presented in this research. An extreme case is Aleksandr (aged 23), who is of Ukrainian origin and lives in Gdynia. He declares with some hesitation:

> I take a day off … sometimes. Actually, I work every day [A.23].

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5   After a short discussion it turned out that Aleksiei meant a fleet partner, whom the migrant drivers called "the cooperative".

6   The research was conducted in Polish. The selected quotations were then translated into English.

7   During the first years of Uber's presence in Poland, only a driving licence and the lack of a criminal record were necessary. In the years that followed, a special personal transport licence and the legal status of self-employed were also introduced. It is significant that many Uber drivers did not even have their own car. They used the one rented from a fleet partner.

He spends ten hours a day in the car driving passengers, delivering food and distributing packages. His schedule includes working hours from 10 p.m. to 5 a.m., sometimes even to 8 a.m. His strategy is to drive when public transport is severely limited. As a consequence, he spends almost every night in the car (weekends included). Another experienced driver (using the Uber app since 2017), Paweł (aged 42), used to drive at night, but during the pandemic he shifted his activity to the daytime and supplemented it with food delivery.

> My approach to remuneration is as follow: when I assume I want to earn I work 7 days a week. Sometimes for two months straight. After this time, I have a week off [P.42].

Maksym (aged 23), another migrant worker from Ukraine was, at the time of the interview, living in the car. He shares his duties with a girlfriend to the extent that both of them combined work almost without breaks. Maksym himself declared that he works fourteen hours a day, while most of the interviewees spend from eight to twelve hours in the car making, in that time, from fifteen to thirty rides.

The three drivers quoted above and several others in the sample, declare that they eagerly changed their previous jobs for the Uber app[8]. Additionally, others appreciate the opportunity to combine the work of a driver with other activities. For example, Ilona (aged 25) is a Judo instructor and pre-school teacher, Olaf (aged 21) is a shipyard worker, Aleksandra (aged 25) is a salesperson and Daniel (aged 22) works in a gas station. Again, it can be said that they have flexibility or using Jonsson's (2007a) approach, work for Uber gives them the variability they experience. The question open for discussion, however, is whether this form of variability is expected or actually wanted by the drivers. Regardless of the answers, it should be stressed that the interviewed drivers feel empowered to independently decide about their work schedule, even despite the very long and often exhausting working hours.

This situation leads to the last type of flexibility/stability enumerated by Jonsson (2007a), which applies to **work content** and **work intensity**[9]. Literally speaking, the content of a driver's work does not change. It is always a ride with a passenger or for a client, from one place to another. The intensity on the other hand is strongly related to worktime because of achievement based remuneration. Basically, an Uber driver can decide for how long s/he wants to work. However, as has been shown above, a driver's remuneration is directly linked with time spent on the app. So, the most important part of the work content can be reduced to the

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[8]   Aleksiei and Maksym were construction workers, Paweł worked in a DIY store.

[9]   **Workplace** is the one type left, but work as a taxi driver is a paradigmatic example of the lack of a rigid workplace, therefore it will be omitted here.

issue of control over the work process. As has been mentioned, there is a great amount of literature on the forms of incentives, manipulations, and algorithmic management that exist (Rosenblat, Stark 2016; van Doorn 2017; Rosenblat 2018; Lehdonvirta 2018; Joyce, Stuart 2021) and most of it focusses on the control that Uber exerts. In the Polish case, however, the partners might be an important entity as well. Indeed, the intermediary sometimes actually acts as a boss. Four drivers admitted that they treated their partners as such but none of the interviewees felt subordinated to the partner in the managerial sense of the term.

In relation to the above, Reid-Musson et al. (2020: 14) point out that the "information vacuum" is embedded in Uber's managerial approach. Uber's strategy is based upon the exceptionally modest amount of information about how the algorithms evaluating and allocating rides work, something which the drivers participating in this study appear to confirm. They did not know how the algorithm works but almost all of them had their own ideas on the subject. Using their individual experience, most of them tried to find a way to earn more money in a given amount of time.

> You have to have a way for Uber. You have to drive. Each driver has a different strategy because no one really knows how the algorithm works [B.24].

Aleksandra added:

> There is no day off with a full-time job for Uber. Even if you don't drive, you think: "I will check if there is a multiplier" or "what is happening in the city", and what if I haven't achieved my goal yet, should I continue driving? Or if you've achieved your goal, it may be worth continuing and earning more? [A.25]

Individual efficiency expressed in earnings was the main subject of interest for the drivers. Gamification of the algorithm allowed drivers to feel free and choose personal strategies for their behavior. Generally speaking, every driver wanted to outsmart the algorithm and gain extra money without additional effort but as has been shown above, it ended up with them having to do 10- to 12-hour shifts.

Another example of the efficiency of the Uber management strategy is the reputation system incorporated into the app. Again, every driver tried to minimize their personal effort connected with passenger satisfaction and was convinced that his or her behavior only resulted from personal culture. In accordance with this, they understood the motives and patterns of their action as internal and not controlled by an algorithm. With regard to this, the drivers' opinions on the accuracy of the evaluation system were divided between: "it is great" (Ł.22) through to "I do not care" (B.24), to:

> [It's a] hard topic. People are different. I try to be nice, but I get negative ratings. I don't like [the rating system], it's not objective [A.37].

Ultimately, however, all the drivers tried to get high ratings and win the sympathy of passengers. Uber drivers, therefore, are flexible but the Uber algorithm is not. The promise of flexibility is incorporated in it but the algorithm itself is quite rigid. Indeed, the inflexibility of Uber in the situation described might be seen as an explanation for the "mismatch" between drivers' expectations for independence and Uber's rigid management (Reid-Musson et al. 2020). Furåker et al. (2007) note that increasing demands on workers for flexibility are often justified by increasing demands for flexibility in the supply of services for customers. Uber implements this attitude by using passenger opinions and needs as a tool to manage drivers. Jonsson (2007b) goes even further. Higher performance demands on employees create inflexibility and instability for them, contrary to the 'flexibility rhetoric': "If 'flexibilization' has created increased flexibility, it is probably mainly flexibility for employers that has been created" (Jonsson 2007b: 217). Uber in Poland is a good example of this situation. High performance demands on drivers are included in a rigid algorithm designed to create a sense of flexibility on the side of the worker.

Conclusions

The above discussion definitely shows the unproductive nature of the flexibility rhetoric, but does it explain why WOD workers feel they have flexibility when, in fact, it is they who are flexible? In some sense it does. Freedom of choice, although limited, translates into a greater sense of subjectivity (Polkowska 2019a). But it is not the whole story.

Returning to Jonsson's division of flexibility, some of its aspects give the advantage to Uber while others give it to workers. Employment relation, time spent at work and by extension remuneration, were all in the hands of the driver. Especially in the time of COVID-19, drivers could feel that it is one of the last ways in which they could earn some money. In fact, during lockdown it was one of the very few ways that was open to them. But even if we consider this situation under ordinary circumstances, a driver can still choose if he or she wants to work with Uber (if s/he wants to enter into an "employment relation"). By extension, therefore, he or she also agrees to the "place" of work. In Poland and other CEE countries, thanks to fleet partners, a driver is even quite free to choose the car to use for work while, as has been shown, the app mediated "work place" is easily accessible. Additionally, drivers participating in the study presented above were able to decide how long they would be available for the app and how intense their work would be (for example, if they wanted to work at night or during the daytime). In the arrangement in which the remuneration was directly connected with the time spent online, this also meant that each driver could regulate how much they earned.

The observation shared above, sounds like the typical **economic opportunity narrative** (Stewart et al. 2020) of a platform offering flexibility. And, as has been mentioned above, the mantra has been rightly criticized by many authors (Aloisi 2015; Berg, Johnson 2019; Stewart et al. 2020). All this freedom could be considered secondary if the crucial aspect of the issue remained outside the control of the worker. However, it is the work process, work itself (according to Jonsson's typology) which has been under Uber's surveillance. And it is here where the distinction between labor process and labor power introduced earlier becomes valid (Table 2). The labor power of each driver is a commodity sold under certain conditions, in this case, as a diffuse, achievement-based labor power. Next it is used for providing services to app users. A transgression between labor power and work process is, therefore, the pivotal point here, because labor power has been sold as an achievement based on working time and remuneration which are viewed to be directly interconnected. If the condition of selling labor power leads directly to the circumstances of work as a process, then it is no wonder that the driver is convinced that s/he freely decides how long and how intensely s/he works. Drivers identify the freedom to sell labor power with freedom in the work process.

In support of this claim, Table 2 should be recalled. Four situations of flexibility are distinguished. Two of them are suitable to work-on-demand. First, flexibility as an adaptation to the requirements of the position. This type is connected with the individual features of labor power involved in the situation of variability within a work process. This is exactly the case of Uber drivers and other gig workers, who have to adapt their abilities to a single task (performing a service via an app). But the condition of WOD workers also fits to flexibility as an adaptation to changes in the social division of labor. This is connected to a decrease in the professional standards of the ride-hailing business (visible in the Lex-Uber bill implemented in Poland) and the variability in relations between positions in the social division of labor. In other words, it is connected with the broader social changes described by Aloisi (2015), Stewart et al. (2020) and many others. Uber drivers are objectively in a situation of volatility (even greater during the study because of the pandemic) and they perceive their position as such. As has been shown above, they work for long hours, try to cope with Uber's algorithms and sometimes combine their work via the platform with other sources of remuneration. They are also perfectly aware of the volatile situation they are in, therefore, comments about misplaced ideas on their part are inaccurate. Drivers correctly recognize their variability on the labor market and, furthermore, respond to it. Speaking metaphorically, the flexibility experienced by WOD workers is not to be questioned, it is, rather, the answer. Drivers, especially from disadvantaged groups (young people, immigrants), are already in the situation of a dynamically changing labor market and they are looking for a solution to the problem for themselves.

They find it in platform work and WOD, and that is why they praise the flexibility connected to it. A distinction between the condition of selling labor power and the resulting work process allows for this fact. Many platform workers, certainly Uber drivers in Poland, are in a precarious situation in the sense that their labor power is diffuse and as a commodity its value is limited to the individual features of the worker. Because of this, drivers are engaged in flexible work arrangements. They appreciate the flexibility not because they do not recognize their precarity, but because flexibility allows them to cope with their vulnerable position.

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"Good Care Means That You Make People Happy".
A Qualitative Study on Perceptions Regarding
Good Dementia Care Among People
with Different Ethnic Backgrounds in Norway[3]

*It is in the mind of the marginal man that
the conflicting cultures meet and fuse.*

Robert E. Park

The purpose of this study was to explore perceptions of good dementia care among people with different ethnic backgrounds in Norway. The study had a qualitative design. Individual semi-structured interviews were carried out with twenty family caregivers with different ethnic backgrounds, five representatives of immigrant communities, and five representatives of health and care personnel working with people living with dementia. Thematic analysis was used to identify themes in the interview material. Data analysis revealed five themes related to the elements of good care: combining institutional and family care; attributes and formal/informal competencies of caregivers, ensuring patient-centered, holistic care; dignity-preserving care and the special role of food. Most of the study participants emphasized elements of care that constitutes what can be described as patient-centered care. To the best of the authors' knowledge, this is the first Norwegian study on the perceptions of good dementia care among people with different ethnic backgrounds.

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Introduction

Dementia

Dementia is considered to be one of the greatest health challenges in the contemporary world (WHO 2017). It is a clinical syndrome, progressive in nature, characterized by deterioration of memory and other cognitive functions. Dementia affects behavior and the ability to perform everyday activities (WHO 2019). The incidence of dementia is increasing worldwide (2015: 47.47 million, 2030: 82 million, 2050: 152 million) (WHO 2019), and in Norway (2020: 101.118 thousand, 2030: 139.770 thousand, 2050: 238.499 thousand) (Ageing and Health 2020). Dementia is caused by underlying diseases and Alzheimer disease accounts for 60–70% of all dementia cases (WHO 2017). Most dementia forms are progressive, but it is highly individual how fast the symptoms develop (Bartley et al. 2018). In many countries, dementia constitutes one of the main reasons for institutionalization of older people (Klich-Rączka 2019). The last stage of dementia most often requires 24-h institutional care. Caring for people living with dementia can be very demanding for both informal family caregivers (Chiao et al. 2015; Brodaty, Donkin 2009) and for employees working in institutional care (Bidewell, Chang 2011).

Good dementia care

Many previous international studies on good dementia care focus on elements that constitute good care in the home environment and in nursing homes according to family and professional caregivers (Helleberg, Hauge 2014; Ericson et al. 2001; Sellevold et al. 2013; van Zadelhof et al. 2011). In a study from Sweden, Iréne Ericson et al. (2001) found that family and professional carers have the same goals regarding the provision of the best possible care for persons living with dementia. Most of all, both groups of caregivers focus on the individual needs people living with dementia have and opt for a more personalized model of care. Kristin Mjelde Helleberg's and Solveig Hauge's study on Norwegian nurses and care workers' perceptions of good care shows that good care can be described like a dance between the patient and the caregiver. It is something which is spontaneous, with room for personal interpretation and improvisation, but it also involves strict rules and procedures to enable the dance to take place (Helleberg, Hauge 2014: 5). Other studies conducted among care workers (Sellevold et al. 2013; Edvardsson et al. 2010), family caregivers (Pickard 1999; Edvardsson et al. 2010) and people living with dementia (Milte et al. 2015), emphasize that good care is characterized by the reciprocity of expression of emotions in the relationship between the patient and

the care provider, and where dignity, respect and support of the personhood of people living with dementia are acknowledged. Rachel Milte et al., who conducted a study on the meaning of the quality of residential care from the perspective of people with cognitive impairment and their family members, show that a patient's personhood can be supported by providing individualized care through access to meaningful activities, supportive healthcare and opportunities to feel useful and valued (2015: 13–14).

Dementia care and ethnicity

In most societies the family is responsible for care provision given to dependent family members, but the forms and scope of care vary greatly depending on the existing cultures of care (Fine 2015) and patterns of responsibilities between the state and the family (Saraceno 2016). Ethnicity seems to be an important factor explaining differences in people's interpretations and responses to dementia as well as perceptions regarding dementia care (Botsford 2015; Mendes 2015). However, ethnicity provides only a partial explanation of the differences in how people approach dementia and dementia care. Ethnic groups are not homogenous and not all members of the group follow all the social norms that are characteristic for the group (Botsford 2015). In a review of articles on service needs, service provision and models of good practice in dementia care among minority ethnic groups, it was found that most studies did not examine intra-group differences (Daker-White et al. 2002). The same review shows that care workers tend to look at caregivers from minority ethnic groups in a stereotypical way, and see the care giving in those groups as a result of family obligations and religious beliefs (Daker-White et al. 2002: 104). However, family structures and relations are diverse within and between ethnic groups (Ajrouch 2005; Berthoud 2001).

Good dementia care refers to moral norms and the codes of conduct followed by a society or a group. However, moral norms as well as other societal norms always evolve and change (O'Brien 1999). According to Jodi O'Brien, moral norms are "eternally in the process of being reshaped to fit shifting social, personal and physical environments" (1999: 27). Studies show that social and moral norms related to family caregiving often change during the migration process due to the initiation of migrants into two different, sometimes conflicting cultures and care regimes (Czapka, Sagbakken 2020; Radziwinowiczówna et al. 2018). According to a Norwegian study on dementia in families with different ethnic backgrounds, immigrant children were ready to satisfy their parents' care needs by providing care in the family. However, at the same time, they seemed to accept the help provided by the state (Czapka, Sagbakken 2020).

Migrants in Norway

Immigrants and Norwegian-born people with immigrant parents make up 18.2% of the total population of Norway (Statistics Norway 2020b). Poles, Lithuanians, Somalis, Swedes and Pakistanis form the five biggest immigrant groups (Statistics Norway 2020b). Due to a relatively short history of immigration, Norway's immigrant population is much younger than the general population. According to Statistics Norway (SSB), 4% of immigrants and as many as 16% of the general population were 67 years old or older in 2019 (Statistics Norway 2020a). However, a significant rise in the number of older migrants is expected. It is predicted that one in four immigrants in Norway will be aged 70 or more by 2060 (Statistics Norway 2020a). Additionally, some immigrant groups are now ageing and younger generations face the challenge of caring for elderly family members.

This article presents data collected in 2018 as part of a larger project: "Ageing, dementia and the need for care: a qualitative study on experiences and responses to cognitive impairment among families of different cultural backgrounds living in Norway". The main aim of the study was to look at experiences of ageing, and in particular understanding and responses to cognitive impairment and dementia among families from different ethnic groups living in Norway. The aim of this part of the study is to describe perceptions of good dementia care among people with different ethnic backgrounds.

Methods

Study settings and participants

Data was collected over a period of one year (2018–2019) in Oslo and Akershus. In order to gain a comprehensive understanding of the studied phenomena, including perceptions and beliefs regarding dementia care among people with different ethnic backgrounds, multiple data sources were used. Author 1 interviewed participants from five groups: 1) individuals from minority ethnic groups with family members who a) had been diagnosed with dementia or b) had no diagnosis but experienced memory loss; 2) Norwegian families with family members who had been diagnosed with dementia; 3) transnational caregivers from minority ethnic groups who provided care to family members living with dementia; 4) key representatives of immigrant communities; and 5) representatives of health and care personnel working with dementia patients. The authors believed that the inclusion of these five groups of participants would enable them to better understand the studied phenomena.

A convenience sampling method was used to recruit participants. The first two groups of participants were recruited by contacting nursing homes, a memory clinic, day centers, dementia coordinators, as well as the personal networks of the researchers. Channels, such as internet forums and personal networks were used to recruit participants who were involved in transnational caregiving, while information about the project was published on internet forums for migrants.

In total, fifteen families with minority ethnic backgrounds and five ethnic-Norwegian families were interviewed. The participants with minority ethnic backgrounds originally came from Somalia, Poland, Croatia, Pakistan, India, Austria, North America, Turkey and one of the islands in the Atlantic Ocean. Seven participants were involved in transnational caregiving providing various forms of care across borders.

Expert sampling through the aid of already established networks was used to recruit the last two groups of participants. Author 1 interviewed five key representatives of immigrant communities with Polish, Somali, Turkish and Pakistani backgrounds. The recruited participants were active members in their minority ethnic groups and Norwegian society. In order to gain more insight into the immigrants' perceptions of good dementia care, author 1 interviewed five representatives of health and care personnel with different ethnic backgrounds working with dementia patients. Table 1 presents the socio-demographic characteristics of the study participants.

Table 1. Socio-demographic characteristics of the study participants

No.	Ethnic background	Sex	Role	Age	Education	Employment status
1	Polish	F	Family caregiver (to her mother)	60–70	University	Employed
2	Somali	F	Family caregiver (to her mother)	20–30	Student	Student
3	Somali	M	Family caregiver (to his cousin)	–	Secondary education	Employed
4	Archipelago in the Atlantic Ocean	M	Family caregiver (to his father)	30–40	University	Employed
5	Pakistani	F	Family caregiver (to her husband)	60–70	Secondary education	Retired
6	Indian	M	Family caregiver (to his wife)	60–70	University	Employed
7	Kurdish	F	Family caregiver (to her husband)	40–50	Primary school completed	Employed
8	Croatian	M	Family caregiver (to his mother)	50–60	Secondary education	Employed

No.	Ethnic background	Sex	Role	Age	Education	Employment status
9	Polish	F	Transnational caregiver to her mother	40–50	University	Employed
10	Polish	F	Transnational caregiver to her mother	50–60	University	Employed
11	Finnish	F	Transnational caregiver to her father	40–50	University	Employed
12	British	F	Transnational caregiver to her mother	40–50	University	Employed
13	US	F	Transnational caregiver to her mother	60–70	University	Employed
14	Polish	F	Transnational caregiver to her mother	30–40	University	Employed
15	Austrian	F	Transnational caregiver to her father	30–40	University	Employed
16	Norwegian	M	Family caregiver (to his wife)	70–80	University	Retired
17	Norwegian	F	Family caregiver (to her mother)	40–50	Secondary education	Employed
18	Norwegian	F	Family caregiver (to her husband)	70–80	Secondary education	Retired
19	Norwegian	F	Family caregiver (to her mother)	40–50	University	Employed
20	Norwegian	M	Family caregiver (to his mother)	50–60	University	Employed
21	Polish	F	Nurse working in a nursing home	30–40	University	Employed
22	Norwegian	F	Nurse working in a nursing home	20–30	University	Employed
23	Norwegian	M	Doctor	50–60	University	Employed
24	Ethiopian	F	Assistant nurse working in a nursing home	30–40	Secondary education	Employed
25	Polish	F	Professional caregiver	20–30	Secondary education	Employed
26	Turkish	F	Key representative of the Turkish community	30–40	University	Employed
27	Pakistani	F	Key representative of the Pakistani community	40–50	University	Employed
28	Polish	F	Key representative of the Polish community	50–60	University	Employed
29	Polish	F	Key representative of the Polish community	60–70	University	Employed
30	Somali	F	Key representative of the Somali community	20–30	Secondary education	Employed

Source: the authors.

Interview guides and data collection

Four different interview guides were developed by author 1 and discussed with author 2. Subsequently, they were translated from English into Norwegian and Polish. They included questions related to understandings of dementia in minority ethnic groups, the seeking of formal care, perceptions regarding good dementia care and experiences of care provided by health services.

Most of the interviews were conducted by author 1 in English, Polish or Norwegian. Author 2 conducted one interview with a Norwegian family caregiver, and a research assistant carried out an interview in Punjabi with a Pakistani family caregiver. The interviews were conducted at venues chosen by the participants and lasted between 45 minutes and 2.5 hours.

During the recruitment process and the interviews author 1 paid special attention to the importance of self-reflexivity (Finley 2003) and continuous negotiation of the insider – outsider position (Breen 2007; Merton 1972). Due to her minority ethnic background she was perceived by the participants from minority ethnic groups as "one of us". They would often say: "we, migrants", "you know how it is", "I am sure you understand me, you are not Norwegian". Since she represented a Norwegian institution, the participants also often treated her as "one of us" but working for "them". It was manifested in statements like "tell them that we love our older parents", "can you talk to the commune?", "can you explain to them that we don't eat bread for lunch?". Additionally, questions such as "what are you going to do with the results?" indicated that author 1 was perceived as an outsider during the interview. Author 1 reflected on the research process by conducting a constant internal dialogue with herself, and by discussing the interviews and the analysis with author 2 and other colleagues. By practicing self-reflexivity, author 1 was aware of her positionality and the way it influenced the research process and analysis.

Data analysis

The interviews were transcribed verbatim and translated into English by author 1 and a research assistant. Thematic analysis was performed following Braun and Clark's (2006) six steps: becoming familiar with the data; generating codes; searching for themes; reviewing the themes; defining and naming the themes; and writing up the analysis. The interview transcripts were coded by author 1 for beliefs and perceptions regarding good dementia care. The coding followed an abductive approach (Timmermans, Tavory 2012). In this process, the researcher used a coding frame which was based on existing knowledge and added new elements that appeared in the data. The codes were categorized and clustered by

author 1. In the fourth phase the themes were reviewed by author 1 and author 2 in order to assure a clear distinction between the themes. In the subsequent part of the analysis the themes were refined.

Ethical considerations

The study was reported to the Norwegian Data Protection Officer for Research (NSD). The researchers followed the internal protocol of Oslo Metropolitan University regarding data security. All respondents were provided with written and verbal information about the study, including securing confidentiality, and gave written informed consent to participate in the study. They were informed that they could withdraw their participation at any time without giving any reason.

Results

The participants talked about different characteristics of good dementia care. Five themes were identified: combining institutional and family care; the attributes and formal/informal competencies of caregivers; ensuring patient-centered, holistic care; dignity-preserving care, and the special role of food.

Combining institutional and family care

The participants talked about different elements of both good institutional dementia care and good family care. They also explained why a combination of family and institutional care at some point was necessary to secure good care. Most of the participants believed that family-based care and support was better than institutional care because it was provided by familiar people and in familiar settings. Many participants said that the family knows their relatives living with dementia best and therefore they can provide the best care. In general, care provided at home was perceived as "good care", but only until the situation was unmanageable for the family and no longer beneficial for the person living with dementia. In some cases, providing good home care was possible due to help received from the municipality. One of the Norwegian family caregivers explained that he could provide what he perceived as "good care" to his wife at home because he got help from the state in the form of safety devices and an elevator:

> All the support we get in the form of supporting materials (*hjelpemidler*) is very good for us and we wouldn't be able to manage without it [M16].

Many participants talked about combining family care with using a day center and/or home-based services, and how this tended to work well. The Polish family caregiver explained that she was able to provide good care to her mother living with Alzheimer's because the mother was regularly driven to a day center. The participant worked every day, and her mother could not stay alone at home. Some of the other participants talked about the importance of the help they got from home-based services, relieving them of many duties and enabling them to continue providing care at home.

Some of the interviewed families were not able to provide what they perceived as good care to their relatives due to work-, health- or family-related reasons. One of the Norwegian participants, whose mother suffered from Alzheimer's, said that her mum would most likely prefer to live at home with her family around, but the participant and her family had no possibility to provide care and the mother was placed in a nursing home:

> I don't want to live in a house where it stinks of urine because it does stink. And I don't want to change diapers on my own mother. She has suffered from swallowing trouble. (…) I don't want a person with these health problems in my family, with my husband, with my sons [F19].

She explained further that her mother was in a stage of Alzheimer's where she needed professional help. Since the participant was aware that her mother could not live on her own and the family was not able to provide appropriate care, she believed that institutional care was the best possible care in that situation.

The findings show that even participants coming from countries that have traditionally been more inclined towards family care believed that in cases of severe dementia their relatives could get better help in a care institution than at home. In some cases, family caregivers realized the need to turn to institutional care as dementia progressed and as they learnt more about the illness. When asked about the future, one of the interviewed young Somali family caregivers, said:

> The future? … well … I don't know, but at some point she (mother) will end up in a nursing home. The doctor told us about the illness, so we know that [F2].

The participant explained that she had a big family and the family members supported each other, and that they managed to cope with the caring tasks. She also described the value of having a good relationship with her mother's doctor from the memory clinic. He had guided the whole family through all the stages of the mother's illness, including the fact that he prepared them for the situation that at some point the mother would have to be placed in a nursing home to assure the

best possible care for her. At the beginning, they were very skeptical about institutional care due to their lack of knowledge on dementia and lack of knowledge about the Norwegian health care system and care culture. They tried to satisfy the mother's care needs by providing care in the family, but with time they seemed to accept the help provided by the state.

All representatives of the health and care personnel believed that at least the final stage of dementia required institutional care, but that it should not mean that the family is excluded from caring. On the contrary, according to many participants representing both family caregivers and healthcare personnel, the combination of institutional care and family care, tailored to patients' progressive needs, would often provide the best possible care. A nurse with a Syrian background explained how she felt about patients who were seldom visited by the family: "Many Norwegian dementia patients get very few visits, and that makes me a bit sad". She elaborated further on this and said that institutional care should be complemented by family care contributions, for example regular visits or taking patients for a walk. Another participant, a nurse from one of the African countries, claimed that "good care" implied a balance between "no visits" and "too many visits". She said that many migrant families visit their relatives so often that it negatively affects both the work of personnel and the wellbeing of patients; the patients become tired with too frequent visits and the personnel are unable to perform the necessary care tasks.

All the participants, who were relatives to people living with dementia, stressed the importance of collaboration between the professional and family carers to ensure what they saw as good dementia care. However, opinions differed in terms of the form, frequency, and the scope of that collaboration. For example, one of the Somali family caregivers wished to be involved in all caring activities, but a nurse from the home care services did not want him to disturb her in her work due to time constraints. One of the Norwegian participants, whose mother lived in a nursing home, wished to be regularly informed about her mother's condition and if there was anything she could contribute, for example, by buying her new clothes.

The attributes and formal/informal competencies of caregivers

The well-educated participants and the ones who had knowledge about dementia and dementia care, stressed the importance of multifaceted formal competencies and the skills needed in order to provide good care for people living with dementia.

Three nurses interviewed spoke about the need for staff training in dementia care. They explained that what they learnt through nursing studies was often not enough to work effectively with patients living with dementia. One of them

talked about an insufficient awareness among staff of dementia and intercultural care, which may cause distrust and lead to misunderstandings between the staff in nursing homes and the members of patients' families.

One of the Norwegian participants, whose mother was staying in a nursing home, talked about the personnel's lack of particular communication skills with people that have lost their language and the need for an interdisciplinary workforce in nursing homes:

> I think … the people working there, some of them are nurses, most of them are nursing assistants. I see the need for more physiotherapists. I see the need for social workers. People, who have skills in communicating with people with a loss of cognitive function. That is not included in the curriculum of nursing studies. What do they learn about communication techniques with people who are without the language? [F19]

The participant often visited her mother in a nursing home, where she could observe how the staff organized their work and what was lacking. She had many ideas on how to fill the gaps. For example, she stressed the need for training the staff in communicating with people with cognitive impairments. She believed it would allow the staff to recognize and respond to patients' needs, and in this way provide better care.

The findings show that the participants, who provided care across borders, placed particular emphasis on the importance of appropriate formal and informal competences among caregivers. Due to geographical distance, however, the participants had limited possibilities to control the situation. One of the Polish women who was interviewed explained:

> I know that my mum is taken care of. Our Ukrainian carer is very nice, very competent and responsible. She knows how to care for my mum [F10].

The participant explained that the Ukrainian caregiver had knowledge of dementia, and in addition, she had worked as a caregiver before. It made the participant trust the carer's competencies, and as a result, she believed that her mother received "good care".

Other participants associated attributes such as "being kind and nice" as important characteristics for a dementia caregiver. To show or provide "love", "patience", "empathy", "warmth" or being like a "sunbeam" were other important features emphasized when describing important attributes. Several also stressed the significance of having a personal relationship with people living with dementia.

Ensuring patient-centered, holistic care

Many participants emphasized that "good care" first of all implied care tailored to the individual patient. A representative of the Somali community explained that people are different and they may have different needs:

> It depends on how each person defines it (good dementia care) and what they need. It is different for different people (…). When I say, "someone takes good care of you", I do not mean someone who provides food and drinks, I mean love, comfort and all that may be, all that you may need [F30].

The participant gave a few examples to illustrate what personalized care meant for her. For instance, she believed that people had different lifestyles and this should be respected by caregivers; for example meal times or leisure activities.

Many participants talked about recognizing and meeting individual patients' physiological as well as emotional needs. A Polish participant, whose mother was suffering from Alzheimer's, said:

> Good care means that we care about the physical, emotional and psychological wellbeing of the individual. The emotional aspects are very important. For example, it is very important for my mum that someone talks to her all the time [F1].

The participant explained that it was not enough to serve meals, give medicines and help ensure personal hygiene. Her mother had many other needs that needed to be taken care of; emphasized by the participant when she said "we are all more than a body".

Some of the representatives of migrant communities as well as family caregivers stressed the importance of a holistic approach in relation to dementia patients' needs. Important elements of "good care" were "being with that person, so she knows she is not alone" (a representative of the Pakistani community), "keeping her active" (a representative of the Turkish community).

All the participants working in nursing homes talked about aspects of "feeling patients' needs", as one Polish nurse explained:

> Good care means that you help them with what they need and you are there for them. You have to feel their needs. You have to put yourself in their shoes. You cannot just work in a nursing home. It is more than work. You must be there for the patients [F21].

The participant highlighted the importance of empathy in recognizing patients' needs, and emphasized the ability, but also the will to understand the particular

life situations of patients and their particular needs. Some of the relatives of people living with dementia complained about the attitudes of health and care personnel working in nursing homes. A participant from one of the Balkan countries expressed his opinion in the following way:

> Many people working in nursing homes have that "I don't care" attitude. They need to show some understanding, some empathy [M8].

The participants' mother was staying in a nursing home and he often visited her. His impression was that the personnel had a very indifferent attitude towards patients and did not know or address either the overall or the particular needs of the patients because of lack of engagement.

Patient-centered care requires that time is invested in getting to know the patient. Many of the participants, representing healthcare personnel as well as family caregivers, talked about the meaning of time shared with people living with dementia. One of the nurses working for home services explained that she always found time to talk to a patient, drink coffee and eat biscuits "even if the plate was dirty". She could see that spending time together, even if it was only for some minutes, made patients happy. Two other nurses talked about their frustration resulting from the fact that they did not have enough time for patients due to staff shortages in the nursing homes. The Austrian and Finnish transnational caregivers talked about "the quality time" they spent with their parents living with dementia. The Austrian participant explained that good dementia care "is to try to make the time that is left (before a person passes away) as good as possible", showing that investing in time together with the person living with dementia constitutes an important form of good care.

Dignity-preserving care

It was very important for some of the participants that the care provided preserved the dignity of patients. A young man that was providing care for his father, who came from one of the islands in the Atlantic Ocean, explained what good care meant for him:

> (…) that he gets a better life. That he feels good about himself. He has contributed to building the country. That he gets a dignified old age. It is about his dignity [M4].

The participant stressed the fact that his father had worked in Norway for many years and that he deserved something in return – good care that would preserve his dignity. He mentioned having bad experiences with people from the municipality

who coordinated dementia care. They spoke Norwegian although "he (the father) had forgotten many Norwegian words and it is very difficult for him to communicate in that language". According to the participant, people from the municipality were disrespectful to his father, this was because, due to the language barrier, they did not include him in conversations. The participant was aware that it would be difficult to bring an interpreter each time the dementia coordinator or nurse visited his father. For this reason, he decided to provide care without help from the municipality to make it easier for the father. However, he worried about the future, especially about the point in time where the father would have to be moved to a nursing home.

According to one of the Somali participants, the health authorities did not care about his cousin's needs, and they tried to force "the Norwegian way of caring for dementia patients" upon him, which implied not being flexible nor inclusive with the patients and their relatives. The participant explained that his cousin felt ignored and powerless, and he described how he tried to strengthen a sense of self-dignity in his cousin who was living with dementia:

> I like to show him (…) that he is no different than I am and that he has the right to receive medical care from the government. He has been a good and active citizen; he was never involved with drugs or drunk alcohol before. He was a very clean person [M3].

The quote illustrates that migrants may feel guilty when they get ill, and they need help. The participant explained that his cousin's memory problems were neglected by the GP for a few years and that he often felt like "a second-class citizen". Therefore, the participant was very skeptical about placing his cousin in a nursing home in Norway, as he was afraid that the cousin would not be treated with respect.

Some of the other participants talked about dignity in the sense of treating their relatives/patients living with dementia "like before". One of the Norwegian participants, whose mother was staying in a nursing home, said:

> You need to treat them like before. Inside she was still my mother. She still had feelings as before, only her condition changed her [M20].

Many of the interviewed family caregivers stressed that in order to provide good care it is important to treat people living with dementia like adults even if they sometimes behave in irrational ways.

The special role of food

Food was a special theme present in most interviews. The participants gave various reasons why food was important in caring for people living with dementia. They included health, cultural value, religion, and respect for the individual. Well-educated participants often mentioned "healthy" or "nutritious" food as a sign of good care. One of the interviewed Norwegian women, whose mother lived in a nursing home, criticized the staff working there for serving too many cakes to patients:

> There was a meeting last year when we (the relatives) asked "can we change food times for meals and would it be possible for you to drop the daily cake and put in some fruit instead?" I asked them at that time, "what do you do with the fruit?". They said "Ah, well, we have fruit every Saturday if we remember to order it (…)". Every day they had a cake in the afternoon. I couldn't believe my ears" [F19].

According to the participant, such a diet was very unhealthy for patients who spent most of the time inside and who were at risk of obesity. Two participants working in nursing homes spoke about the challenges they faced serving food delivered by catering companies to patients. One of them said "it is not good care if patients have to eat undercooked vegetables that are impossible to chew". She explained that the food was provided by the catering company and the staff's role was to heat it in the microwave.

For many other participants, food was an important factor that could increase the quality of life; thus making people living with dementia more content. Therefore, they should be served the food they liked. The participants from minority ethnic groups often talked about the serving of mainly typically Norwegian food in nursing homes or day centers. One of the nurses working in a nursing home explained:

> We celebrate Norwegian holidays in the nursing home and we try to respect Norwegian traditions. A few days ago, we served *fårikål* (sheep in cabbage), aquavit and beer [F21].

The participant was aware that older patients with minority ethnic backgrounds might have different dietary preferences, and that many were not used to the food traditionally served at Norwegian institutions. One of the Polish participants who provided care for her mother living with dementia, talked about their experience with food served in a day center for elderly people. They were often served meat on Friday, which was problematic because the participant's mother was a Catholic and she practiced the Friday Fast, including abstaining from meat, other than fish,

on Fridays. For the participant, serving food that met people's religious dietary requirements was an important element of what constituted "good care".

The findings show that for two participants from minority ethnic groups food was associated with respect, and thus also with good care. A family caregiver, whose father came from one of the islands in the Atlantic Ocean, talked about home-based services and what he considered to be a lack of respect for his father living with dementia. He said: "They serve bread for lunch. They don't respect him". He believed the personnel in charge of the home's services should have asked about his father's dietary preferences, and not take for granted that bread (a typical constituent of the lunchtime meal for many Norwegians) was a valid option. Not adjusting to his father's dietary preferences seemed to create distrust towards Norwegian care institutions and the quality of care provided.

Discussion

The main aim of this qualitative study was to explore how good dementia care was described by family caregivers, key representatives of migrant groups, and representatives of health and care personnel, working with people with dementia.

Our study shows that the participants, who were representative of different ethnic groups, shared a very similar definition of good dementia care and believed that its most important element was to recognize the individual needs of people living with dementia and to tailor the care accordingly, which is one of the principles of patient-centered care (Kitson et al. 2013). Despite the similarities, we also found some differences in participants' perceptions of the elements that are important for providing good dementia care. Our findings suggest that good care was associated with a caring situation where the family were the main contributors. However, a combination of family care and home-based services, providing assistance in the shape of necessary equipment and other types of care relief, was seen by many participants as the best possible care, which is in line with other studies on dementia care (Helleberg, Hauge 2014; Ericson et al. 2001; Szluz 2022) and dementia care focusing on migrants (Sagbakken et al. 2018). Our study suggests that migrants' social and moral norms related to family caregiving often change with time. The second generation of migrants are exposed to the culture of care of the country of immigration and they tend to accept some of its elements.

The findings also show that some participants with minority ethnic backgrounds, both family and professional carers, were skeptical about institutional care due to culturally defined family caring obligations and negative experiences with the Norwegian health care services, perceived as poorly adapted to the needs of people with minority ethnic backgrounds. With regard to this, our findings are

in line with studies from Denmark and Norway (Nielsen et al. 2020; Sagbakken et al. 2018; Naess, Moen 2014). A Danish study suggests that migrants avoid institutional care for two reasons. First, they want to follow the cultural norms related to family obligations of care, and second, the available services for people living with dementia rarely meet the specific needs of people from minority ethnic groups (Nielsen et al. 2020). A Norwegian study on dementia and migration shows that migrants often associate nursing homes with poor care and they are treated as the last option (Sagbakken et al. 2018).

Our study highlights the importance of collaboration between families and institutional caregivers in providing good dementia care. According to many of the study participants, it is appropriate to involve the family in decision-making and to recognize their needs and contributions. Family involvement is considered to be an important element of patient-centered care (Gerteis et al. 1993), however, it is not clear how healthcare professionals should support it (Wolff, Jacobs 2015).

Our findings show that some participants, both family caregivers and professional caregivers, tended to believe that good dementia care implies involving competent care givers with formal education in geriatric care and good knowledge of dementia. Other participants valued a different type of knowledge, attributes and informal competences resulting from a personal relationship with the person living with dementia. Working effectively with people living with dementia and their families, recognizing their needs, requires care workers who are knowledgeable and skilled in dementia care.

As evidenced from our findings, all the participants believed that good dementia care should be tailored to individual patient's needs, which reflects one of the main principles of patient-centered care. These findings are in line with several international studies (Ericson et al. 2001; Helleberg, Hauge 2014; Hamiduzzaman et al. 2020) that explore the expectations and views of family caregivers and healthcare staff regarding good dementia care. A systematic review and meta-analysis of literature on the effectiveness of person-centered care in relation to people with dementia shows that individualized, person-centered care may improve the quality of life of people living with dementia (Kim, Park 2017).

In our study, we found that treating persons with dementia with respect and preserving their dignity is considered to be an important element of good care. At the same time, it is one of the key points of patient-centered care (Coulter, Oldham 2016). Scandinavian studies show that ensuring dignity is considered important both in care provided by home-based services (Søvde et al. 2019) and in nursing homes (Sagbakken et al. 2017; Nåden et al. 2013).

Additionally, our study highlights the importance of food in good dementia care. Numerous previous studies have emphasized the special role of meals in institutional care settings (Evans et al. 2005; Cooney 2012; Milte et al. 2017). Meals

can be a source of positive emotions and enjoyment when patients are served food they used to like when they were younger (Hanssen, Kuven 2016). In the case of patients with minority ethnic backgrounds, serving traditional food may increase the feeling of being respected and taken care of (Hanssen, Kuven 2016). According to Milte et al. (2017), food is not only about meeting the nutritional requirements of people with dementia, but it can significantly influence their quality of life. Therefore, food should be adapted to the special needs of people living with dementia, and to their personal preferences. The Norwegian participants in our study, as well as health and care personnel, emphasized food maladjustment for dementia patients in nursing homes. Dementia patients often suffer from dysphagia and they may need texture modified foods (Ilhamto et al. 2014). It also often happens that staff in nursing homes have no time to adapt the food delivered by catering companies to the needs of dementia patients. Understanding one's food preferences and religious dietary restrictions is another element of good, personalized dementia care (Mendes 2015; Daker-White et al. 2002; Warburton et al. 2009). According to studies conducted in South Africa and among ethnic Norwegians and the Sami in Norway (Hanssen, Kuven 2016), traditional food positively influences the social, mental and physical wellbeing of people living with dementia. Our findings suggest that food preferences are seldom considered in caring institutions, which is against one of the principles of patient-centered care that should involve providing choices and preferences.

The findings shed light on perceptions regarding good dementia care among people with different ethnic backgrounds in Norway. They may facilitate interaction between various actors involved in care provision to people living with dementia, as well as assure better care planning.

Conclusions

The findings imply that the perceptions of good dementia care coincide with the notion of person-centered care that is respectful of all persons and has a focus on the quality of the care that patients receive. It is about respecting people's values and putting people at the center of care while, to provide high-quality person-centered dementia care, care providers should focus on patients' individual needs. The study also shows the appreciation of specific attributes and informal competences among caregivers, and it emphasizes that sometimes they may be as important as other qualifications. And, although the participants' individual definitions of good care have many common elements, they also differ. These differences are the result of the uniqueness of human experiences.

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Martin Blaszk[1]

From the Concept of a Third Culture to the Reality of a Third Space. A Possible Model for a Research Practice That Traverses Disciplines

In the article, the proposition of a third culture is discussed in connection with research practices that exist on the borderlands between disciplines. In the first part of the article, an outline of the third culture is presented, as well as its significance and relevance for present-day forms of inquiry. In connection with this, an image from Translation Studies is given where networked knowledge is described, which is seen to be a productive way of viewing the possibilities for a third culture. This proposition is then linked to a strategy that arises from performance inquiry – research-based practice (RBP) – which exists within a third space. In the second part of the article, an outline of this third space inquiry is given in terms of the focus of its research and its basic concepts. The model is then applied to the author's research into performative education – happening as a form of investigation and research in secondary and tertiary education – in order to elucidate its concerns and the mechanisms that underly it. In the conclusion, a third space for inquiry is viewed to be a productive concept, while the concept of a third culture, although outdated, still serves as a provocation to thought about possible strategies for research practices that do not fit comfortably into one particular branch of human inquiry or the disciplines that exist within them.

Keywords: branches of knowledge, disciplines, third culture, third space, research-based practice, performative education

Introduction

This article arose from my professional practice and research interests. I work as an academic teacher, second language education (SLE) teacher and researcher. With regard to this, I am interested in implementing a performative educational practice

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and also research into that practice as a way to understand it more fully as well as develop it. I am also aware that my professional practice and the research into it (which also supports the practice) exist in the borderlands between branches of human inquiry and their different disciplines. In terms of the performative educational practice, these domains include the arts in connection with performance (happening), the social sciences in relation to pedagogy, and the humanities with regard to SLE. The research, meanwhile, reaches across these different domains in search of theories and results from empirical inquiry to try and understand more fully, as well as facilitate, the development of the educational practice. In terms of methodology, it is located in a qualitative paradigm that uses participatory action research (PAR) as a mode of inquiry. This, in turn, is supported by a wide-ranging and inclusive research strategy informed by *bricolage*, which uses a variety of research tools including, for example, ethnographic observation, qualitative interview and analysis of artefacts. It also includes a constructivist-interpretive reading of the collected data.

A more detailed account of the focus of my inquiry and some of the research that has been carried out will be given in the second part of this article. To begin with, however, consideration is given to a concept that first appeared in the 1960s – the "third culture" – which was supposed to offer a "place" for inquiry into those phenomena that could not easily fit within the humanities and the sciences. This is looked at in order to make apparent some of the problems that can exist when a research practice does not fit "snuggly" into one particular branch of knowledge or its attendant disciplines. Reactions to the concept are given, ending with a description of an image from Translation Studies concerning networked knowledge that would appear to offer a productive and relevant mode of inquiry for the present-day. Stepping back from the more ambitious scale of a "third culture", research-based practice (RBP) is then described. This offers a "third space", a site at the center of different disciplines into which questions and findings can be placed and then investigated by the different stakeholders involved in a given research project. Its smaller scale, therefore, along with the possibilities it opens up for joint "ownership" of a research project, makes it a pertinent model to be able to understand better my own professional practice and research into it.

The third culture

Charles Percy Snow (1964) formulated the concept of the third culture in the 1960s[2]. It was his proposition for a way to bridge the gap between the humanities and science which, according to Snow, had an adverse effect on the life of many

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[2]   The term was first used in his book published in 1964, *The Two Cultures: and A Second Look: An Expanded Version of the Two Cultures and the Scientific Revolution*. However, Snow had been

groups in society. A third culture, he felt, would offer a platform for intercultural dialogue and, therefore, ameliorate the distance and conflict that existed. The loose conceptual framework that he offered, however, has been generative of debate rather than anything more solid and lasting. In connection with this, recent discussion has focused on the fact that the concept of a third culture is either no longer relevant or simply unproductive. In the case of the former, science is viewed to be the only source of the new cultural paradigm because of its dominance in society. With the latter, the third culture model is perceived to perpetuate a myth of two elitist cultures towards the propagation of a third, while it ignores the existence of the many different groups existing in society that could and should be part of the cultural dialogue.

The third culture at present

In his introduction to *W stronę trzeciej kultury* [*Towards the Third Culture*], Ryszard W. Kluszczyński offers an update on the state of the "dialogue" between the humanities and science, which, by the mid-1990s, had seen the world of the humanities overwhelmed by the world of science. According to John Brockman (1996), as Kluszczyński writes:

> the world of science has become the only source of the new cultural paradigm and the intellectual life hierarchies constructed in (…) scientific circles are to serve as a role model for new social relations. (…) Thus [the unwillingness of the humanities] to take up a dialogue with the world of science, have been replaced (…) by the world of science being totalitarian towards culture. The idea of dialogue and cooperation that was fundamental for Snow's discourse has been lost (2016: 8–9).

Additionally, through the advent of a myriad of technological and scientific advances: for example, the internet, computers and ICT, genetics, bioscience and nanotechnology, robotics and artificial intelligence, but mostly, digital technology, the intellectual elites that might have performed the role of mediators in a dialogue between the humanities and science (and for this read science and technology together) have been left floundering (Kluszczyński 2016: 9).

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interested in the theme of seeming indifference between the world of culture founded on humanistic values and that of science which favors the cognitive since 1956, when he published an article in the *New Statesman* and then 1959, when he presented it in a Rede Lecture.

A place for the third culture

With regard to this situation, Kluszczyński remains optimistic, as he views the idea of a third culture as still valid for the present. For, even though the term "third culture" may seem a little archaic in a world in which hybridization and pluralism are a growing trend, if not, in some cases, the norm, the concept of a third culture does more than simply provide a space for a dialogical exchange between the "the order of symbolic values (humanities) and cognitive ones (science)" (Kluszczyński 2016: 10). It can also be inclusive of many of the diverse cultures that exist in the contemporary world, which "absorb and in their own way process not only paradigms of the humanities, science and technology, but also concepts and structures of information and networking society as well as determinants of participation orders" (Kluszczyński 2016: 10). Offering this point of view, Kluszczyński also sets the stage for the role of artists in such a dialogue, "who transfer everything to real activities, making postulates a practiced reality" (2016: 11). It is also worth adding that by developing the concept of a third culture that facilitates a discussion open to different groups existing in society and not only between the two cultures of the elite, the ensuing dialogue may go some way to alleviate the problems either bypassed or even caused by the dysfunctional relations of the humanities and sciences.

A moribund concept

In spite of Kluszczyński's optimism, there are also voices that question the whole notion that a third culture actually can or should exist. In connection with this point of view, due to epistemological and methodological differences, the fact that knowledge construction over the previous centuries has taken place through the evolution of distinct disciplines is significant. Meanwhile, the way society and institutions are organized has resulted in the fact that meaningful interaction – a truly dialogical exchange – is difficult to achieve. In connection with this situation, Roger F. Malina makes a valid observation when he writes: "What is gained? What is lost? When two cultures interface there can be constructive or destructive interference. What knowledge is being transferred, or constructed, by whom and to whom?" (2016: 23). This implies that exchange of this kind has both positive and negative effects, while those engaged in such exchanges should be cognizant of the fact that there will be covert interests at play. Additionally, for Malina, when it comes to digital culture and the ways in which knowledge is shaped by it, society is in the "dark ages" (Malina 2016: 23). As a result, a great deal of time is needed to learn the new cultural tropes that arise from the application of such technology

(Malina 2016: 23). Malina concludes, therefore, that the concept of a third culture is not productive but rather it fulfills the need for a "quick fix" which, in the long-term, may prove to be detrimental (Malina 2016: 24). Interestingly, rather than pursue the idea of the third culture model in terms of an as-yet-unknown but desirable place to be, Malina proffers a model that uses a metaphor from Translation Studies.

A productive image from Translation Studies

As Malina (2016: 24) describes it, translation is not a straightforward act of moving a set of signifiers from one culture to another in an isometric transformation – where the properties of the elements to be transformed are preserved in a one-to-one transaction. Rather, the process involves a complexity of networks which means the translated text may undergo many changes. To gain a clearer understanding of what this entails, Malina builds on Rainer Schulte's concept deriving from the fact that the German word to translate is "übersetzen", which at a very simple level can mean "to carry something from one side of the river to the other side of the river" (Malina 2016: 25). This image is productive for Malina because it allows him to show how a text to be translated might be viewed as a set of goods to be transported from one riverbank to another: some of the goods can be transported with few problems, others may not survive on the other side of the river, while others may simply be untransportable. Additionally, the journeys back and forth may have an effect on the goods being carried, while the duration of the transportation, the weather and the state of the river itself may also have an impact. Moreover, the skills and disposition of the boatman play an important role, and it should not be forgotten that the act of transportation is not to bridge the gap between the two banks but to "encourage trade and barter" (Malina 2016: 25) with the resulting richness of interaction that it might entail. Malina also extends the metaphor by suggesting that the two banks of the river should be replaced by the image of a river delta with areas of mud flats and a tangle of tributaries, where "The riverbeds themselves move with time and silt can create new banks and territories" (Malina 2016: 25). Therefore, instead of an "easy" dichotomy of the two sides of a river a more complex picture is presented, one that is more in keeping with the reality of the relations between science and the humanities: there is networked knowledge rather than transdisciplinary practice and where the boundaries between disciplines "are fuzzy and shifting" (Malina 2016: 25). To see how a researcher/practitioner might actually operate in the space this creates, I now want to describe Pil Hansen's RBP.

A third space – RBP in the arts

Hansen (2018) is based within the field of cognitive performance studies and her inquiries cover the areas of dramaturgy, perception and memory with a special interest in how the perceptual capacity of performing artists and spectators can be increased. She is interested in investigating artistic activity through the use of multiple research practices belonging to the arts, scholarly tradition and the sciences. To achieve this, Hansen aims to "establish reciprocal feedback channels that might advance all of these research practices" (2018: 32). This is done by establishing a third space (not a third culture) at the center of the different disciplines into which questions and findings can be placed and then investigated by the different stakeholders involved in a given project, something which Hansen describes as "collaborative exploration" (2018: 32). The stakeholders might include performing artists, cognitive scientists and dance and theatre scholars who create a "laboratory" where those involved are not afraid to break rules or engage in research practices that are alien to their particular discipline. Equally, the space is one in which "connection" and "contamination" are encouraged while, at the same time, the knowledge produced is also useful to the separate disciplines.

This is not without its challenges, however. The "different languages" of each field have to be negotiated and there are "naturally occurring" hierarchies established because of the allocation of resources and social validation of people's different roles. In connection with this, as Hansen reports: "the scientist is cast as a 'hard' researcher, the humanities scholar is considered the 'soft' communicator, and the artist is reduced to the research subject" (2018: 34). With her own work, Hansen aims to move beyond these scenarios. This is done by implementing a research practice which takes account of and embraces difference. This might mean, for example, that a question from a cognitive scientist concerning the movement of a dancer is answered by further movement from the dancer, or that researchers willingly work across different paradigms or acquire research skills in a number of them, so that they can function within different research groups (Hansen 2018: 35).

In the achievement of the third space, Hansen (2018: 33) also states the positions from which RBP arises. These are as follows:

- the ontology, or as Hansen labels it, the (n)ontology, is emergent. This means that phenomena do not exist as entities in their own right but arise relationally. Because of this, they cannot be comprehended using objective research methods;
- there is an epistemology of enaction/interaction. Phenomena can only be known "through active and embodied engagement" (Hansen 2018: 33). As a result of this, the ontology is epistemological: an entity exists only as much as we are involved with it and it is through this involvement that we know it;

- artistic inquiry is an equal to more established paradigms with well-defined terms of its own. This removes the danger of an "unproductive stratification of disciplines" (Hansen 2018: 33);
- the social importance of performance can be raised by research practices that foreground the values that "creative inquiries, processes and experiences" (Hansen 2018: 33) deal with. These are different to the external measures that are now applied to both the arts and sciences, for example, "entrepreneurial application, impact on policies, or health and education benefits" (Hansen 2018: 33).

These positions also have an impact on methodology:

- the research undertaken is not about reduction and generalization: "dance and theatre practices are inherently complex and deeply embedded in other cultural practices and it is the relationships between the parts of these performance ecologies that is of interest" (Hansen 2018: 37);
- insight rather than conclusive knowledge is sought in the inquiry process – this reflects "the ephemeral and relational nature of live performance" (Hansen 2018: 39);
- reflection and especially self-awareness in practice (self-consciousness) as well as articulation of this reflection is seen to be an essential part of the inquiry process (Hansen 2018: 38)[3];
- artistic inquiry is usually about creating something new and not about analyzing already existing connections. It inquires by "severing, isolating, reconnecting, or testing the breaking point of (…) connections" (Hansen 2018: 37). Its hypotheses, if they are used, are more usually a stimulus to become involved in a process rather than the starting point to prove a theory. Therefore, its mode of inquiry is abductive rather than deductive or inductive – it produces "novel ideas inspired by singular occurrences and associations that offer possible, but unqualified explanations" (Hansen 2018: 37).

In essence, Hansen perceives the differences between the various paradigms that exist in the research group that she is involved with in the following way: accumulative (scientific inquiry) – diversifying (scholarly inquiry) – emergent (RBP). However, she emphasizes the points of contact: scientists can make abductive leaps – eureka moments; scholars are involved in approaches that use self-reflective observation and emergence – performative writing, phenomenological analysis, auto-ethnography; artists use concepts proposed by scholars – theatricality, performativity and enaction (Hansen 2018: 39).

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[3]   There are, however, arguments against this in connection with the production of documentation and analysis (Kershaw 2009).

In a schematic visualization of these ideas, Hansen places RBP as a mode of inquiry that underlies the third space. This, in turn, is seen to be about discovery and exploration and the possibilities afforded for making connections. In addition, the third space has relations of reciprocal feedback with RBP, artistic inquiry and empirical experimentation: the former supported by performance practice and production and the latter traditional research practice and dissemination. Moreover, the RBP third space is perceived to be a cyclical model of involvement, where discoveries facilitate "Continued exploration and reapplication in future RBP projects" (Hansen 2018: 40).

My own practice and research – happening in relation to RBP and an ensuing methodology

As I mentioned at the beginning of this article, I am interested in performative education. One of the strands of my practice and research relates to happening in education, where I have proposed a number of characteristics for that performance strategy which guide the choice of activities and materials used in the preparation and planning of happenings in an educational setting. These characteristics are based upon the ideas of a number of different authors (Pawłowski 1982; Kirby 1966; Morawski 1971; Schechner 1982; Garoian 1999) and have been outlined in other publications by this author (for example, Blaszk 2017b: 54–56). In brief, the characteristics include:

- **participation**: active involvement of participants – both the "actors" (happeners) and the audience are involved;
- **indeterminacy**: promotion of equality between participants;
- **multicentrism**: encouragement of different points of view;
- **chance, paradox** and **dream logic**: the possibility that something unexpected will occur, that seemingly impossible combinations will arise and that there do not have to be links between ideas;
- **reflexivity**: allowance for a personal perspective upon what is done;
- **process**: concentration on what is being done (in the "here and now") and not just a final product;
- **body intelligence**: encouragement of physical engagement in the learning process.

In connection with the positions from which Hansen's RBP arises, there are a number of points of "intersection" with the characteristics for happening given above, which would appear to make a third space inquiry model sympathetic to the nature of happening and therefore an appropriate model to elucidate my professional practice as well as the concerns and mechanisms which underly my

research practice. For example, the focus away from a final product and concentration on activity (**process**) and the emphasis upon the different forms of relationality in happening: the unexpected (**chance**), the illogical and strange (**dream logic**) and the juxtaposed (**paradox**), connect with Hansen's emergent (n)ontology, in which phenomena cannot be known as definite entities but come into being relationally. Additionally, the emphasis on embodied (**body intelligence**) and active engagement (**participation**), as well as reflection upon that engagement (**reflexivity**), relate to Hansen's epistemology of enaction/interaction, where the world is known through existence in it and active involvement with it, rather than through a passive accumulation of knowledge about individual entities. Moreover, knowing the world is not done in isolation; the active engagement that is part of happening allows for multiple points of view (**multicentrism**) where no one viewpoint is necessarily predominant (**indeterminacy**). In addition to this, because happening originated in the visual arts but is open to explore and use other art forms (**interdisciplinarity**), it can be viewed to be a strong representative of the arts in general. In connection with this, therefore, it promotes those creative values which Hansen contrasts with the types of measurements that are now used to gauge the efficacy of a broad range of human activity.

The nature of happening also has an impact on the methodology chosen to research into it as an educational practice and this too intersects with Hansen's model. In general terms, as with the areas of performance and dance that Hansen is interested in, the enactment of happening can be a complex phenomenon. Similarly to Hansen, the interest in my own research, which is based in education, is about the relations that exist between the different entities that are involved in an enactment rather than to quantify and classify and thereby reduce and generalize. Linked to this, understanding the processes that are at play rather than knowing them with the aim of conclusive knowledge production is important, as is the promotion of a space of inquiry where the researcher/participants as researchers, are aware of, can reflect upon and then articulate their ideas with regard to the processes in which they are involved. As well as this, my inquiry into involvement in happening in education is an artistic process; the inquiry is always the creation/development of something as that something is being inquired into. This, of course, has an impact on the chosen methodology. For example, my research practice uses PAR, which originated in the social sciences (Lewin 1946) and has been put to different uses and developed across different disciplines (McIntyre 2008: 1–2). It is chosen as a research methodology here because it is based upon partnership between researchers and subjects which enables collective investigation and reflection upon issues important to them as a group or community, a position which is in agreement with Hansen's model where all those involved in a research project are viewed as equal stakeholders rather than positioned in

hierarchical relations. It also allows for joint solutions to be agreed upon and implemented leading to further and continuing cycles of research and implementation (McIntyre 2008: 1).

Differences to RBP

As well as the similarities between my own research practice and that of Hansen's model for RBP, there are also differences. Rather than the field of cognitive performance studies and inquiries into areas of dramaturgy, perception and memory, I am interested in how participants are involved in an educational practice that is informed by happening and performance practices and, up until this point, across the following branches of inquiry:

- arts;
- humanities;
- social sciences;

and in the disciplines of:

- performance;
- applied linguistics – second language education (SLE);
- pedagogy.

Indeed, with the inclusion of the social sciences, it might be said that my practice of inquiry already exists in a type of "third culture", one which this branch of science was supposed to facilitate long before Snow presented **his** third culture: as early as the nineteenth century, when the first papers were published in the social sciences, it was believed it would bridge the gap perceived to exist between the humanities and the other sciences (Lepelletrie 2016: 50). However, due to the area of research in which I am involved, with its interplay of branches and disciplines, I believe there is a need to go beyond the boundaries of the social sciences and create, like Hansen, a "laboratory" that is inclusive. This means that it includes different domains, as well as methodologies, strategies and tools for the collection of data. It also constantly questions what represents data, the ways in which it can be presented and interpreted, and by whom. Moreover, in order to negotiate this complex space of inquiry I have, like Hansen, developed a broad skills base and collaborated with a range of partners: the range of my professional involvement spans artistic practice, SLE, academic teaching and research, while in connection with cooperation, I have worked with artists, learners and teachers as well as people from various walks of life[4] who have been interested in creative, performance-based engagement.

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4   Over the past twenty years, with regard to participants, this has included work with school-learners, students, teachers, and people from management positions in the education and corporate

Examples of research

Research thus far has involved working with fellow artists to produce a happening and inquire into its enaction in relation to a source text – Samuel Beckett's *What Where* (1984) (Blaszk 2017a), the application of a happening based procedure in SLE in secondary level education (Blaszk 2017b) and the provision of performative workshop at tertiary level, based upon personal interpretations of literary texts by the Polish author Stefan Themerson – the novels *Bayamus* (1945) and *Cardinal Pölätüo* (1954), as well as the play *Kość w gardle* (1953) (Blaszk 2019).

In all three of these projects the participants' ideas and involvement influenced the content as well as the form of what was finally enacted as a happening. In the latter two projects, they also influenced the content and form of the workshops through which the happenings were developed. For the project in a secondary school, the participants made more decisions about what they would like to do and how to do it in the second semester of the workshop's existence. At tertiary level, the project was more intense, as the workshop took place over five days with between five to six hours, so decisions about what to do and how to do it were also mediated by the energy the participants could bring to it. With regard to these two projects, the research involved analysis of the implementation of procedures to facilitate participants in the preparation and planning of a happening followed by the public enactment of what the participants had conceived. In both projects, the participants were engaged in dialogical forms of activity in which reflection upon their own and other people's contributions played a part and which have a correlation with practices known to pedagogy (Skidmore, Murakami 2016) and applied linguistics – SLE (McCafferty et al. 2006; Swain, Watanabe 2013) and which, additionally, might be seen to be linked to characteristics for happening as a performative practice – **multicentrism**, **indeterminancy**, **reflexivity**. Both projects also included the use of physical activities stemming from theatre practices (Rintoul 2011; Magni 2013; Johnson, Heron 2018) as well as drama based techniques used in SLE (Maley, Duff 2005), which connect with the **body intelligence** characteristic of happening. Furthermore, perspectives originating from psychology, pedagogy and semiotics are represented. In relation to psychology, participants worked across different intelligences (Gardner 1983): linguistic, musical, logical-mathematical, visual-spatial, bodily-kinaesthetic, intrapersonal and interpersonal. In terms of pedagogy, the participants used different symbol systems to represent situations (Barnes 2008: 7), ways of expression that can also, in connection with semiotics, be termed codes (Chandler 2007: 149–150): verbal,

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sectors. In connection with general audiences, where the happening or performance involved open participation, the professional status of those people involved was unknown.

graphic, bodily and aesthetic. Meanwhile, this mixture of involvement rather than simply the cognitive, relates to the **interdisciplinary** characteristic of happening.

Brief summaries of a number of the activities used in the tertiary level workshops mentioned above, which called for participant involvement using different intelligences and across various symbol systems, are given below:

- participants drew small pictures about their lives which were then interpreted by other members of the group (Photo 1);
- participants worked in groups of four, where one person acted as a receiver and tried to copy the physical movements of another participant while also attempting to repeat a story and answer simple mathematical equations supplied by the other two members of the group (Photo 2);
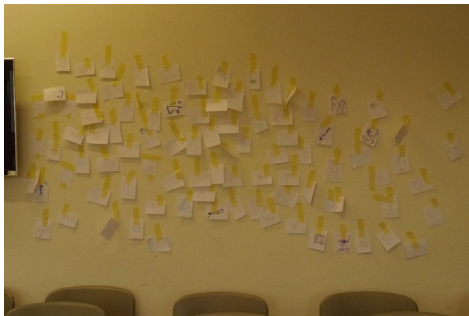

Photo 1. Small pictures drawn by participants which are interpreted by other members of the group

Source: the author.

Photo 2. In groups of four, participants copy physical movements, repeat a story and answer simple mathematical equations

Source: the author.

- participants sat in small groups and shared and discussed words, phrases, actions, events and images that they had found in personal explorations of literary texts and which they felt to be important – these "reactions" later became the basis for a happening (Photo 3);
- participants sat in small groups and used basic musical instruments[5] to create sound equivalents for words, phrases, actions, events and images that they had found in their explorations of literary texts. Then, the participants created visual symbols for the sounds which they wrote down in the form of musical scores. After that, the participants played the scores using the basic musical instruments and working together as a small "orchestra" (Photo 4);

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[5]   These included household implements such as pots and pans, wooden spoons, bunches of keys for jingling and instruments for shaking, consisting of containers filled with rice or lentils. There were also basic trumpets, of the kind used by supporters at sporting events.
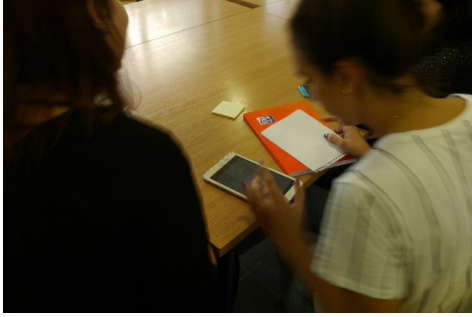
Photo 3. Participants share and discuss words, phrases, actions, events and images found through personal explorations of literary texts

Source: the author.

Photo 4. Participants use basic musical instruments to create sound equivalents for words, phrases, actions, events and images found through personal explorations of literary texts

Source: the author.

- participants sat in groups of four and shared previously discussed ideas (actions and events) for a happening. Two members of each group then left to join another group where they continued to discuss and develop ideas. This movement was repeated a number of times to allow ideas to be mixed and developed (Photo 5);
- participants rehearsed ideas for a happening before performing the happening in a public space (Photo 6).

Photo 5. In groups of four, participants share previously discussed ideas and then move on to other groups to continue sharing ideas

Source: the author.

Photo 6. Participants rehearse ideas for a happening

Source: the author.

This varied participant involvement was "recorded" to become data, using strategies and tools from different research practices. It was, for example, registered in photographs or on videotape, or made note of using ethnographic observation and description. The participants were also asked to share their ideas and views about the processes in which they were involved. On a more formal

level, this entailed the use of qualitative interviews and group discussions while, less formally, participants were encouraged to share their ideas by writing emails to the author as well as contributing to a blog. Analysis of artefacts, including objects, visual representations and documents produced by participants was also undertaken.

Analysis, meanwhile, was done following a constructivist-interpretivist path suggested by Thomas A. Schwandt (1998). This takes as its starting point the idea that people create meaning out of engagement with a world of phenomena and events, and where history, language and action all play a part in the social interactions that take place. It also believes that what people do and say should be taken at face value, while the researcher's role is to prepare an interpretation in which she/he applies personal and subjective judgement rather than a set of prescribed rules. This, in turn, involves "the delicate interplay of experience-near and experience-distant concepts" (Schwandt 1998: 232) which, for this author, has meant moving backwards and forwards between what participants (including myself) have thought, said and/or done in connection with a particular research project, and its elucidation through considerations of the immediate context or different discourses connected with the area under analysis. This complexity in previous research was brought together in a strategy that was defined after Claude Lévi-Strauss (1966: 20–21) as *bricolage*, in which combinations and re-combinations of items and events are analyzed in terms of open-ended sequence, where one particular viewpoint (closure-classification) is not sought after or desired. In terms of this author's research, the dynamic of such a process was elucidated by the application of **a rhizome-tumbleweed** model (Blaszk 2017b: 133–134). It also used a procedure suggested by Joe L. Kincheloe (2008: 340–346)[6], POET – point of entry text, in which data from empirical inquiry was analyzed in connection with conceptual maps arising from different domains, including theoretical knowledge from the different branches of inquiry and disciplines mentioned above (see also, Blaszk 2021: 26) for an account of the domains relating to a particular research project).

With regard to what has been outlined above, the third space inquiry that I am involved in, which takes as its starting point a model suggested by Hansen (2018: 40), is summarized in Figure 1.

In agreement with Hansen's model, my research practice in the third space allows for discovery and exploration with possibilities of connection. This supports performative education and artistic inquiry, as well as theoretical research and empirical experimentation, which takes the form of PAR. Meanwhile, the results

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6   This was part of a greater project by Kincheloe to extend the possibilities for *bricolage* in connection with qualitative research. As well as the article cited above, see Kincheloe (2011).

continued exploration and
re-application in future projects

production/praxis/dissemination

(participatory
action
research)

performative / artistic
education   activity

theoretical/empirical inquiry

supports

THIRD SPACE
discovery and exploration
possibilities of connection
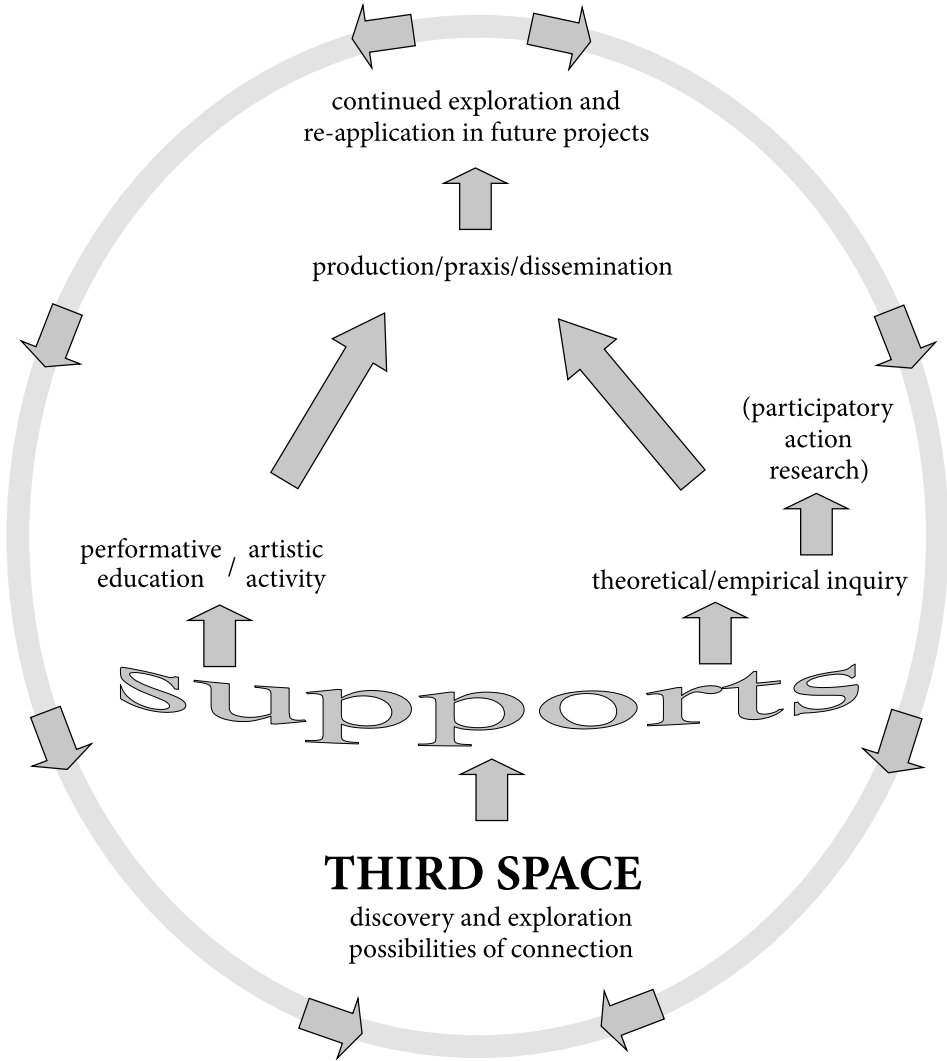
Figure 1. A model for the author's research in connection with third space activity

Source: the author.

of these activities can be, as Hansen suggests, production, praxis and dissemination. In relation to this latter point, however, Hansen places praxis and production for her performance activity as separate from the praxis and dissemination of her research, while I keep them together in a loose configuration to emphasize the possibilities for overlap and interaction that can exist. Finally, similarly to Hansen's model, my research practice is cyclical in nature, where results from research projects generate further research.

Conclusions

In connection with human inquiry, there is a perceived need for a space in which different branches of knowledge and the disciplines which stem from them can work together in the pursuit of knowledge and understanding of phenomena which may exist across boundaries rather than fit comfortably into one particular domain. In the 1960s, Snow proposed the idea of a third culture which would, he hoped, foster dialogue and cooperation between these different domains. In a more recent development, Malina, working with an image from Translation Studies, has proposed structuring inquiry around networked knowledge rather than transdisciplinary practice as a more realistic way for researchers to engage with phenomena that exist in the borderlands between different branches of knowledge and their disciplines. An example of a research practice which, according to this author, involves networked knowledge, is Hansen's third space model. This proposes that researchers from across different domains and disciplines work together in a non-hierarchical fashion to inquire into performance related phenomena. It is also a space in which the subjects of the research – in Hansen's case, dancers – contribute to an understanding of the phenomena in which they are involved, using the code – dance – which is relevant to those phenomena and with which they are able to comfortably express themselves.

With regard to my own professional practice, working as an academic teacher and SLE teacher, I want to implement a performative educational practice and also research into that practice as a way to understand it more fully as well as develop it. In connection with this, Hansen's third space model was used to elucidate the functioning of my own research practice. This showed that, similarly to Hansen's model, the third space of my practice takes into account different disciplines, a variety of involvements from its participants and a complex inquiry strategy. As in Hansen's model, I also aim to include participants in the research process as they are engaged in the development of ideas for a happening, by inviting them to comment upon their involvement through interviews and discussions, as well as written comments through emails and blog. My research into performative education is also cyclical in nature; the experiences and findings from the research not only reveal information about the phenomenon inquired into but also give information about how that phenomenon might be developed, further research that might be undertaken, and how the research might be implemented.

Finally, in a situation where the phenomenon that is being researched is complex and works across boundaries, a third space research practice is not only desirable but essential if the nature of the phenomenon under investigation is to be revealed in all its diversity. And, although the concept of the third culture may

be outdated or moribund, it is useful as a provocation to thought about how we view and position ourselves as researchers in a world that in its increasing complexity needs research strategies that will allow us to ask and answer questions about what that complexity entails.

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Marta Skorek[1]

"The Leaky Boundaries of Man-made States": Post-normal Science as an Approach to Inquiry into the Nature of Boundaries in Environmental Governance

Global environmental governance challenges, such as the climate crisis, ocean pollution, deforestation, desertification or biodiversity loss, are among the most pressing and complex issues in the contemporary world. Both real and constructed, the challenges need to be governed in a multi-level, multi-actor and multi-sector manner. The situation is further complicated by the fact that traditional science has lost some of its credibility due to oversimplified models and simplistic claims, illegal manipulation of information, and the inadequate handling of uncertainty and complexity in the process of making scientific predictions. However, the process of scientific knowledge production may also be approached through the lens of post-normal science (PNS), particularly in the context of complex environmental governance challenges. In connection with this, the aim of this theoretical study is three-fold: to highlight the complex nature of environmental governance challenges, to outline the major tenets of the post-normal approach to science, with special emphasis on the science-policy interface, and to demonstrate the appropriateness of PNS as an approach to inquiry into the nature of boundaries in environmental governance. Primarily intended as an introduction to PNS, the article summarizes the post-normal approach to scientific knowledge production and highlights its relevance to environmental governance challenges through the notion of boundary. For this reason, PNS has not been analyzed through a critical lens, while certain issues relating to its contextualization are beyond the scope of this article.

Keywords: boundary, environmental governance, post-normal science

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Introduction

Oh, the leaky boundaries of man-made states!
How many clouds float past them with impunity;
How much desert sand shifts from one land to another;
How many mountain pebbles tumble onto foreign soil
In provocative hops!
Need I mention every single bird that flies in the face of frontiers
Or alights on the roadblock at the border?

Wisława Szymborska, *Psalm* (1976)

As might be expected, boundaries identified in the context of environmental governance may come in various guises: ranging from natural borders (found to exist in nature, e.g. land-sea interface; ocean-atmosphere interface; sea-land air interface (Pyć 2011)), through lines drawn on a map to mark state borders (rarely coinciding with ecological boundaries), maritime zones (United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (1982)), and (macro-)regions (Götz 2016; Henningsen 2011), to protected areas (ecosystems mapped for protection) (Spalding et al. 2007). Furthermore, the concept of boundary in environmental governance may also be extended to cover the limits shaping our perception and practices regarding people-environment interactions, including:

- the nine planetary boundaries aimed at creating a safe operating space for humanity (Rockström et al. 2009);
- ecological thresholds (the point or level at which something begins or changes in ecological systems), tipping points (a point at which a system (ecological system) experiences a qualitative change, mostly in an abrupt and discontinuous way), and regulatory limits (decision thresholds or management thresholds) (Jax 2016; Scheffer 2009).

By no means exhaustive, the above list of various boundaries reflects human attempts to conceptualize a fluid, changing and complex environmental setting characterized by trans-boundary and multi-level forms of interaction (Pyć 2011). However, as nature does not respect man-made boundaries (e.g. the water cycle or migratory species), which has been aptly captured in the epigraph to this article, boundaries set in environmental governance need to be kept under critical scrutiny due to their both enabling and constraining effects.

While the former may include creating a safe operating space for humanity through the introduction of the nine planetary boundaries (Rockström et al. 2009), the latter may take the form of a separation between people and nature (the nature-society dichotomy) (Stibbe 2015), which may prove detrimental to the process of integrated environmental governance.

Taking the above into account, this article is informed by Thomas Lundén's view of boundaries as both necessary and negotiable, as "practical necessities rather than holy walls" (2004: 212), as well as Yoshifumi Tanaka's (2004, 2008) dual approach to ocean governance combining both zonal and integrated management approaches, to account for both the need to divide marine space into multiple jurisdictions and the fluid and dynamic ecological interactions and conditions typical of marine ecosystems. What is more, it is based on a close reading of research dedicated to post-normal science (PNS). This is in order to identify its major tenets as well as to provide an overview of research publications exploring the various dimensions which determine whether the post-normal approach may be more aligned than traditional science with the nature of the boundaries to be found in environmental governance. First, the article explores the nature of global environmental governance challenges, then it focuses on the major tenets of the post-normal approach to science, with special emphasis on the science-policy interface. Finally, the article underscores the appropriateness of PNS as an approach to inquiry into the nature of boundaries in environmental governance.

Global environmental governance challenges

Global environmental governance challenges (e.g. climate change, ocean pollution, desertification, deforestation or biodiversity loss), also known as complex sustainability challenges (Folke et al. 2021), represent some of the most complex and interdependent systems of the contemporary world. According to the World Social Science Report 2013, global environmental changes cover all the biophysical changes on the planet's land surface and in its oceans, atmosphere and cryosphere, many of which are driven by human activities (ISSC and UNESCO 2013: 3). Occurring across time and space, these challenges are of a highly complex, interconnected (interrelated), interdependent, and non-linear nature, which requires that they be handled at global, regional, and local levels. The complexity may well be illustrated with land-sea interactions, i.e. the constant interaction between the sea and the land in multiple ways and at different scales, which may take the following forms:

- land-sea processes: natural flows occurring at the land-sea interface (e.g. rivers carrying sediments to the sea);
- cross-system threats: a change in one system (i.e. the land or the sea) having a detrimental effect on another (e.g. toxic substances from industry making their way into the sea and contaminating the water);

- management and policy decisions: our (human) decisions taken with regard to managing both land and marine ecosystems having an overarching influence on the two previous categories (e.g. transboundary river management) (Pittman, Armitage 2016).

Therefore, their governance calls for both top-down and bottom-up initiatives, state and non-state actor engagement, as well as academic and non-academic ways of knowing, which is in line with Jan van Tatenhove's definition of governance as "a society-centered way of governing or steering, accentuating coordination and self-governance, manifested in different types of policy arrangements" (2011: 95). The situation is further exacerbated by the fact that in the context of complex environmental governance challenges "facts are uncertain, values in dispute, stakes are high and decisions urgent" (Funtowicz, Ravetz 1993: 744).

In order to tackle these challenges responsibly, both state and non-state actors need to rely on scientific knowledge that appears to be one of the most important legitimation strategies used in global environmental governance in general, and in climate change governance in particular. In fact, there are "few policy areas in which scientific expertise and data play such a central role; in which claims to scientific rationality are so crucial in justifying political programs and measures (…)" (Steffek 2009: 313). The aim of scientific expertise is to help stakeholders reconsider anthropogenic stressors on the environment and to facilitate their understanding of human-nature interactions by providing information and methodological tools as well as by raising public consciousness (Cortner 2000: 22).

Scientific expertise falls within the framework of authorization that constitutes one of the legitimation strategies proposed by Theo van Leeuwen (2008). The legitimacy for a given approach, procedure or course of action is established on the basis of authoritative claims as well as in reference to the authority of experts or relevant institutions (van Leeuwen 2008: 105). Although there is apparently no need for experts offering advice or recommendations to give reasons, today the authority of experts appears to be waning due to their professional autonomy being increasingly surrendered to policy-making processes and public access to information previously held secret by scientists as well as to a multitude of scientific solutions (van Leeuwen 2008: 107). According to Hanna J. Cortner (2000: 23), science is a social institution that may generate knowledge but may also contribute to regulatory discontent, which has both positive and negative effects.

As the status of scientific knowledge has clearly changed, the following sections of this article explore the transition from traditional to PNS, and highlight the complexity of science-policy interface as well as point to a significant compatibility between PNS and the nature of boundaries in environmental governance.

From traditional to PNS

Characteristics of the traditional approach

Traditionally scientific knowledge has been perceived as an objective, value-free, independent, apolitical and rationality-based practice which prefers technical solutions as first-order solutions (Cortner 2000: 21). The traditional approach to science is reflected in the modern model of legitimation based on the idea of complete separation between reliable and truth-telling science on the one hand, and a subjective and value-laden policy-making process on the other (Funtowicz, Strand 2007). In other words, scientists who are official knowledge producers with a privileged status, provide value-free expertise (usually of a quantitative nature) to policy-makers who formulate policy in accordance with values and preferences (Funtowicz, Strand 2007). However, such an approach separates scientists from citizens and science from the policy-making process, which may also result in undemocratic procedures and outcomes (Cortner 2000: 21). Furthermore, the modern model appears to be inadequate in the event of multiple uncertainties and complexities, including expert disagreement, as well as lack of scientific knowledge or conflict of interest in situations where experts are also stakeholders (Funtowicz, Strand 2007).

According to Cortner (2000: 23), science is a very political practice charged with values held by scientists who not only follow the norms of their respective disciplines but also represent policy communities and institutions who have their own preferences and biases. Since the perceived accuracy of scientific knowledge fails to adequately address its socio-political dimension, it is crucial to dispel universally accepted myths and consider the following issues: arguable claims and results, problem framing, methodological assumptions, selection criteria, scientific model design, and the resultant interpretations involving value judgments made by experts as well as science as a socially constructed practice. Any commonly held misconceptions about the nature of science may generate skepticism toward science or even lead to the collapse of trust in scientific research work and its social role, which undermines its reliability in the public sphere. Therefore, "while [science] may be part of the problem, it must also be a significant part of the solution" (Cortner 2000: 22).

The main goal of PNS

The main goal of the post-normal approach to science is to address the issue of uncertainty and complexity in global governance issues and to ensure the quality of scientific research (Funtowicz, Strand 2007). Although until recently the traditional

approach characterized by the rationality of reductionist natural-scientific research has been dominant, there is a noticeable move to a practice of science that manages irreducible uncertainties in knowledge and ethics, and which also recognizes different legitimate perspectives. Furthermore, such an approach to science reflects the workings of a democratic society based on extensive participation (extension of peer communities) and toleration of diversity (Funtowicz, Ravetz 1993: 754). Additionally, the need for transformative knowledge production has been highlighted in the World Social Science Report 2013, which encourages the creation of open information and knowledge systems. Such systems involve collaborative learning and problem solving, multiple sources of expertise generated by both scientists and non-academic knowledge holders who co-design, co-produce and co-implement new knowledge (ISSC and UNESCO 2013: 9).

Complex systems

Global environmental governance issues epitomize complex systems that combine not only environmental but also social, political, economic and cultural dimensions. The inseparability of social and environmental systems and challenges is directly linked to the nature of the environment as a single, complex and interconnected system which has a socio-ecological dimension (ISSC and UNESCO 2013: 4). Due to the complexity of the challenges, there are numerous trans-scientific questions, i.e., questions of fact formulated in the language of science but unanswerable by science, involved in public policy-making (Weinberg 1972: 209). Therefore, complex systems call for a form of integrated science that goes beyond traditional disciplinary boundaries and draws from various scientific fields. This, in turn, would not result in a loss of disciplinary autonomy but instead lead to the joint framing of problems, collaborative design, shared research questions, as well as common methodologies. It would also lead to the joint performance and application of research (ISSC and UNESCO 2013: 5, 12).

Different forms of uncertainty

Typical of the complex systems of global environmental governance and inherent in the construction of scientific expertise, both uncertainty and complexity are two major categories recognized by PNS. There are many sources of uncertainty: knowledge gaps, variability (the inherent randomness of natural systems) or expert subjectivity. Additionally, uncertainty may stem from linguistic uncertainty, communication patterns, and the problematic relationship between the properties of the message emitted and those of the message received (Maxim, van der

Sluijs 2011: 485). It is noteworthy that uncertainty has three dimensions: substantive (the content of the knowledge itself covering problem framing, knowledge production, and knowledge communication); contextual (the context of knowledge production or use, i.e. "when and where" knowledge is framed, produced, communicated or used, and in which socio-economic and political conditions); and procedural (the processes of how knowledge is framed, produced, communicated, or used) (Maxim, van der Sluijs 2011: 488). The knowledge of these dimensions facilitates the identification of uncertainties in the form of imprecision as well as indeterminacies (large-scale uncertainties) concerning the reliability of classification systems (properties or criteria used to aggregate and classify things) (Wynne 1992: 126). However, even if a complete set of uncertainties has been identified, they are often "falsely reduce[d] (…) to the more comforting illusion of controllable, probabilistic but deterministic processes, [which] conceals the dimension of ignorance behind practical policy and technological commitments based on a given body of scientific knowledge" (Wynne 1992: 123). The situation is further complicated by the fact that scientists not only analyze the same volume of data "with different evaluative spectacles", but they also tend to use their theoretical and methodological approaches and commitments to create various sets of "natural" data or facts. As a result, their "normative responsibilities and commitments are concealed in the 'natural' discourse of the science, indicating the fundamentally negotiable definition of the boundary between science and policy" (Jasanoff after Wynne 1992: 125). This means that many relevant moral and social issues are not adequately described, which creates the impression of a "factual" scientific field as separate from a normative one (Wynne 1992: 125). The exclusion of uncertainty from policy-informing science and unwarranted scientific precision may have far-reaching consequences – they may undermine public confidence in science and result in conflicting power relationships (Maxim, van der Sluijs 2011: 482–483). Therefore, in order to account for the role uncertainty plays in scientific research and policy-informing processes, it is crucial to reconceptualize the interaction between natural knowledge and social commitments (moral identities, institutional demeanor, forms of social control) (Wynne 1992: 123–124).

<center>The implementation of the precautionary principle</center>

Since lack of full scientific certainty has gradually become acknowledged in the policy-making process, particularly in global environmental issues, there is a move towards precaution or a preventive approach as an additional policy-making component to address the issue of incomplete science (Funtowicz, Strand 2007). The

implementation of the precautionary principle testifies to the acceptance of the inherent limitations of scientific expertise, tackles the issue of shifting the burden of proof to the polluter, and calls for the reshaping of the natural categories and classifications used in the production of scientific expertise. In other words, such a precautionary approach reconceptualizes scientific knowledge in social, moral, and cultural terms (Wynne 1992: 123, 124). According to Principle 15 of the Rio Declaration, the precautionary principle has been formulated as follows: "Where there are threats of serious or irreversible damage, lack of full scientific certainty shall not be used as a reason for postponing cost-effective measures to prevent environmental degradation" (Rio Declaration 1992). The precautionary principle is followed in the event that scientists are aware of the existence of a concrete and specific harm or risk although the scientific evidence available is not yet conclusive to satisfy the full scientific certainty standard (Funtowicz, Strand 2007).

An extended form of participation

Within the framework of PNS, the quality of scientific inputs to the policy-making process depends on the participation of an "extended peer community", i.e. all stakeholders (scientists, policy-makers, and the public) affected by a given environmental governance issue (Funtowicz, Ravetz 1993: 744). In other words, the extended peer community is represented not only by experts holding some form of institutional accreditation but also by all individuals having an interest in the resolution of the issue (Funtowicz, Strand 2007). The aim of this open dialogue is to discuss the quality of scientific evidence and policy proposals according to both scientific criteria and the non-expert knowledge of the world (Maxim, van der Sluijs 2011: 491).

Science-policy interface

While scientific expertise appears to be a prerequisite for solving environmental problems, and policy-makers depend on scientists for the provision of specialized knowledge (Steffek 2009: 313), the intersection of science and policy still poses many challenges. While it is common knowledge that science informs policy-making processes, the reverse may also be true in the event that scientific practices are regulated by policy decisions (Funtowicz, Strand 2007). Furthermore, scientific expertise is very often misunderstood, overestimated, and then institutionalized in policy-making. The science-policy interface usually relies on quantitative data to the exclusion of the qualitative aspects that "illuminate

public debate and inform decision-making processes" (Maxim, van der Sluijs 2011: 483). However, the legitimacy and validity of scientific knowledge is contingent not only on its degree of fit with nature (that is negotiable) but also on its correspondence with the social world, which calls for a social discussion on the boundaries and conditions of scientific expertise with regard to social knowledge (Wynne 1992: 127). Although the problematic nature of the science-policy interface consists of a lack of consensus on the causal mechanisms in environmental governance areas, the scientific evidence base or the status of local community knowledge, the limitations of science (incomplete, erroneous and uncertain knowledge produced to meet economic objectives) may be partly addressed by the co-production of knowledge by scientists and users of knowledge (ISSC and UNESCO 2013: 21).

Discourse communities

According to Swales' model of a discourse community modified by Anna Jopek-Bosiacka (2010: 77), it may be characterized by the following: the commonality of public goals, the repertoire of genres, and a special (hierarchical) membership structure. However, in today's complex world drawing a clear distinction between scientists, policy-makers and the public (all relevant stakeholders), appears to verge on the impossible, as will be shown below.

Professional discourse communities

It appears to be virtually impossible to draw a clear line separating scientific communities from policy-makers. Scientists are often perceived as government advisors or even lobbyists working for the government (Saltelli, Funtowicz 2014: 79). Their expertise is either used to legitimate politicians' decisions or disregarded when it runs counter to political aims. Additionally, experts tend to be viewed as political actors who resort to manipulation and shape the public agenda according to their interests (Cortner 2000: 23). It is noteworthy that the traditional division between scientists providing the means and politicians deciding the ends does not correspond to reality, since scientific means usually have non-scientific implications that need to be evaluated in social, moral and political terms. Therefore, the interaction between the scientist and the politician tends to be far more complicated than the traditional model suggests (Weinberg 1972: 209). Although attempts have been made to counteract conflicts of interest by introducing the demarcation model which acknowledges

expert bias and specifies the values in action in scientific knowledge production, a clear division between the institutions (and individual scientists) that provide scientific knowledge and those entities that apply it is no longer viable. It appears to be impossible to conclusively separate facts from values due to the complexity and indeterminacy of complex systems that reject "the ideal of isolated scientists having access to a 'God's eye view' [as] unrealistic, and probably undesirable" (Funtowicz, Strand 2007).

The public: extended peer community

The role experts play in the area of global environmental governance cannot be overestimated (Steffek 2009: 316). However, there is a gap between scientific discourse and the language used by lay people, which may pose a serious challenge to efforts of legitimization. Scientists tend to use their own particular reference system and style of reasoning, which confers on them the authority to provide their expertise on environmental issues. However, the discourse used by scientists may result in the exclusion of lay people from environmental governance processes (Steffek 2009: 316–317). It is noteworthy that science is often relied upon to provide arguments supporting specific policies. According to Jens Steffek, "[as] speakers in a discourse, individual scientists and institutions embodying expertise have particular standing" (2009: 317). As the authority of scientists and their claims may also be subject to contestation, other sources of authority, including ethical values, are often invoked to challenge scientific knowledge.

The attempt to assign to the public and scientists completely separate roles: determining goals, and deciding on the means to achieve them, respectively, may result in the marginalization of the public in the policy-making process and in the use of predominantly technical criteria for decision making (Cortner 2000: 25). However, due to its inherent uncertainties, the process of generating scientific knowledge for public policy should be open to an intense social examination of the evidence collected, and to the negotiation of the knowledge construction process, yet without the scientific truth being determined by social choice (Wynne 1992: 126). Such an approach is clearly in line with the model of extended participation based on the idea of an extended peer review community comprised of both expert and non-expert stakeholders. As a result, citizens perceived as both critics and creators are given a chance to evaluate scientific methodologies in the knowledge production process, which may result in quality assurance and the democratization of science (Funtowicz, Strand 2007).

Problem framing

The framing of a governance problem is one of the most important stages in the process of knowledge production. The most common challenges include incorrectly framed analyses, issue mischaracterization or "lamp-posting", i.e., analyzing the least relevant but easiest to analyze uncertainties and parameters (Saltelli, Funtowicz 2014: 84). Furthermore, the issue of problem framing is further complicated by the preference for a technical framing of political problems that are dealt with in isolation from values, human behavior, prevention or open discussion, and solved using technical measures regarded as more "politically palatable" (Cortner 2000: 24). Nevertheless, the framing of a problem involves the selection of safety measures, species, scope of time and place, expert communities and non-expert stakeholders, various viewpoints and even consultation between scientific disciplines. When a problem is incorrectly framed due to an error or poor judgment, it may impair the whole scientific research process. As a consequence, it influences the outcome of scientific recommendation and the resultant policy. However, the acceptance of a given framing approach always entails a certain degree of arbitrariness, constraints related to the selected methodology, and the appropriation of knowledge by science, which may lead to the possible misuse of scientific expertise in the policy-making context (Funtowicz, Strand 2007).

Knowledge communication

One of the major sources of uncertainty resides within communication. Linguistic uncertainty may take the following forms: uncertainty in content (leading to inexact propositional content), epistemic (the degree of belief assigned to a proposition), conditional (the truth of one statement conditional on the trust in another), and inferential (logical inference). Moreover, it may result from the selective use of references from the available scientific literature, disregard for critical remarks, the rejection of knowledge produced by other stakeholders, the use of irrelevant arguments to the issue at hand, and word choice (ambiguity, vagueness, lack of context, overgeneralizations). It may also stem from preliminary results being presented as well-established facts or even the illegitimacy of the sources of information used (Maxim, van der Sluijs 2011: 483, 485). Therefore, it appears to be crucial to communicate scientific knowledge in a manner corresponding to the needs and interests of particular users, as well as to avoid the selective use of scientific expertise or uncertain information to promote favorable outcomes.

PNS methods

The rationality-based approach to science involves reliance on scientific arguments and the verification of knowledge by empirical methods, using models to analyze quantifiable and "unbiased" factual data. Crucial as they may seem, they should also be supplemented by contributions made by other stakeholders who are in a position to question their assumptions and to identify biases and inconsistencies, in addition to the application of experiential knowledge which can be shared by the public (Cortner 2000: 25). Narrowly defined complex problems that are "reduced to manageable proportions" tend to have little relevance in the area of environmental policy-making (Cortner 2000: 26). Another methodology-related problem concerns the reliability of scientific models that are often contested on the grounds of poor modeling practices, model misuse and its negative impact on the policy-making process.

Such models are said to create an illusion of accurate predictions about natural phenomena and to lack transparency, which may significantly undermine the legitimacy of science as a tool for policy-making. Although global governance issues constitute extremely complex systems involving many uncertainties, scientific models are saturated with crisp numbers and targets. Furthermore, they may be challenged due to the many implicit and value-laden assumptions underlying scientific analyses itself (Saltelli, Funtowicz 2014: 82).

Values

Due to the fact that value judgments made in the course of a scientific research process are hidden by scientific jargon, the inherently value-laden aspect of the process is usually overlooked, which eliminates the need for public discussion (Cortner 2000: 24–25). The value-free approach to natural knowledge is reinforced by the discourse of objective natural determination that disregards social, moral and cultural values (Wynne 1992: 127). Since the scientific research process is primarily based on computer models using mainly quantitative methodologies, social values (such as justice, legitimacy, and equality) are not incorporated into the process, which creates the impression of value-free scientific expertise (Cortner 2000: 25). However, it is noteworthy that scientific knowledge may create power asymmetries and confer privileges, which challenges the democratic nature of the policy-making process (Steffek 2009: 313).

Discussion – implications for environmental governance by rethinking its boundaries through the application of PNS

While the post-normal approach to science is not a panacea for all the complex environmental challenges that exist, it nonetheless points in certain directions along which it may be reasonable to look (for sensitizing concepts see Blumer 1954: 7). By integrating uncertainty, complexity, and extended peer communities into the process of scientific knowledge production, it is largely consistent with the fluid nature of boundaries identified in environmental governance, the need to account for different legitimate perspectives, and the concept of social-ecological systems to be studied as an integrated whole (Folke et al. 2016). In other words, embracing the post-normal approach may result in the emergence of a holistic and integrated science as well as a civic and participatory science, one which is suitable for inquiry into the fluid boundaries of environmental governance.

The call for a more holistic and integrated scientific approach recognizes the nature of ecosystems as open, changing, and complex systems whose management requires that all interactions (including human activities) occurring within them be taken into account (for ecosystem-based management see Söderström 2017). Such an approach explores the dynamic interactions of their social, political, economic, biological, and physical features. It also considers human-beings and their values and preferences (social justice, economy, human health, and national security) to be integral parts of ecosystems (Cortner 2000: 26), which is clearly in line with the concept of a social-ecological system (Folke et al. 2016). What is more, the aim of an integrated science which engages experts working across disciplinary boundaries is to "drop the artificial distinction between the biophysical and social sciences and the hard and soft sciences, and speak just of science" (Cortner 2000: 27), which may pave the way for transdisciplinary forms of approaching environmental governance challenges (Finke 2017) or even undisciplinary ones (Haider et al. 2017), where early-career researchers with interdisciplinary backgrounds would work together to address the complex nature of today's sustainability challenges. Apart from scientific models to be assessed in terms of modeling, data acquisition or expert elicitation (Saltelli, Funtowicz 2014: 81), the holistic approach to scientific expertise needs to include multiple sources of knowledge, such as experiential and empirical knowledge, qualitative and quantitative data, as well as observations made by local community members (Cortner 2000: 27). All of the above features of PNS are in line with the nature of complex environmental challenges, whose governance requires an integrated social-ecological systems perspective "emphasiz[ing] that people, communities, economies, societies, cultures are embedded parts of the biosphere and shape it, from local to global scales" (Folke et al. 2016).

The need for the redefinition of global environmental changes as a social problem requires the co-design, co-production and co-delivery of knowledge in open knowledge systems as well as the use of context-sensitive and qualitative social science knowledge about the world marked by its cultural, socio-economic, and intellectual diversity (ISSC and UNESCO 2013: 24, 26). In order to establish legitimacy for their policies, governance institutions are expected to convince relevant stakeholders that their actions are "necessary, morally justified and conducive to [their] welfare (…)" (Steffek 2009: 314). Such an inclusive approach requires that scientists and stakeholders understand how assumptions and outcomes are connected, and how and by whom the information is produced and communicated. Furthermore, it calls for the rejection of pseudoscience, which conceals uncertainties in input data, and for the inclusion of the views held by relevant stakeholders as well as for comprehensible communication patterns (Saltelli, Funtowicz 2014: 83).

The interest in legitimation in the area of environmental governance reflects the move from government to governance (Steffek 2009: 314), where governance denotes a cooperative and non-hierarchical form of political steering, very often engaging both public and private actors (Steffek 2009: 313). Owing to its de-centralized, non-hierarchical, inclusive and flexible nature, the society-centered way of governing may contribute to a successful policy-making process (Steffek 2009: 314). As such an aim cannot be reached in an exclusively top-down manner, it is also crucial to incorporate a bottom-up approach to governance (ISSC and UNESCO 2013: 26). This approach is in line with the call for a more civic science within the framework of which relevant stakeholders are involved at each stage of the research work, where the process of scientific knowledge production involves participatory research designs and democratic deliberation, and grassroots knowledge is given more prominence. Furthermore, the aim of civic science is to "supplement, not replace, the standard analysis of efficient means to given ends with qualitative discussions of the means themselves" (Fischer after Cortner 2000: 27), as well as to ward off the risk of breeding technocracies which – owing to their overreliance on expertise – may change the status of citizens (local communities) from authors of political outcomes to mere stakeholders (Steffek 2009: 313).

Conclusions

The institution of science appears to be in dire need of transformation encompassing holistic and integrated science, meaningful public involvement, collaborative decision-making, and adaptable institutions, as well as the creation of a more civic science (Cortner 2000: 21). Additionally, a clear distinction should be made between the scientist as an analyst and the scientist as an advocate when discussing

the issue of the role of scientific advocacy in policy-making processes. Although scientists are community members making value-laden judgments, their primary task is to inform citizens about the risks and benefits generated by envisaged solutions without advocating any particular option (Cortner 2000: 28). Furthermore, the legitimacy of the traditional model based on its strong division between facts and values should be challenged by a new approach to complex system governance "inviting citizens into the co-production of knowledge, and experts into the co-production of politics" (Funtowicz, Strand 2007: 11).

It is of course beyond the scope of this article to determine whether PNS is a new way of doing science or just a sensitizing concept meant to alert us to the existence of certain complex issues (Wesselink, Hoppe 2011). However, the post-normal approach to science is based on several concepts that correspond exceptionally well with the fluid, non-linear and overlapping nature of boundaries that can be identified in environmental governance. More importantly, such an approach to scientific knowledge production and all of its implications may provide researchers with a mission to "take down the boundaries that circumscribe academia, and let the real world in". It also urges scientists to go the extra mile and to "walk over the fence themselves and go out there, where scholarly works end and society starts, where privileged, esoteric reflections do not count but the green spaces that are being suffocated by pollution (…) where the Arctic is melting (…)" (Harper 2016: 100).

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Katarzyna Mirgos[1]

The Boundaries of the Basque Language

The object of this article is to reflect on the concept of boundaries in relation to the Basque language (*Euskara*). The starting point is the Basque endoethnonym and the concepts which point to language as a marker of distinctiveness and a barrier to others. The article discusses the situation of the Basque language as a minority language, which is broken down into dialects, the phenomenon of diglossia and multilingualism in the region, and contemporary challenges faced by the language. Attention is also paid to the importance of knowledge of the Basque language in the studies of Basque culture, and in the integration of immigrants.

Keywords: boundary, border, language, *Euskara*, Basque Autonomous Community

Introduction

The aim of this text is to look at the Basque language (*Euskara*[2]) in relation to the concept of a broadly defined boundary. I want to draw the reader's attention to the territorial and symbolic boundaries of this language, which is considered as one of Europe's most mysterious. As Robert Lawrence Trask observes: "Few languages have exercised so much fascination upon the collective linguistic consciousness as Basque, and at the same time few European languages are so little known to professional linguists" (1997: xiii). In the past, it was often seen as a tool for creating barriers against others, and its value was supposed to be in its purity, understood as the absence of foreign influences. Today, the language is a reflection of an open and inclusive attitude, and the Basque language policy[3] contributes to

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[2] In the article I will use the terms *Basque* and *Euskara* interchangeably in reference to the Basque language.

[3] I am referring to the official policy of the authorities of the Basque Autonomous Community which includes analysis of the situation of the Basque language, the normalization of the use of

the growth of knowledge of Basque not only in the Basque Country[4]. *Euskara* is also becoming an important component of immigrant integration. Indeed, the creation of Basque language courses is supported all over the world, while such courses are also offered in Poland. On the other hand, there are also new challenges related to the use of Basque, and linguistic boundaries are often blurred.

This article is based on analysis of existing data and field research conducted in the Basque region. In the course of the project, the author spent several months in the Basque Autonomous Community, with her stay divided into stages (in the period 2017–2021). She conducted library and archive searches, observations (participatory and non-participatory) and interviews (free, narrative, formalised). Interviews were conducted in Basque, Spanish and Polish (in the case of Polish immigrants living in the Basque Country)[5]. The author also drew on her experiences from previous stays and research in the region (talking to people she has worked with for many years or using the snowball method) and based on her own practice of learning and using the Basque language[6].

Them and us

Koldo Mitxelena, a Basque linguist, member of the Academy of the Basque Language (*Euskaltzaindia*) and prominent researcher of *Euskara*, has pointed out the importance of language as an element that internally binds a community of its users together, but also distinguishes them and constitutes a barrier to others. The Basque endoethnonym draws a line between the "us" and "them" groups on the basis of the knowledge of *Euskara*, the Basque language. *Euskaldun* means the one who "possesses *Euskara*", while all the others are called *erdaldunak* – the possessors of another speech (*erdara*, which stands for a foreign language[7], is used

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Euskara, as well as activities aimed at its promotion and cooperation with other cultural institutions. An important element of this policy is the area of education (both for children and adults) (Departamento de Cultura y Política Lingüística online).

[4]   I use the term Basque Country when referring to the seven Basque provinces: Bizkaia, Gipuzkoa, Araba, Nafarroa, Nafarroa Beherea, Lapaurdi and Zuberoa (I apply geographical names used in the Basque language).

[5]   The interviewees constituted a diverse group, both in terms of language competences as well as age and origin. The research was conducted on a multi-site basis. The author lived with the inhabitants of the region, which allowed for in-depth observation and participation in everyday practices (including language practices).

[7]   *Erdi* means "half", "middle" in Basque, which perhaps indicated the perception of foreign speakers as knowing the language only partially, "half-speaking" (Mitxelena 1977: 14–15).

by some today mainly to refer to Spanish). However, today's reality is more complex. Despite the fact that, according to statistical data, the knowledge of Basque is increasing, the majority of the region's population still cannot communicate in *Euskara* freely. Many factors have contributed to this, including the dominance of Spanish (and French in Iparralde[8]), the dialectal breakdown (standardized Basque – *Euskara Batua*, was only created in the 1960s), and the situation of the language over the centuries (for example, its absence in education, repression of the use of Basque and the negative image of *Euskara*).

According to data from 2016, 41% of the Basque Autonomous Community's (Euskadi) population is Basque-speaking, 15% have passive knowledge of Euskara and 44% do not speak Basque (the region's total population is just over two million) (*VI Mapa Sociolingüístico 2016* 2020: 33–34). The Basque language goes beyond national or administrative borders. Not only is it one of the official languages in the Basque Autonomous Community but *Euskara* is also spoken by some inhabitants of Spanish Navarre and the French Basque Country (Iparralde). Those who speak *Euskara* are bilingual (they also speak Spanish or French, depending on where they live). Some members of the Basque diaspora, also have knowledge of Basque. Additionally, in the past, *Euskara* was a language which was not limited by the borders of any particular country. At the same time, it has been pointed out that the boundaries of its occurrence used to be much wider than today (this is evidenced, for example, by toponyms) (Mitxelena 1977: 23–26). Furthermore, in the past, the contacts Basque sailors had with inhabitants of other lands resulted in the evolution of pidgins (Basque-Icelandic Pidgin, Basque-Amerindian Pidgin) (Bakker 1988: 7–15; Hualde 1991: 427–438).

The Basque language is often presented as mysterious and fascinating because of its origins and its relationship with other languages; it has the status of a linguistic isolate as it is not an Indo-European language (Douglass, Zulaika 2007: 41–44). It is also of interest because it has survived, despite the expansion of more powerful languages and the lack of a home state or institutional support, as well as the repression of *Euskara* speakers. Researchers give various reasons as to why the Basque language has not disappeared. These include the fact that for a long time the territory inhabited by the Basques was underdeveloped and unattractive, it resisted numerous foreign invasions, it was Christianized late[9], or that the

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[8]   A term for the French Basque Country (comprising the three provinces of Lapurdi, Nafarroa Beherea and Zuberoa).

[9]   The topic of Basque Christianization has aroused controversy and contradictory theories, which confirm the specific nature of the Basque language and culture. On the one hand, it has been pointed out that Christianization occurred early – in the 1st century AD – while, on the other hand, a later date for this process has been given – between the 11th and 14th centuries (Montero 2008: 52–59). According to Julio Caro Baroja, the beginning of the Christianization of the Basque-speaking lands dates back to the 10th century (2000: 270).

language spoken by the Basques was very different from that of their neighbours[10] (Núñez Astrain 2006: 39–43). During the Francoist dictatorship, the situation of the Basque language was particularly difficult; it was absent from the public sphere and its use was often associated with repression. This began to change in the 1960s, when autonomous status was granted to three Basque provinces[11] and then in 1979 when new opportunities where offered in connection with language policy (Watson 2003: 302–318). In 1980, the University of the Basque Country (Euskal Herriko Unibertsitatea / Universidad del País Vasco) was opened, and soon Basque-language television and radio and a Basque-language press appeared. The Basque language began to be present in the education of children and adults, while numerous cultural events were also organized to promote and support the Basque language (Zabaleta 2019: 137–140). The fact that the number of people with a greater or lesser knowledge of *Euskara* has grown steadily and that there are now more young people in this group is a testament to the effectiveness of this policy[12] (*VI Mapa Sociolingüístico 2016* 2020: 101–103). On the other hand, it should be stressed that the statistical increase in the number of people who know the Basque language does not necessarily translate into an increase in the use of *Euskara* (this phenomenon will be discussed later in the article).

In the past, the language used to be regarded as an important element that distinguished Basques from other peoples. The nineteenth-century national ideologist Sabino Arana saw it as a form of barrier against foreign influences and pointed out that the language should always be protected from outsiders[13]. He believed that strangers should not attempt to learn the language and that one *maketo*, as he called immigrants from other regions of Spain, who knew Basque could do more harm to Basque than a hundred others who did not know *Euskara*. The Basque language was therefore meant to mark the borders between Basques and outsiders and at the same time to be a tool for defence against "contamination" and the influence of Spanish. It was also an element that confirmed Basque distinctiveness. Arana was also concerned with linguistic purity; the removal of foreign traces from Basque vocabulary to be replaced with local vocabulary. He himself was the author of numerous neologisms, including those referring to key concepts (for example, the flag – *ikurriña*, the name of the state – *Euzkadi*). On

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[10]   It can be said that in this case its distinctiveness and the tightness of the linguistic boundaries helped the language to survive.

[11]   Bizkaia Gipuzkoa and Araba formed the Basque Autonomous Community (Euskadi).

[12]   Josu Zabaleta writes that the case of the Basque language is treated as a role model for other linguistic policies in the world (in terms of standardization, normalization and recuperation of the language) (Zabaleta 2019: 141).

[13]   The objectives of today's Basque language policy are very different, it aims to support the dissemination of *Euskara* not only in the region but also globally. There are now Basque language classes all over the world, including Poland (Etxepare Basque Institute online).

the other hand, Arana considered race to be the key element of Basqueness. It was race, its purity, as opposed to language, that he believed was impossible to regain once it was lost (Montero 2008: 361–371). Arana's successors moved away from the concept of race as the determinant of what it is to be Basque, turning rather to the language and at the same time extending the range of possibilities for what it means to belong to Basque society. Assigning a key value to the language meant that learning *Euskara* allowed one to break through the border of a restricted group affiliation. Therefore, this vision of identity was open to immigrants, unlike Arana's version. Accordingly, a Basque person was again someone who spoke Basque. At the same time, knowledge of the language as an element of identity is now seen to be the most important factor for belonging to the community of Basque speakers. Some of the region's inhabitants, however, do not consider this condition as a decisive factor. Being Basque, in their perception, goes beyond being simply Basque-speaking – nowadays, it is the fact of living in the Basque region that appears to be crucial (Irazuzta, Martínez 2014: 15–22). Moreover, a Basque-speaking person may not necessarily feel or define themselves as Basque (Mitxelena 1977: 66). On the other hand, for some, speaking Basque was a form of protest, an expression of resistance. This was the case, for example, during the Francoist dictatorship, when measures were taken to remove *Euskara* from the public sphere (among others). Joseba Sarrionandia, a Basque writer described the Basque language as the "Basque homeland", a "refuge" and speaking it as a cultural and political practice (Sarrionandia 1992: 89, 95).

One of the most frequently highlighted features of the Basque language is its internal differentiation; it can be pronounced in such a way that it is said even neighbouring houses can be characterised by a different vocabulary (Makazaga 2012: 75). Related to this is the significant autonomy of the Basque farm (*baserri*) both economically, legally and symbolically[14]. Some of my interviewees referred to words used by their grandparents, or even to the fact that the terms they had learnt from their grandparents were not used or even known in another province, and sometimes even in the same one. In this context, one interviewee recalled several terms for the word "spider" and added that when she used the term from her grandmother's house at school, other children did not understand her. And although some scholars say that the differences between dialects are exaggerated (Zuazo 2010: 69–70), the fact is that dissimilarities within *Euskara* do exist. In the nineteenth century, Luis L. Bonaparte identified eight Basque dialects (and 25 subdialects), while in the twentieth century, Resurrección María de Azkue spoke of the existence of seven and Luis Michelena of nine or ten (Núñez Astrain 2006: 57).

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[14] The word home/house – *etxe* – is sometimes derived from the word *itxi* – "close", which, according to some interpretations, is supposed to indicate the closed, separate character of the Basque home, the family (Berriochoa Azcárate 2013: 394).

According to Koldo Zuazo, a modern Basque dialectologist, there are five dialects today (Zuazo 2010: 37).

The standardised Basque language, *Euskara Batua*[15], was developed in the 1960s[16]. Despite recognition of the importance or even the necessity of *Batua*, this form is sometimes seen as "artificial" or "cold" Basque. Indeed, it was not uncommon for my interlocutors to define it in this way and perceive it as the language of official communication or education, but not the language of conversation with relatives. In the latter case, dialects were used, which are also seen by some as "real" Basque. One of my interlocutors, an *euskaldun berri*[17], decided to go to the countryside for a while to learn a dialect, because knowledge of standardised Basque was not sufficient for him. An issue that exists, however, is that dialects are sometimes perceived as "erroneous" Basque by some native speakers. *Batua* is the language of education or the media. It is knowledge of the standard form of the language that is necessary to obtain a certificate that is often required in the workplace. Paradoxical situations arise, therefore, when a person brought up as a Basque-speaker takes a Basque course (I have met such people in *barnetegi*, a Basque school for adults). One of my interlocutors, on the other hand, mentioned that during an oral exam in Basque, she regularly corrected the dialectal form replacing it with the one used in *Batua* (instead of *zait*, she automatically used *jata*).

At this point, it is also worth noting the variety of linguistic forms indicating the relationship between the interlocutors. Their use may be a way of expressing respect and emphasising the higher status of one of the parties, an indication of equality between the speakers, or a confidential relationship between them. The latter – *hitanoa* – often appears in conversations between friends (usually of the same sex) or in communication with children (not only in a positive sense[18]). In this case, the use of this form is related to how close people are to one another.

Drawing a line today between *euskaldunak* and *erdaldunak*, a line between "them" and "us" based on language is not so easy. At the same time, it has to be pointed out that divisions of this kind are a simplification, both in terms of people and territory. The level of freedom of the use of Basque varies. For example, for some it is their mother tongue, for others it is not, some have active and passive

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[15] *Bat* means "one", *batu* – to "unite".

[16] Opinions about the necessity to unify the Basque language and the initiatives undertaken for this purpose were voiced earlier. However, there were also opponents of linguistic unification. For them the variety of dialects was a treasure and they feared that they would disappear if unified (Hualde, Zuazo 2007: 143–168; Zabaleta 2019: 140–141).

[17] *Euskaldun berri* is a person for whom Basque is not their mother tongue, *euskaldun zahar* is a user whose first language is *Euskara* (*berri* – Basque: "new", *zahar* – Basque: "old").

[18] One of my respondents recounted that for her *hitanoa* was not a "language of friends", but something that was not very positive, as her mother would switch to this form when reprimanding her children.

knowledge, while others understand a great amount but find it difficult to speak. Additionally, in places (provinces or towns) defined as Basque-speaking not all are *euskaldunak* (Ugalde 1979: 16–17). Moreover, today, Basque culture is not only the Basque-speaking culture (Baztarrika 2010: 137).

The village, the home, childhood

Many of my Basque respondents recalled situations when speaking Basque was a source of shame or provoked negative reactions from those around them. Even today one can see the existence of a negative linguistic identity, a certain complex connected with the mother tongue. One Basque person told me that as a child he was very ashamed when, during a visit to a large city, his father asked for coffee in Basque and the waiter replied in Spanish that he did not understand. On the other hand, an older woman I spoke to recalled that when she and her cousins went to the city to dance, they would change their shoes and language. It was not appropriate to speak Basque in the city. The boundary between rural and urban space was also very much a boundary of language and ethnicity. Relations between these areas were characterised by distance. Farmers from the village were reserved about people from the city, while marriage to someone from the city (*kalekua*) was treated as a misalliance. In the national ideology, the countryside was the essence of Basque identity. More so, because it was in the cities that immigrants settled (Mirgos 2018: 57–66). Today, these boundaries are blurred and in the life stories of many people both the countryside and the city play an important role (as in the song by the band Kaleko Urdangak entitled *Nortasuna* – "Identity"[19]).

For a long time, the Basque language was used mainly for oral communication, and longer written texts were not produced. Luis Núñez Astrain states that they did not appear until the sixteenth century (while in Spanish, French or Catalan, for example, texts had appeared in the 10th century) (Núñez Astrain 2006: 31)[20]. It was also a language associated with the private, domestic sphere, whereas Spanish was associated with official sphere; it was the language of public office, but also of culture and science (López Basaguren 2012: 39). Interestingly, this perspective was also adopted by some Basques. Miguel de Unamuno, for example, wrote about Basque as a linguistically interesting but impractical language. He believed that the choice of Spanish was justified for someone who wanted to create something eternal. A metaphor for this situation is provided by Ignacio Elizalde (1988: 77) who

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[19] An excerpt from the song is as follows: *Baserri eta kale, daramatzat odolean* (*Farm and street, I carry in my blood*) (Kaleko Urdangak, 2018).
[20] In 1545 the first book in Basque was published. It was *Linguae Vasconum Primitiae* written by Bernat Etxepare.

writes of the man who leaves his mother (*Euskara*) to be with his wife (Spanish). It can be said, therefore, that the departure from Basque to Spanish was meant to be a transition to an adult, autonomous life. Cameron Watson notes that the repression during the time of Franco and the removal of Basque from the public sphere had an impact in that Basque became the language of the home and private space (like family, friends, local church) (Watson 2003: 310). At the same time, Basque was sometimes presented as the language of uneducated and ill-mannered people[21]. The humane, "Christian" language[22] was supposed to be Spanish (Douglass, Zulaika 2007: 41). Today, *Euskara* is a language present in the cultural sphere and yet its choice as a language of creativity still carries with it a certain dilemma, related to the author's identity or "sense of mission", but also a question concerning the readership of such a publication (a book written in a minority language will reach a smaller audience) (Mirgos 2018: 147–158).

The linguistic boundary in relation to *Euskara* was not only drawn between village and town, home and street, but also between childhood and adulthood. A phenomenon often observed and discussed in relation to the Basque language is that it used to be treated as a language appropriate for domestic, unofficial communication[23], and geared to the child interlocutor. A popular saying stated that one speaks *Euskara* to children and to dogs[24]. Empowering the Basque language is about overcoming such beliefs. It is also necessary to change the behavior of some parents who switch to Spanish outside the home, a linguistic practice that is imitated by their children. In such cases, therefore, although the adult tells the child about the value of the Basque language, this is immediately relinquished by the way she/he acts (Suay, Sanginés 2015: 45–46)[25]. In connection with this, the teenage

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[21] This attitude is also apparent today (Suay, Sanginés 2015: 78, 110–119).

[22] *¡Habla cristiano!* – "Speak Christian!" was a phrase used during the Francoist era to those who used Basque instead of the "civilised", "Christian" language, i.e. Spanish.

[23] It is worth mentioning the phenomenon of family language (or home language), which is to be understood as a set of expressions or words understandable and meaningful to the members of a given family, constituting a kind of "secret language". It may include diminutives, nicknames, sayings, jokes and neologisms which refer to family experiences and only in this context do they acquire meaning. In this case, a specific linguistic form marks the boundary between the private and the public. Family language is also a reflection of the relationship between family members. According to Kwiryna Handke: "In simple terms, family language could be defined as intra-family communication, and, paraphrasing, as a portrait of the family inside, expressed in speech". The author also points to the existence of a "language of love and tenderness" often used in communication with children (Handke 2009: 75–80, 130–131 – transl. KM).

[24] For a child, Basque could be a childhood language in a positive sense (memories of being a child), but also a negative one (Basque is not a language in which serious, "adult" matters are spoken).

[25] The reasons are different, for example, someone in the group does not speak Basque (then the language of communication becomes Spanish or, in Iparralde, French), some also say that they do not want to be perceived as radical (Suay, Sanginés 2015: 16–19, 69, 158). One of my interlocutors pointed out that he does not always have the strength to be "a *Euskara* fighter".

daughter of my interlocutor noticed, when we were spending time together, that her dad always reminded her to speak Basque and he himself still spoke Spanish.

For a long time, Spanish was the language of education (this can be seen today when, for example, at the market, elderly sellers, Basque-speaking farmers, state a price in Spanish). In connection with this, some of my interviewees recalled their often uneasy encounters with Spanish when they went to school. They first spoke *Euskara*, and going to school meant immersion in a different linguistic reality. José Miguel de Barandiaran, a Basque scholar, writes about such an experience himself, about the child's fear of school and of learning by heart the content delivered by the teacher without understanding it (Berriochoa Azcárate 2013: 470). Today, the situation has changed fundamentally. This is mainly due to the fact that *Euskara* is present in the various models of Basque education[26]. Thus, unlike their parents, more young people, to a greater or lesser extent, now speak Basque[27]. However, this success has come at a price – Basque is beginning to be seen by some as the "language of school", or even the language of constraint. In accordance with this, data shows a decline in the use of Basque in social contacts among young people[28]. The same applies to literacy in terms of Basque literature – having completed their education, graduates only rarely read Basque-language books (*Diagnóstico de la situación* 2019: 69–72). Additionally, the main language of media consumption for many young people in Euskadi is Spanish (Martínez de Luna et al. 2013: 72). Therefore, the challenge today is to make Basque an attractive language and one that is present in leisure and personal life practices. Hence, emphasis is put on the importance of initiatives aimed at encouraging the use of Euskara in leisure time.

Euskañol and other paradoxes of today

"Oye, ama, nik ez dakit, llamame cuando puedas (…) Es que ni saiatuko naiz (…)" – riding on the Basque metro, I overhear the telephone conversation of a female passenger in which expressions in Spanish and *Euskara* intermingle. This

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[26]   There are different models of education in the Basque education system with regard to the language of instruction. In addition to schools where Basque is the main language, there are also Spanish-dominated and Basque-Spanish schools (Model D, A or B). A trilingual Basque-Spanish-English model is becoming increasingly popular. There are also schools where the Basque language is not used (Departamento de Educación online).

[27]   Sometimes a child will help a parent learn Basque; when the parent needs to acquire this competence for professional reasons, for example. I have come across such cases during my research in the Basque region.

[28]   Some studies show a decline in the use of Basque generally, as well as in the classroom (Hernández 2013: 265).

linguistic phenomenon is sometimes referred to as *Euskañol* – a combination of Spanish and Basque (from *Euskar* – Basque language and *Español* – Spanish language). Nowadays, it is becoming more widespread. The change of language code is sometimes even unconscious and the boundaries between the two languages are becoming increasingly blurred[29]. Even those who emphasize their attachment to the Basque language sometimes express enthusiasm or swear in Spanish, and many Spanish speakers in the region refer to their parents in Basque as *ama* (mum) and *aita* (dad). For some, *Euskañol* is a negative phenomenon; they speak of a "polluted" *Euskara*, and denounce the presence of such expressions in the media. Others consider these changes as natural or as a sign of a change in attitude towards the Spanish language. Regarding this linguistic phenomenon, Jasone Cenoz has rightly observed:

> Apart from the minority situation of Basque, there are two other facts that explain this hybridity: the increasing number of speakers of Basque who have Spanish as their first language and the fact that everybody in the BAC understands Spanish. The term "euskañol" (euskara + español, Basque + Spanish) is sometimes used to refer to this codemixing and codeswitching in a similar way as "Spanglish" in the USA. Boundaries between languages are softer in daily communication than in textbooks and classes. New technologies are contributing to softening boundaries between languages and between oral and written language (2009: 76).

Cenoz also refers to the slogan used in one of the campaigns aimed at encouraging the learning and, above all, the use of Basque, which is a combination of words in Spanish and Basque (*Pixka bat es mucho* – "A little is a lot"). *Pixka bat* means "a little" in Basque, the Spanish word *mucho* means – "a lot". The aim of the campaign was to convey the message that even a little knowledge of *Euskara* is important and that there is no need to wait until you have advanced competence to use it in everyday communication, as well as to promote *Euskara* in an attractive form (song, video) (*Presentan la canción*, 2008). Other incentives are aimed at those who know Basque but do not use it when meeting other people for the first time as they do not know if their interlocutor is or is not Basque-speaking. Not wanting to offend the stranger, they often choose a safe language of communication, i.e. Spanish. Hence the call: *Lehen hitza euskaraz* ("First word in Basque") and the encouragement to start a conversation in *Euskara* or at least to include Basque phrases (for example, to say hello or goodbye)[30]. In many venues in public spaces

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[29]   Another situation is when in a group of Basque and Spanish-speaking people, an individual speaks Spanish with some people and Basque to others (due to habit, for instance) (Suay, Sanginés 2015: 17). My interlocutors also commented upon this issue.

[30]   This incentive also extended to the virtual sphere, promoting the use of *Euskara* online (see Lehen Hitza online).

in the Basque Autonomous Community there are also notices stating that it is possible to communicate in *Euskara* in that particular place (for example: *Hemen, euskaraz atseginez* – "Basque spoken here"), or stickers depicting the redwing – *txantxangorri*, whose image (as a small but lively bird) was part of a campaign to encourage the use of *Euskara* in the workplace, professional sphere, and public spaces (Eudel online).

Today, linguistic diversity is valued, something which is noticeable and also remarked upon by a number of my interlocutors. This is a situation in which interlocutors use Basque and Spanish interchangeably, understand each other and choose to respond in the language that is closer to each of them. It is a phenomenon which emphasizes a person's right to use their chosen language. It is also a phenomenon in which active bilingualism is essential (Baztarrika 2010: 291–302, 41–422). It is also more frequently noted that, if it is to survive, *Euskara* must become the language of all Basque inhabitants (including immigrants) (Mirgos 2018: 205–211). If the new inhabitants of the region do not recognise it as "their" language, as a personal and important form of speech, if they do not speak it or encourage their children to learn it, then legal regulations will not suffice.

The presence of immigrants in the Basque region and their relationship with the Basque language is of particular interest. *Euskara* is sometimes presented as a problem in this context. Some immigrants are surprised that another language is present in the region, they point to the dilemma of "which culture to integrate into" (Mirgos 2018: 21). On the other hand, the effort to learn Basque is met with very positive reactions from the locals, facilitating acceptance, and *Euskara* is also sometimes a bridge between immigrants and those in the region for whom Basque is also not their mother tongue. One of my interlocutors, an immigrant woman, remarked that when she uses *Euskara* in the playground it facilitates her communication with local parents, who previously, seeing her foreign appearance and hearing a foreign language, rarely approached her:

> I got the idea that since I know Basque and very often here the first language of communication for adults with children is Basque, then I should use it. Often even people who don't speak Basque every day at least try to address their little ones in Basque. So somehow I sensed that people had a more positive attitude towards me and looked at me more favourably when they heard me say something in Basque (…). And the Basque language turned out to be such a bridge connecting all these links, and I managed to break down the barriers[31].

Returning to the beginning of this article and the idea concerning language as a marker of distinctiveness and a barrier to others, it can be said that in the

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[31] The interview was conducted in Polish in July 2021, in the Basque Autonomous Community.

Basque-speaking community, while the language remains an important compo-
nent of one's identity, a knowledge of *Euskara* is also an important element of
inclusion. At the same time, it is increasingly common nowadays for Basque to
be spoken by someone who looks "foreign" to the locals. One of my respondents
talked about his Muslim girl students talking to each other in a Basque dialect.
However, not everyone is comfortable with this. Its appearance is viewed by many
people as a way of influencing the choice of the language of communication and,
if someone looks like a foreigner, Spanish is usually the chosen language. One im-
migrant said he would like people to understand in the future that the color of his
children's skin does not automatically mean that they do not know Basque (Suay,
Sanginés 2015: 123–131). At the same time, one can recognise the influence of the
native languages of the "new users" of *Euskara* on Basque vocabulary or grammar.

Some people remark that today, when Basque no longer needs to be fought for
(at least not as much as in the past), when it is present in the public sphere and es-
pecially in education, the challenge is not so much to know it as to use it, because
a good grade on a school certificate or a course completion certificate does not mean
that there is now another Basque speaker. As mentioned above, sometimes young
people, obliged to learn *Euskara*, ostentatiously give it up when they leave their
Basque-speaking school. This is all the more true when one considers that fash-
ionable songs and films are often in English or Spanish. In the numerous courses
I was involved in at *barnetegia*, a Basque language school for adults, I met students
who were only interested in obtaining a formal confirmation of their competence in
Euskara – a requirement of their employers. At times, the need to learn even caused
an aversion to the Basque language, although there were also people who put great
effort into learning Basque because of their personal motivation to learn the lan-
guage of the region. The paradox of the success of the Basque language policy is that
nowadays it is often a personal choice whether to abandon *Euskara*, and this also
applies to young people from Basque-speaking backgrounds. On the other hand,
one of my interlocutors, an *ikastola* teacher, stated that from her observations it ap-
pears that such a departure is temporary, and that students from Basque-speaking
schools, even if they give up speaking Basque as a result of fashion, rebellion or peer
influence, do return to *Euskara* later in life (Mirgos 2020: 270–271).

In addition to measures to encourage the use of Basque outside school and to
integrate immigrants, the issue of multilingualism and globalization is also high-
lighted today. The challenge is to combine support for the minority language –
Basque – and the importance of competences in the use of other languages:

> Indeed, in a globalised society such as ours, it is impossible to maintain and pro-
> mote a minority language if it is considered to be the only language in society. The
> future that lies ahead for we Basques is a multilingual one. For the Basque language

to survive, it must be the main language within its linguistic sphere of influence, although at the same time we Basque speakers must also be able to speak other languages – otherwise, the Basque language will be at risk. As a consequence, the main aim is to combine these two ideas: on the one hand, that the Basque language should manage to achieve the full development it needs within its linguistic sphere of influence and, on the other, that Basque speakers be capable of speaking other languages (…). Ikastolas have drawn up a proposal for a minority language-based multilingual education system – in other words, they are trying to ensure that students reach a level of foreign language learning needed by 21st century Basque citizens, albeit while always giving priority to the Basque language in all spheres of use (Confederation of Ikastolas 2009: 70–72).

At the same time, according to some, Basque language policy at present discriminates against the Spanish language. For instance, they point to the requirement of a knowledge of the Basque language in some workplaces, which is a problem for people who do not know *Euskara* (Baztarrika 2010: 313–330). Regarding this debate, the opinion of the Spanish professor Juan Carlos Moreno Cabrera is interesting. He draws attention to the necessity of supporting a minority language by users of the dominant language. He also points to the existence and invisibility of linguistic nationalism and linguistic domination in connection with the latter (in this case, Spanish). The linguistic policy of the dominant language is seen as rational and right, and action to support the minority language as harmful and oppressive. With regard to the requirement of knowledge of *Euskara* in the labor market, Moreno Cabrera adds that no one objects to the requirement of knowledge of English. He discusses the belief that one language is better than another (for example, knowing Spanish or English is more valuable than knowing Basque or Catalan). He also points out that love for one's own language and its support do not mean linguistic supremacist nationalism. Rather, it is related to the depreciation of other languages as, according to Moreno Cabrera (2015: 14–41, 117–119), linguistic conflicts are the result of a long-term imbalance between languages.

Between languages – an anthropologist in the Basque Country

I have been doing research in the Basque region for twenty years. It started with the Basque language, when I began to learn it, and over the years I have repeatedly discovered how important its command is in the context of Basque studies. From a practical point of view, doing research in the Basque Autonomous Community does not require knowledge of Basque. All inhabitants of the region speak Spanish, while Basque speakers are always bilingual (except perhaps for

young children)[32]. However, competence in Basque makes a dramatic difference to a person who comes to the Basque Country and has a significant impact on the possibilities to do research in the region. Knowledge of Basque makes it possible to cross the border between being "a foreigner" and "one of us", "It's like you're half Basque", I have sometimes heard. In one shop in a small town, when I used *Euskara* to answer a question asked by the salesman in Spanish (which he used due to my different appearance – he spoke Basque with the locals), the salesman laughingly said (now using Basque): "Sorry, I thought you were a foreigner".

Language is also, in my opinion, an important element of research in this region, allowing us to see the specific nature of the local culture and its diversity. Language can be a valuable subject for cultural studies (a linguistic image of the world, or key words). A separate issue are phenomena that exist in the Basque language which are not easy to translate (for example the improvisation of songs – *bertsolaritza*). The language occupies an important place in national discourses or in policies towards immigrants. The language takes on a special significance in the region in which it is situated but was also threatened, where it was an important part of the local identity. At the same time, as I mentioned earlier, in relation to the Basque region, we can speak of Basque cultures rather than a single Basque culture, while the Basque language is only one part of this. When conducting research among Basque-speakers, Spanish-speakers or immigrants, I have sometimes had the feeling of being in very different communities, with the impression that the borders between them are sometimes so impenetrable that they know little about one another. Indeed, one of my Basque-speaking interlocutors said that he lives in a different city than the Spanish-speaking inhabitants, because he participates in different events and frequents other places. Another pointed out that her children live in a completely different reality from the children of her Spanish-speaking neighbour. At home they hear Basque, they read Basque fairy tales, they watch Basque television, and their favourite characters are Pirritx and Porrotx[33]. The children next door do not know these characters or the content of the tales or television programmes. On the other hand, contact with another language and culture can also be unexpectedly dynamic and sometimes surprising. The same mother noticed that her daughter was saying the names of colours in Spanish whilst colouring and nobody knew where she had come across the vocabulary. There are also people who decide to learn the Basque language, who want to know Basque culture and be part of this world (Suay, Sanginés 2015: 74–75).

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[32] Although one of my female interlocutors pointed out that people who function in a Basque-speaking environment on a daily basis (town, family, friends, work) have difficulties in speaking Spanish freely and correctly. She gave her friend's son as an example.

[33] Popular clowns in the Basque Country.

Conclusions

Language is an important element in constructing the boundary between the group to which a person belongs and a foreign group. However, it can also become a bridge between foreign groups or be influenced by other languages. The use of language can also reflect the perception of others and the relationships between groups. In the case of the Basque language, in the past, this boundary was part of a national ideology based on difference. However, contemporary language policy is inclusive and promotes the learning of *Euskara* outside the Basque Country. Furthermore, in the Basque region, in daily communication, language codes are often mixed, while *Euskara* is also influenced by the presence of immigrants. At the same time, Basque remains a minority language, as most conversations take place in Spanish (in Hegoalde[34]) or French (in Iparralde[35]). In 2022, a report was published on the use of the Basque language in the public sphere in the Basque Country (*Hizkuntzen erabileraren kale neurketa*, Sociolinguistika Klusterra). The results showed that more young people now use the Basque language, while it is also frequent in communication between adults and children. This indicates the success of the policy to increase knowledge of this minority language in the younger generation, although for many young people *Euskara* is not their first language. It is also apparent that many parents want to communicate in *Euskara* with their children. In spite of this, however, today only one in eight Basques speak *Euskara* in everyday communication. This is influenced by the level of language knowledge as well as the linguistic competence of the interlocutors. As a result, according to the authors of the report, in the Basque Country it is possible to communicate in Spanish or French in almost all areas, and in Basque in only some of them (Altuna Zumeta et al. 2022: 39–42).

To conclude on a positive note, as well as the greater use of *Euskara* among inhabitants of the Basque Country, more people from around the world are now becoming interested in the Basque language. International Basque Language Day is celebrated on December 3. It is accompanied by a series of cultural or educational events, and not only in the Basque Country itself. It is a holiday which brings together people learning *Euskara* and those for whom it is an important language, including people in Poland. During the last Basque Language Days in Gdańsk and Poznań (2021), one could listen to or even learn Basque and become acquainted with Basque cinema and literature. At one of the meetings, Poles and Basques reflected together on a Basque text (by Lurdes Oñederra), and on what it means when we say that the Basque language is "ours". By doing this they also showed how elusive it can be to set limits (or boundaries) to the scope of the Basque language.

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[34] The Spanish part of the Basque Country.
[35] The French part of the Basque Country.

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Reviews

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Review of the Book by
Gerd Hentschel, Jolanta Tambor, István Fekete
*Das Schlesische und seine Sprecher. Śląski lekt
i jego użytkownicy / Etablierung in der Gesellschaft,
Attitüden, Vitalität der Germanismen /
Rozpowszechnienie, postawy społeczne wobec śląszczyzny,
żywotność germanizmów w lekcie śląskim*

Gerd Hentschel, Jolanta Tambor, István Fekete, 2022, *Das Schlesische und seine Sprecher. Śląski lekt i jego użytkownicy / Etablierung in der Gesellschaft, Attitüden, Vitalität der Germanismen / Rozpowszechnienie, postawy społeczne wobec śląszczyzny, żywotność germanizmów w lekcie śląskim*, Berlin: Peter Lang, pp. 343.

The book, *Das Schlesische und seine Sprecher. Śląski lekt i jego użytkownicy / Etablierung in der Gesellschaft, Attitüden, Vitalität der Germanismen / Rozpowszechnienie, postawy społeczne wobec śląszczyzny, żywotność germanizmów w lekcie śląskim – The Silesian Lect and Its Users. The Spread of and Social Attitudes Towards Silesian*, by Gerd Hentschel, Jolanta Tambor and István Fekete, is undoubtedly an extremely interesting text for all researchers of minority languages. It focuses on the issue of Germanisms in the Silesian lect. At the same time, it touches upon extremely sensitive issues: indeed, it examines the taboo which the Silesian lect undoubtedly is, as well as its relationship with the German language. The authors also point out that: "The Silesian lect used to be a political phenomenon in Poland and also – at least before the Second World War – in Germany" (p. 177).

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The book is bilingual, which is its great advantage. This makes it accessible to researchers who do not know either German or Polish. However, a Silesian version is missing. This is probably because the authors, who are very competent and always aim to produce work of the very highest standard, believe the Silesian lect does not have an adequate conceptual apparatus to make a satisfactory translation.

Overall, the work comprises two compatible parts: German and Polish. It is also supplemented by a dictionary of German lexical borrowings in the contemporary Silesian lect, published on the website of the BIS publishing house of Carl von Ossietzky University of Oldenburg[2] and the website of the School of Polish Language and Culture of The University of Silesia. The dictionary contains approximately 700 lexemes which belong to the list of Germanisms included in glossaries and dictionaries of the contemporary Silesian (region) lect. It consists of four parts: alphabetical, frequential, regional differentiations, and information on etymology (which provides German words from which given Silesian words originate). And, in the opinion of this reviewer, one needs to pay particular attention to these contexts before setting out to read the book.

The subject of the study is the Silesian lect of the Upper Silesia region, referred to (in this study) as a lect[3] which, in a way, frees the study from the (political) discussion of the status of the Silesian lect, specifically: "(…) the (…) study is precisely about 'words of German origin', defined as Germanisms in the title and text" (p. 171). The authors define them as German lexemes assimilated and adapted by the Silesian lect, while the question the authors attempted to answer was the extent to which Germanisms are used nowadays. In the research, this was connected with the sociolinguistic position of the respondents, which is presented in great detail in chapter two. Moreover, the authors divided the material into three parts and made an in-depth analysis of it in each part.

In Analysis I (pages 43–100 in the German part and 193–250 in the Polish part) a sociolinguistic analysis of Silesian lect users is presented. The range of the study covers seven regions (Opole, Rybnik, Wodzisław Śląski, Katowice, Bytom, Gliwice, Tychy) and the research shows how age, gender, education, profession, and origin determine the users' language preferences in everyday life. The respondents were also asked whether they spoke German (which in the context of the research is justified). The target group of the study were: "(…) residents of the Silesia region, more precisely, residents of the Upper Silesian region, Silesians who use Silesian lect in communication on a fairly regular basis, at least in their private, family life" (p. 193) – in other words, the respondents were active users

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[2]   The dictionary can be downloaded for free from the website of the School of Polish Language and Culture University of Silesia or by using the address https://oops.uni-oldenburg.de.

[3]   Lect is defined as: "(…) a successor and substitute term for dialect, which in the German language, at least until recently, was referred to as 'Wasserpolnisch'" (p. 171).

of the lect, which makes the findings representative, even though the proportion of the respondents' sex was not fully respected (which the researchers themselves point out (p. 49, 199)).

Undoubtedly, the main focus of the research was to ascertain the respondents' knowledge of German, as well as other foreign languages in general. Silesia was, and still is, a multilingual area. Historically, three language codes were used here: Silesian lect, Polish and German. Currently: "From the perspective of an outsider visiting Silesia (such as the initiator of the project [Gerd Hentschel – author's annotation]), the German language plays almost no role in the public sphere of the region" (p. 204). In other words, the examined area underwent a complete Polonisation (at least in the public sphere, because in the private one Silesian lect is still present). The results of the study show that relatively few people know German (7% declared very good knowledge, and 17.4% declare good knowledge). As a result, the respondents cannot be considered multilingual, assuming that one of the languages is German, especially because the language is learned in a formal education setting (school). The presence of Germanisms in Silesian is, therefore, in a limited way, related to the spontaneous mixing of languages (Silesian and German), while "(…) it turned out that any contact with the German language is not relevant in this case" (p. 211).

Above all, the results of the study show that currently German is a peripheral language, and its situation is similar to that in other regions of Poland. It is also not surprising that among people of the oldest age group: "(…) the 'remnants' of the pre-war period, when the Upper Silesia region was bi-ethnic and bilingual, Polish (Silesian)-German traces are only visible to a small extent. The figures (…) clearly show that nowadays the German language hardly functions in everyday communication" (p. 223). The results of the study clearly indicate, therefore, that we are dealing with an asymmetric bilingualism or relative asymmetric code switching in the Silesian region today: there is a balance in the use of Silesian and Polish in the families of those surveyed with the dominance of Polish in the public sphere. The exceptions are people with vocational education, who speak Silesian lect in their work environment.

In Analysis II (in the German version pages 101–106 and in the Polish, 251–256), the authors describe the presence of Silesian and German codes and the socio-biographical conditions that underlie their existence using multivariate statistical analyses. In connection with this, neither age nor the size of the place of residence has any influence on the frequency of use of either Silesian or Polish. It depends, rather, on a person's sense of regional Silesian identity, education and the declared desire to better the prestige of Silesian in public and private space (p. 256).

In Analysis III (pages 107–142 in the German version and 257–289 in the Polish one), we learn about the findings of the research in accordance with the main hypothesis put forward by Hentschel's team, in which they propose a gradual

decline in Germanisms in the Silesian region over the last 75 years (p. 257). As can be imagined, in relation to the persons studied, the more often they use Silesian, the more frequent are the Germanisms in their idiolect. It is also – as the researchers emphasize – very understandable that the lower the frequency of use of Silesian by those researched, the more often Polish is used.

This study, outlined in brief here, presents an indisputably important issue, which is the frequency of use of Germanisms in the Silesian lect. It is necessary, however, not only to discuss the situation of Silesian, but also the Silesian people. Silesians declare themselves to be a minority, although such a group does not in fact "officially" exist. According to the 2002 Census, 173,153 people declared themselves to be of Silesian nationality. In spite of this, in 2006, the District Court in Katowice decided that the conviction of people declaring Silesian nationality was not a sufficient reason to officially recognize Silesians as a nation (cf. Jałowiecki 2012). With regard to this, Bohdan Jałowiecki very aptly states that: "It is peculiar that the existence of a nation, nationality, is decided by the courts. (…) Nationality is a subjective sense of identity, an act of will – and the courts have nothing to do with it" (2012: 15). In the census conducted in 2011, 817,000 people declared that they belonged to the Silesian minority. Additionally, in 2002, the use of Silesian in domestic relations was declared by 56,643 people, while in 2011 the number of this group increased to over 800,000 people.

Many times, representatives of the so-called political and scientific elites have attempted to legally sanction both the situation of the Silesian lect and the Silesians themselves, therefore: "In this context it is of great interest to hear the opinion of a wide range of representatives of the general population on the status of their language and the role it should play in the Silesian community" (p. 292). And, this is what makes the book extremely important as, apart from researching the frequency of Germanisms in the Silesian lect, the respondents were asked questions concerning both the use of the Silesian lect and what presence they would like it to have in the public sphere (p. 239–243). As might be surmised, the respondents would like its presence to be much greater. Moreover, even though the Silesian lect does not have the status of a language in Poland: "It should be emphasized that a clear majority – seven out of ten respondents – support Silesian lect being a school subject (…)" (p. 242), while more than half of the respondents would like the Silesian lect to be an official language.

This book by Gerd Henschel – the main initiator of the study – Jolanta Tambor and István Fekete, undoubtedly deserves further attention and meticulous analysis, over and above what has been presented in this review. Matters concerning the spread of the Silesian lect and social attitudes towards it are important not only for linguists, but also for those leaders who would represent Silesians.

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