"BORDERS/ DEBORDERING"

borders/debordering.mmxvi

EDITED BY

HELENA MOTOH

MAJA BJELICA

P O L I G R A F I

" B O R D E R S / D E B O R D E R I N G "
TOWARDS A NEW WORLD CULTURE OF
HOSPITALITY

WELCOME

Welcome.

We are delighted to have you here. Be it as readers, authors, researchers, students, supporters, conference participants. As Editors of this special issue of *Poligrafi*, we are addressing these opening lines to you as a welcoming gesture, in hope to create a hospitable threshold which would be inviting enough for you to enter with curiosity, expectation and trust.

With this intention in mind, we would like to provide you with an introductory overview of the nature and specificity of the selection of papers that constitute the present volume. The common denominator of these contributions is their meeting point, that is the International Conference titled *"borders/debordering" – Towards a New World Culture of Hospitality*. The Conference took place in Gozd Martuljek, Slovenia, between June 30th and July 3rd 2016, and was organised by the Institute of Philosophical Studies (Science and Research Centre, University of Primorska, Slovenia) and the Global Center for Advanced Studies (USA). Surrounded by an inspiring pristine nature, a number of scholars and researchers from a variety of research and scientific fields such as philosophy, religion, ethics, sociology, cultural studies, gender studies, political economy and political geography, joined together on a common topic, discussing borders, their (im)possible debordering, and the hospitality that might (or might not) emerge from it. Covering the questions about national and geographical borders and transnational debordered spaces and places, rediscovering social and economic borders and debordering of gender and race issues, re-questioning the borders between "the animal" and "the human," discussing the role of the body in intersubjective situations, accounting for the options of debordering of the traditional dichotomies, sharing many different, and numerous stories about migration – all these allowed us to hold an impressive and wide debate on the issues at stake, confirming that there is much more to be done in future research.

The present issue of *Poligrafi* represents only a part of the proceedings of the conference, another volume with contributions on borders, debordering and the culture of hospitality will be published later in 2017. Therefore, when reading the articles in this collection one should keep in mind that these are not all of the core topics of the conference, but rather a specific selection of writings that show us the possibilities of contemplating on borders, their debordering and different angles of view on hospitality, and hospitalities. Here, we find contributions on phenomenology, politics, law, migration, identity and nationality, history, mysticism, gender studies and feminism, pharmaceutical and medical issues, questions about language and accounts of literature. The variety of research fields might leave an impression of disconnectedness, but they all account for a specific liminality, a specific question that might be debordered by repositioning it in another possible way. Also, some of the papers do not strictly follow the traditional guidelines of scientific writing, but this fact does not diminish their importance, on the contrary – maybe it is about time that we try to deborder the limits of science itself and see what new thresholds we might discover. This is one of the possible forms of hospitality that our volume tries to elaborate on.

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We open the journey of hospitality contemplation with a phenomenological account provided by the philosopher Janko Lozar in the paper "Debordering the Borders of Time: Towards the Primordiality of Hospitality," where the author takes us on a path of a better understanding of the possibility of a radical open being with the other through the analysis of the notion of time, devoting a special attention to its futural aspect, the "notyetness," as he calls it. The author presents his point of view with the help of several important philosophers and their theories, such as Derrida's phenomenology of the gift and its temporal objectification that destroys the gift itself, Husserl's analysis of the nature of the "now", Heidegger's thesis on understanding of being only through and in time, or better, being being time, connecting it to Scheler's ethics and Kant's aesthetics and their view of affectivity. Lozar claims that the pos-

sibility of hospitality lays in the thinking of "notyetness, as pure futurity without the past, and beyond the future to be expected." He explains his position particularly with the analysis of Husserl's debordering of time, where the now is understood as a temporal field, not a point, re-collection / past and expectation / future are its intrinsic elements, and therefore, as Lozar puts it, one's sentiment is always under influence of resentment and disappointed expectation. This is why he sees the possibility of hospitality mainly in the existential futural mode of being as primordial openness, with no expectation, no recollection. The author understands it as conviviality (he also names it joviality) that allows for a hospitable embracing of the other in their "notyetness."

An account of hospitable embracement of others is provided by Lana Pavić in her paper "Hospitality as a Virtue of the Place," in which she introduces us to the case study of Slavonski Brod, a Croatian town on the border with Bosnia and Herzegovina, where an acceptance centre for refugees on the so called "Western Balkan Route" was allocated. With this case study she exposes the political implications of the practice of hospitality. Before doing that, however, the author stresses some specific unignorable elements of hospitality, such as its traditional understanding of it as an abstract virtue, its place of happening being the border, the edge, i.e. its liminality, and, nonetheless, the dichotomy, or even aporia, between unconditional hospitality and conditional laws of hospitality, as posed by Derrida among others. With the help of the conceptual frameworks of Brian Treanor and Edward S. Casey, Pavić states that hospitality is inseparably linked to place, and "occurs as a part of a relationship between an implaced person and a displaced one." The author explains her theory with an insightful presentation of the happenings in Slavonski Brod, keeping in mind Croatia's political and military events in the 1990s, which sparked increased empathy as well as scepticism towards refugees and migrants among the local population.

The impossibility of unconditional hospitality, or better the limits of debordering of borders are explained in the article by Rok Svetlič, especially from the viewpoint of political philosophy. Svetlič states that there are two opposing mistakes when arbitrarily manipulating with borders: the first one is making the border a blockade, the second is

the abolishment of the border itself. In the view of the author, both attitudes are not only wrong, but also dangerous for a democratic political realm, where an individual's ability to recognize himself / herself as a citizen of a specific state depends also on the existence of borders. He explains this point of view with the help of Hegel's discussion of the notion of the limit and the relationship between separation and connection that can be found in his work, Science of Logic: the negation of "something" consist in stating that this "something" is not "something else," But, according to Hegel, this does not mean that these two entities are absolutely separated, but rather, that the "other" of the "something" constitutes the latter by not being it. When applied to the notion of the border treated as a blockade, it is shown how this is a mistaken attitude, since it produces an illusion of unlimited freedom and abstract emptiness beyond the border, instead of the understanding of an existence of another state with its own borders, and that brings to an erosion of the state itself. Svetlič presents also the "mirror-picture" of the previous situation, which he describes as an "irresponsible migrant-policy," that can be identified in the exclamation "open the borders." The application of cosmopolitan ideas onto political reality happens, according to the author, because of the feeling of guilt of particularity, and the wish of abolishment of borders is just a naive attempt of self-negation. Moreover, Svetlič claims that this is not a moral attitude, on the contrary: it is the end of morality, where action, responsibility and judgement are replaced by passivity, sentiment of guilt and blind hospitality, and that is a sign of spiritual weakness. The author therefore calls for a search in balance between the cosmopolitan notion of human rights and the political arrangement in particular states, especially with the help of Schmitt's critique of cosmopolitanism. Finally, Svetlič argues for a safeguard of the borders, because they enable the cultivation of relationships among subjects.

The peculiarity of living in an area next to a state border is described in Maja Zadel's article "The Meaning of National and Cultural Borders among Inhabitants of Slovenian Istria: A Case Study of Italo-Slovenian Transculturality," where the author offers an exposition of the self-identifications of the inhabitants of a small part of Slovenia, i.e. the coastal region on its southwest, enclosed among two state borders, Italian and

Croatian. The author's research is concentrated on the impact of Italian media upon the people living in the selected region. Her analysis was made combining qualitative (telephone survey) and quantitative (interviews) methods of research. The results show that the vast majority of the respondents believe that the inhabitants of the region of Slovenian Istria have adopted some characteristics of Italian culture, however, they identify themselves as Slovenians, even if they recognize the transcultural aspects and cultural hybridization of the region. Zadel departs from questioning the acclamation of borderlessness (e.g. in the Schengen area, or in terms of globalisation and global media, or regarding the migrant crisis, etc.). She presents Michael Billig's notion of "banal nationalism," i.e. an invisible mechanism of reminding of national belonging, which is omnipresent and obvious, and at the same time taken for granted. Finally, the author concludes that no matter how globally connected we are we still have strings attached to our nationality.

Another specific experience of living next to a border is described in the historiographical account of the article "Maribor: In Search of the City's Identity after the 1st World War" by Dragan Potočnik. The author explains the dynamics of economy, social politics and cultural life of the Styrian capital Maribor after the changes of the borders, or better, after the fall of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy in 1918, which resulted in an obvious change in population and had a great impact on the change of identity of the city. Potočnik pays special attention to the migration waves of people from the region of Primorje that came to Maribor due to economic reasons, as refugees, during the First World War or as escapees from the fascist regime that they were subdued to. Maribor, being under the authorities of the Kingdom of Slovenians, Croats and Serbs, offered enough hospitality to the arriving population, so they could find a new home for themselves, moreover, these people substantively contributed to the slovenisation of the town. German language, however, was still vastly used in Maribor, be it as a custom, be it for the fact that not all the inhabitants mastered Slovenian, and also due to the German pressure still very present in the city, especially in the industry field. Nonetheless, with the newcomers, mainly from the Primorje region, who were able to find a new home in Maribor, the city was able to

renew the social and cultural landscape and assume an important role as a centre of trade and culture.

As one can read in the article "The Border between 'Ours' and 'Theirs' Drawn by Place Names" by Peter Jordan, language has an important role in affirming or debordering borders, especially through the name of places. Division between endonyms and exonyms resembles the division between the understanding of "ours" and "theirs", since endonyms are names for geographical features of a community's own territory, and exonyms names for geographical features outside its territory, which are adapted or translated to its own language. The latter have a function of connecting communities among themselves by a specific process of debordering. It works by integrating a foreign feature into a cultural sphere while also helping to avoid exclusion and alienation. A very interesting aspect of the division between endonyms and exonyms is presented by Jordan on the example of naming the sea. It is a transboundary feature and, therefore, it is difficult to determine where a name for it stops being an endonym and becomes an exonym. The author states that coastal dwellers accept this transformation even if they do not know exactly where the border that makes it happen is located. The author gives additional examples of the debordering function of exonyms through mapping the usage of exonyms by three different communities, i.e. the Austrian, the Italian and the Hungarian. The density of appearance of these instances shows how these communities established specific relationships with other communities and how they kept affirming them with the usage of exonyms.

An inspiring account of how language, or better, poetry, can bring people and communities closer together is provided by Angelos Evangelou in his contribution with the title "Peace-Making within the Green and Liminal Border of Cyprus." The author takes us briefly through the history of establishing, i.e. drawing the border between Turkish Cyprus and Greek Cyprus. Gradually, this border was being reinforced by both sides, which created a space between barriers, a third territory "within the border," a kind of neutral land, a so-called "dead zone." He calls for an understanding of the border beyond the political and militaristic discourse, an understanding which would be mainly symbolic, philosophical and transgressive, and would allow for its debordering, especi-

ally with the help of Derridean concept of invagination that enables to experience the border from the inside, as a space of neutrality, uncertainty and ambivalence. Evangelou recognizes this kind of understanding of the border from the inside in the works of Turkish-Cypriot and Greek-Cypriot poets. He vividly interprets their words for the reader to understand the enormous potentiality these artists have in spreading a different kind of view on the separation line, especially by stepping "within the border" and acquiring the much needed neutrality, in order to allow for a demolition of the border. By presenting the works of Niki Marangou, Neriman Cahit, Gür Genç, Stephanos Stephanides, Jenan Selçuk, Nora Nadjarian, Aydın Mehmet Ali and Neşe Yaşın, the author stresses the importance of the motives they commonly address, that is the flora and fauna of the buffer zone – the only ones that are allowed not to acknowledge the rules of division. In this way, Evangelou offers us an alternative way or force of peace-keeping, brought alive by the possibility of thinking of the neutral, from within.

Another poetic account on the possibility of debordering, this time taken from the mystical writings of two Islamic poets, Rumi and Ibn Arabi, is offered in the article titled "Debordering the Borders of Self and Other, and Matter and Spirit in Mysticism" by Shiva Hemmati. Through the reading of Sufi verses, the author shows how mysticism could lead towards a way of debordering the divisions represented in traditional dichotomies, such as spirit and body, self and other, and bring us to a restoration of the unity of being, especially by recognition of the divine within us, within every being. In this regard, Hemmati also points out some parallels among the Quran, the Bible and mystical writings, emphasizing the crucial role of the feminine energy as a revitalizing force of life, and engaging in exposing interpretations of passages of Sufi writings about striving towards unity with the beloved through divine love. The latter is stressed especially in the writings of Rumi, whose accounts on omnipresent nature, the sharing of breath with the beloved, and of self-identification with God witness for an all-inclusiveness of being. Similarly, Ibn Arabi's words explain God as "simply Being as such" and knowable only as unknowable. The contribution with strong religious connotations could be taken as an invitation to deborder the widely accepted division between the divine and the ma-

terial, terrestrial, natural, which, if acknowledged as not fully rationally knowable, easily becomes the mystic oneness of reality.

The following article, "Women's Voices and Vulnerability: Invisible and Visible Obstacles" by Nadja Furlan Štante, offers an account on the (mis)conception of vulnerability, especially on its distribution among genders as seen in feminist theory and policies. The author firstly presents the prejudices of "carnal wickedness" and "seductive wilderness" that women carry with their bodies from history and tradition, especially Biblical, Catholic and in Roman Law. With specific quotes she shows how "patriarchal patterns of women's roles," making women obedient and subordinate to men, were derived especially from Biblical and other important texts from Western tradition, such as Aristotle's, Aquinas' or St. Augustine's texts. The nature of women was characterized as weak, sinful, impure, inferior, and their bodies denigrated, objectified, stigmatized, hence, they were denied their elemental power by the patriarchal culture. This tradition is the main source of women's vulnerability, as regarding poverty and illiteracy, feminicide, abuse, and exploitation. On the other hand, the author deborders this understanding of vulnerability when she brings Brene Brown's insight into vulnerability to the front, as a source of "joy, creativity, authenticity and love," since only if we have enough courage to risk opening ourselves up to the other as vulnerable, we might experience these feelings. Furlan Štante also addresses the negative gender stereotype that presents women as passive listeners, which limits their public participation and silences their voices, female quietness being mainly interpreted as modesty, humility and obedience. In a public space, where male logic and objectivity were held as a norm and taken as neutral (not conditional or sexually denoted), women's voices were (and still are) usually heard as weak, uncertain and sentimental. The author calls upon a deconstruction and an overcoming of negative stereotypical perception, what we could understand as debordering of the traditionally settled gender characteristic, which would bring to an empowerment of individuals.

A contribution about the possibility of avoiding being a passive listener as a woman, actually a mother, in our "violence-of-the-everyday," as she calls it, is provided in the article "Decolonizing Our Wombs: Gender Justice and Petro-Pharmaculture" by Cara Judea Alhadeff. Here

the author introduces the notion of "petroleum-parenting" which she identifies as "market-driven choices parents make that overwhelmingly contribute to both environmental destruction and body-phobic institutional practices," a kind of behaviour that keeps us well adjusted to "convenience-culture" and accumulation. This behaviour is backed up with corresponding sanctity of normalcy and the maintenance of misogynist (infrastructural) practices and forms, such as pregnancy, birth, and mothering, saturated with medicalization. Deriving information especially from the situation in the USA, the author talks about issues such as medical imperialism, the dematerialization of the specificity of a woman's body, hospitals as threats to our corporeal and environmental ecology, the disabling of our natural immunity with using antibacterial soaps, the overmedication of women and children, the criminality of pharmaceutical industry, public breastfeeding, the manufactured need for cord-blood banking, and similar topics that show that hyper-medicalized prenatal and children care is imposed on mothers and their children mainly for the pharma-profit. Alhadeff firmly acclaims relying on body awareness and education, encourages educated decision-making, and calls towards the shifting of "the myth of individualism to an integrated recognition of interdependency and hospitality."

We round up the present issue of *Poligrafi* with another inspiring contribution that represents the process or the act of debordering by its innovative way of writing and practicing or performing philosophy. Authored by a group of fourteen researchers under the name of underliningscollective (uC), the fourteen *fragments* they present are part of the group's inaugural project titled *together writing*　:, started in spring 2016, consisting of collaborative reading and writing practice in realms of radical pedagogy, poetics, literary theory, and performance philosophy. Combining citation by collage methodology, but also by the same token mixing scientific reflection with wondering about other possibilities of epistemological processes that almost merge with confessions about their feelings, the collaborators gather their thoughts "where the edges overleap" and, thus, inhabit a space of liminality, but at the same time, connectedness and mutual hospitality.

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The diversity of all the contributions presented here shows that the topics of borders, debordering borders and hospitality are far from being confined only to specific discourses, such as tourism or politics, for example. They rather stretch through various fields of knowledge, be it scientific or the ones that, traditionally, we would not see as such. Some of the papers take us beyond the horizon of "the scientific" we are accustomed to. They teach us how to look for knowledge and new discoveries not only in the rationally graspable revelations but also to take into account experience, intuition, feelings and confession as epistemological steps towards knowledge. Moreover, a kind of personal effort must be made to deborder the boundaries we have in our minds. Whether stemming from prejudices inherited or learned, the first step is made by admitting having these. Only this process might help us as individuals and communities to offer empathy, solidarity and hospitality to those in need.

Another common topic in these papers is the role of language in its widest possible scope, be it as a marker of a culture or territory, a means of simple communication in the act of naming things and places, or, a way of expressing political issues and personal situations. The papers that touch upon this topic all show how language can succeed in debordering: a prevailing usage of language on a specific territory does not define it nationally or politically and a widespread following of media in a specific language on a territory with a different official language does not define its population homogeneously. Also, different names of the same place, town or other geographical feature do not divide, but rather bring people together in establishing a certain relationship towards the place in question. Finally, appeals for demolishing walls of division might be called out in languages on both sides of the wall and beyond. Also, in territories next to borders, language activities of inhabitants do not adhere to the political borderlines – usually people are able to speak both languages, maybe also a characteristic dialect of their own, and, moreover, they might engage in hybridisation, all of which shows an opposition to the hegemonic view of "pure" national language and culture.

Before concluding this hopefully welcoming introduction to our new issue of *Poligrafi*, we should not ignore the warning against offering unconditional hospitality or the unquestioned abolishment of borders that emerges from specific parts of the presented papers. Shortly and simply put, we certainly should differentiate between good, moral, ethical, kind, appropriate, loving, aiding on one hand and, on the other hand, evil, immoral, unethical, violent, inappropriate, hateful, destructive, and not offer hospitality to the latter qualities willingly. It is impossible to state where this specific borderline lies, but this is why we invoke a culture of hospitality that yet has to be evolved and welcomed. Unanimously with the contributing authors we greet the educated decision-making attitude and the attunement to notyetness that allows for a popping out of events and other subjects. This issue of *Poligrafi* with selected articles from the "borders / debordering" Conference might help us to understand the border not solely as a limit, an untrespassable line, but rather a potentially welcoming place to be debordered in order to be fully experienced as such. Doing so, this might allow us to recognize mutual dependency of both, or all sides of the border, and acknowledge our interrelatedness. This is where the acclaimed culture begins, the culture of hospitality.

A world of welcome.

Helena Motoh and Maja Bjelica

DEBORDERING THE BORDERS OF TIME: TOWARDS THE PRIMORDIALITY OF HOSPITALITY

Janko M. Lozar

In his compelling book on Husserl's phenomenology of temporality, Stefano Micali says laconically: "There is an original asymmetry between the presently given appearance and consciousness, which constantly deborders the givenness through protention and retention."[1]

What would this asymmetry be? And how is it related to hospitality? What is this debordering, if we try to understand it philosophically rather than solely politically?

The present treatise shall attempt to uncover the possibility of genuine hospitality through the analysis of the nature of time, taking as our starting point Husserl's enigmatic concept of the temporal field of now, and Heidegger's claim about the truth of being, understood through the truth of time.[2] By confining our attention to the futural aspect of time we shall attempt to show that a more proper understanding of how the "not yet now" enables us to acquire a more proper understanding of the possibility of radically open being with others. The fundamental question to be addressed is whether we can, by uncovering the evidence of the primordiality of futurity, come up with a possibility of, at least philosophically, debordering the borders set up by the European (political, legal or intellectual) culture, when facing the seemingly perilous alterity of the other.

Actually, the answer to this has already been provided in great detail, through the discussion on the phenomenology of the gift, by Derrida,

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[1]   Stefano Micali, *Überschüsse der Erfahrung: Grenzdimensionen des Ich Nach Husserl* (Dordrecht: Springer, 2008), 162.
[2]   See Edmund Husserl, *Phenomenology of Internal Time-Consciousness* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1964.) See also Martin Heidegger, *Being and Time* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 1962).

Levinas and Jean-Luc Marion. Without venturing a strong interpretation of all three philosophical figures mentioned here, we only need to quickly summarize and put in a tiny nutshell the ingenious analysis of the phenomenon of gift, offered by Jacques Derrida in *Given Time*: to understand the giving of the gift and to be pristinely receiving the gift is to deborder the objectivity of the gift, its donor and recipient – objectivity understood in the temporal sense of the objectivity of the present. In Derrida's own words: "If the gift appears or signifies itself, if it is presently as gift, then it is not, it annuls itself."[3] The truth of the gift suffices to annul the gift. In other words, the temporal objectification of the gift destroys the very giving of the gift through the economy of exchange. It goes without saying that a mindset of either the donor or recipient, expecting the other to either return or receive a gift in exchange for the one given or received, destroys the very preciousness of the act of presenting a gift, and the gift itself. But the salient point lies of course within this patent obviousness of the self-evident truth. What Derrida ingeniously says here is that economy of exchange involves a (wrong) temporality which abolishes the gift as gift. To put it in a nutshell: we should try and understand the temporal truth of gift not from (representable) objective presence, which can be reproduced either from the past, by way of recollection, or into the future, by way of anticipation, but rather from an elusive presence, which breaks open the (metaphysically fictitious) full presence of the present.

It is indeed a small wonder that such a phenomenal phenomenology of gift was explicated within the context of the truth of time. Not only because the gift is semantically most intimately related to and even synonymous with the present. One should bring in yet another strong analogy into play: if Husserl deborders the present moment, breaking it open into an original temporal field, which so to say rescues

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[3] Jacques Derrida, *Given Time: I. Counterfit Money* (Chicago and London: Chicago University Press, 1992), 26–27. Later, Marion re-appropriates Derrida, but remains, so to say, within the borders of the donor, God. What is at stake here, however, is the potential loss of one's openness to the radical alterity of the other: for do we not in this way approach the other with reservations and scepticism directed towards the God of the other? Indeed, such a stance endangers the very gift of the givenness of the other.

the otherwise impossible status of the now as the now point,[4] Derrida does the same, only this time within the context of the onto-logical and chrono-logical truth of the gift. Like Husserl with his analysis on the peculiar nature of *das Jetzt*, Derrida deborders the present, the objectivity of the givenness of the gift, rescuing it from the objectifying logic of economic exchange, from the (temporal) logic of expectation and memory. Of course, the analogy is far from surprising and unexpected, since Derrida drew truly heavily from Husserl himself, despite his severe criticism of Husserl's purported metaphysics of presence.[5]

If the phenomenon of gift can be so fruitfully explicated with and through the explication of the origin givenness of time, we can say the same for the truth of being. One only has to consider the intimate closeness of the "*Es gibt*", literally "it gives", with being (the German "*Es gibt*" means "there is") and the givenness of the gift. We are here obviously introducing another great phenomenologist: Martin Heidegger and his background claim from his *Being and Time* that the truth of being can be understood in and through time only. What is, what has been in its being present, is patently obviously understood as being *in the present*. The truth of being has long been understood from the temporal perspective of the present. Heidegger's task was to deborder such understanding in his very own terms. This, however, is a path we shall not venture here. Instead, we shall ask ourselves the following unsettling question: what does it mean that *Dasein* (as the essence of the human being) is not *in* time, but rather time itself, the timing of time itself? Do we really know, by infinitely repeating this contention of Heidegger's, what is actually implied therein? To acquire the truth of time requires no less than coming to grips with the truth of being – be it the manner or mode of how I am as myself, be it the being of the innerworldly beings, of the world, or of the other self.

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[4]   As Aristotle puts it succinctly in his *Physics*: "(…) obviously the 'now' is no part of time." And a bit further on: "In so far then as the 'now' is a boundary, it is not time." In: Aristotle, *The Complete Works of Aristotle* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984), 373.

[5]   See Jacques Derrida, *Speech and Phenomena (Evanston:* Northwestern University Press, 1973); *Writing and Difference (London and New York: Routledge, 2002), Edmund Husserl's Origin of Geometry: An Introduction (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1962).*

What, again, does it mean I am not in time but time itself? Heidegger, like Husserl, wards off the misleading conception of the purportedly objective being of time in itself, as an event, a going-on independent of our own self. Husserl would call this a naturalistic (mis)conception of time, which is prevalent in the natural sciences.

Let us, for the sake of clarity, venture a few examples and rough pieces of evidence here. Provided we all already somehow know what the three dimensions of time are: what does it mean that *I am* the past? Do we have any ontological evidence for this to be read from our own manner of being? Can I be in the manner of the passing away into the past? Can I *be* the very passing of time? Indeed, I can: when I am sorrowful, sad, I *am* in the manner of turning back in time towards that which is no longer there, gone, with the wind of ontic and temporal change.

Of course, what such a claim needs, is to do away with or at least crack open the modern rationalist conception of rationality or cognition or cognitive ability as the underlying essence of the human being as *animal rationale*, to which non-essential, non-cognitive faculties are added as mere accompanying phenomena. We know, thanks to Scheler and his *Formalism in Ethics and Non-Formal Ethics of Values*, that the essential proponent of this view was Kant with his *Critique of Judgement* and his own specific understanding of the faculties of the soul, those of cognition, desire and feelings.[6]

Kant addresses the basic division of the faculties of the soul in the following manner:

For all faculties or capacities of the soul can be reduced to three, which cannot be any further derived from one common ground: the *faculty of knowledge,* the *feeling of pleasure and pain,* and the *faculty of desire*. Now between the faculties of knowledge and desire there is the feeling of pleasure, just as the Judgement is intermediate between the Understanding and the Reason.[7]

For the first time in the history of European philosophy, the faculty of feeling is allotted its own independent dimension, which, according to Kant, belongs to the realm of poetic reason or aesthetic judgment.

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[6]   See Max Scheler, *Formalism in Ethics and Non-Formal Ethics of Values: A New Attempt toward the Foundation of an Ethical Personalism* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1973).
[7]   Kant Immanuel, *Critique of Judgement* (London: Macmillan & Co, Ltd., 1917), 37.

However, in the first division of the critique, where Kant provides the definition of aesthetic judgments or judgments of taste, we immediately find out that feelings as an independent and irreducible faculty of the soul have nothing to do with the faculty of knowledge:

But the subjective (element) in a representation which cannot be an ingredient of cognition, is the *pleasure* or *pain* which is bound up with it; for through it I cognise nothing in the object of the representation, although it may be the effect of some cognition.[8]

The passage corroborates Scheler's insight into Kant's definition of the faculty of feeling: firstly, feeling cannot be reduced to the faculty of understanding, and secondly, feeling has no cognitive power; for it is understood merely as a subjective circumstance, which has no intentional relation whatsoever with the objectivity of objects. As we said before, for Scheler, Kant's analysis of affectivity reveals their independence as a faculty of spirit, which, however, has nothing to do with the transcendental *a priori* of theoretical and practical reason.

And we have by and large accepted this truth to be an accurate description and explanation of who and how we are – as the most rational (reasonable) truth of our rational being. First we think, represent cognitively, and then, as an inessential addition, we feel about what we first thought about, judged upon or desired. Cognitive faculty is the cornerstone of what it means to be human, with the feeling of pleasure and pain and faculty of desire superimposed upon it.

Thanks to Scheler, however, we have come to realize that this is not the whole story to be told of modern rationalism regarding the truth of affectivity, since modern philosophy actually holds two differing views on feelings. The first view, which can be attributed to Immanuel Kant, holds that they cannot be reduced to the rational part of the soul and, thus, affirms their independence, but deprives them of all cognitive powers and any possible relation to the essence of the human being and its truth of being. Yet, again according to Scheler, there is the second view, which Scheler rightfully attributes to René Descartes, in that it

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8   Ibid., 44.

presents affects in their intentional role, admits them full ontological status.[9]

It goes without saying that phenomenological research on affectivity follows the Cartesian rather than Kantian tradition, as can be shown in the case of Edmund Husserl and particularly Martin Heidegger. Heidegger upsets Kantian truth and actually turns it upside down, further radicalizing the Cartesian truth on affectivity. Without the prior opening up in and through *Stimmung*, or *Befindlichkeit*, mood or attunement, without this primary movedness, motion, commotion, or emotion of *Dasein*, there would be and could be no intentional relatedness to any entity and no possibility of cognitive object-intentionality.

So for him, the primary openness of our own being is our emotive, moved (in both spatial, temporal and emotive sense) self-attunement, which is not only the being of our being, but also the timing of our time.

It is time we give it another try. Let us repeat what we said above: what does it mean that I *am* time – in my very being moved, in attunement? Do we have any ontological evidence for this in our own mode of being? Can I be in the mode of the passing away into the past? Indeed, I can: when I am sorrowful, sad, I am in the manner of turning back in time towards that which is no longer there. *To be sorrowful now means to be the very passing away of time, the dying out of the present moment.* Again and again, do we really know what it means that we are time? In being sorrowful, we are the timing of time, we are the passing away of ourselves and of the happy moment.

To introduce yet another, perhaps clearer token of evidence: being bored. What mode of time are we, when we are fundamentally bored? We *are* the collapse of the future into the past, of the past into the future, the collapse of the three dimensions of time, past / present / future, into all-the-sameness, into indifference. We *are* the indifference, the undiferrentiatedness of the past, present and future.

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[9]   See René Descartes, *Meditations on First Philosophy* (New York: Bobbs-Merrill, 1951). See also Paola L. Coriando, *Affektenlehre und Phänomenologie der Stimmungen* (Frankfurt am Main: Vittorio Klostermann, 2002).

Intimately related to the attunement of boredom, and essentially related to the present topic of debordering borders, is the attunement of resentment: we are the hurtful, horrific past, coming from the potentiality of the future as horror expected in advance, we are a specific marriage of future and past, which imbues the present moment with the dreadful expectation of being with dreadful others.

After this preliminary sketch, having realized what potential lies in the truth of time, going back to Husserl opens up a huge wagonful of possibilities. Husserl's phenomenology of time is, to our humble – or ambitious – opinion, far richer and more elaborate than that of Heidegger. So diving into and delving into Husserl's complex structures of time may equip us with better tools of understanding or own truth of being, without of course having to set aside Heidegger's ingenious insights into essential interrelatedness of being and time.

So let us now return to the initial statement from Stefano Micali on debordering the present moment: "There is an original asymmetry between the impressional presently given appearance and consciousness, which constantly deborders the actual givenness through protention and retention."[10]

What Husserl deborders through debordering the time, is actually or own existence, our very mode of being. The mode of givenness of the present – understood in both senses – is the truth of our own being.

Retention and protention stick to the present moment of the now – they are, Husserl is strict here, *not* to be understood through expectation and memory. They relate to the lived experience of the present moment rather than to the closed off past or future. In sense perception, and this is Husserl's genius happening here, retaining the momentary no longer perceived / given and protaining the momentary not yet given, are not to be understood as being without the borders of the now point, but as intrinsic elements of the moment itself, now understood in the sense of the temporal field (*Zeitfeld*) rather than as a point in time (mathematical fiction).

And retention and protention are also *not* to be mistaken for representational recollection and expectation, which stands aloof from

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10   Micali, *Überschüsse der Erfahrung: Grenzdimensionen des Ich nach Husserl*, 162.

the present moment, but on the level of primary presentation of the peculiarly debordered present moment. It is, therefore, a mode of time and being prior to the expectation of the future or the recollection of the past.

Debordering time as the now point into a broader original temporal field actually implies debordering most intimate borders of our being. By opening up the punctuality border of the now into an open field of the present, Husserl opens up the borders of our subjectivity: in relation to the other, other subjectivity, and eventually also cultural borders.

Broadening the perspective, we now have to ask ourselves: what is to be debordered through Husserl's emphasis on the debordering quality of the truth of protention and retention, if we are to come closer to the possibility of genuine openness to the other in pristine hospitality?

We should deborder love of God, because it requires prior hateful recollections of the earthly misfortunes and uncertainties, as well as hateful expectation of the perilous coming of devil's disciples. On the other hand, however, we should also deborder the modern love of humanity, because the condition of its possibility is its prior hateful recollection and reaction to the wrongdoings of the one's with the love of god. And, further on, we should also deborder the expectation that we are to love the wretched fugitives, because this expectation is smeared with the hateful recollection of the inhumane wrongdoings of sceptic ignorant nationalists around us.

A true openness to the other in his troubled coming requires a debordering of all these borders: love of god, love of humanity, love of expectation of love. Debordering needs borders to deborder: and the true culprits guilty of setting up borders between me and you and me and them lie in the heart of the faculty of memory and expectation.

In the sentiment toward the other lurks a sentiment against some other other. In fewer words: our sentiment is soaked in resentment. This is not to say that resentment should be cured by clinical psychology, or that it is some kind of a character flaw. It should be addressed philosophically, as was done so magnificently by Nietzsche. Resentment, as shown above, has a very long history. It is embedded in all the greatest cultural movements of our cultural history. Be it Platonic, be it Christian, or modern socialist. Whether we like it or not, we have been

long taught that to love life is to hatefully escape some specific form of life, burning vividly in our memory and disappointed expectation. The hospitable and the inhospitable are all defined by expectations, be they positive or negative. And expectations of both are bordered by the recollections of the wrongdoing of all possible kinds.[11]

A difficult task indeed, to deborder borders. Relieve sentiment of resentment. Yet the task is not impossible. The futural aspect in expectation is bordered through recollection. If we are to draw nearer the possibility of pure sentiment of hospitality, we are obliged to think toward the possibility of pure futurity, relieved from the (expected) past: sentiment beyond calculation. Not as nolongerness, but as notyetness of notyetness, as pure futurity without the past, and beyond the future to be expected.

Therein lies the possibility of the most vivid and lively possible hospitality as conviviality: the joyful being with others, in the temporal and existential mode *prior to* calculative, expectational, recollectional mode of being. Put in Husserl's terms: protention as the notyetness of the present moment; or in Heidegger's terms: the presencing of presence.

And we have a name reserved for this pure futural mode of being and co-being, which is the affective primary openness of the human being: joviality. If we *are* time, can we be the movedness of joviality as pure futurity? Of our-selves, others and the world?

Indeed, we can. We only need to draw attention to a highly rewarding English verb "to pop", which hints heavily in the desired direction: butterfly popping along, friend popping in, a mouse popping out of the shirt pocket, the popping up of a giant elephant from the children's pop-up book, a toast popping up from the pop-up toaster, a flower popping open, people popping up, the world popping open, myself

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[11] That the power of resentment is truly tremendous, we only need to look more closely at the present situation: when faced with the arrival of the wretched fugitives, those in the sentiment of complete openness to the fugitives betray a resentment against the conservative distrustful. On the other side, the sentiment of the inhospitable ones betrays a resentment against some weird phantom called the elite, which has an evil design to destroy our good old national substance.

popping up in the popping up of others – in the con-vivial, merry con-viviality, always necessarily – popping up.

Can we now perhaps understand better what it means *to be on the spur of the moment*? Or better put, what it means to *be* the spur of the moment? We know what a spur is: a short spike attached to the heel of a rider's boot, used to urge a horse forward. Being on the spur of the moment of objectivity, through protention and its not yet now, incites the spur of our being in primordial openness, *prior* to any expectations, as the unexpected itself.

The revealing, the giving, presenting of the not yet now, the pro-tentional character of time is the revealing of our mode of being as joy, fundamental joviality: the notyetness of the other, the notyetness of the world, the notyetness of me, but beyond expectation, as the unexpec-ted, as the always surprising, in the groundless surprise of the presen-cing of present.

This is the story of being joviality, which is the truth of time as co-ming, as the vivacity of the notyetness, as primary futurity. It is about being on the trace of the best possible hospitality, of embracing the other in his/her/their surprise-ful *notyetness*.

But our culture, as we all know, and as Nietzsche has shown bluntly and patently enough, has for millennia been looking back as well as ahead into the *nolongerness* of being and time. Into death, decay, de-struction, be it natural or cultural, be it past or future, the dark side of time and being. From whence the prevalence of fear and anxiety not only in philosophy, but also in our very everyday way of *being*.

In and through hospitality towards the fugitives, our *first* impulse and instinct still whispers in our ears: they are coming, they are diffe-rent, we will *no longer* be what we are, we will *no longer* have what we own; they are bringing *nolongerness* itself.

What does this slightest, yet almightiest shift from retention to pro-tention bring about? What does this commotion in the truth of time invite into our very midst? The shift in the truth of our being?

Perhaps turning our soul's face from anxiously looking into *nolon-gerness* to looking into *notyetness*, here only provisionally advocated in philosophical terms, might contribute its tiny little gift to the renais-

sance of groundless jovial conviviality. Perhaps. Who knows, and only time will tell.

The truth of time as pure futurity, advocated here, is not something new. We have great role-models in our culture, who live the same and advise the same: Dionysus with his rushing through being and Jesus with his blushing rushing in love. They both deborder borders: the one with joviality as conviviality, the other with love as *amortisation totale*.

In these wretched times of growing homelessness, it is our primary philosophical duty to attentively lend our ears to what pops open amid the present moment. The present contribution starts and ends in this ungraspable midst. May the wretched times come back to its fathomless roots, which can be grasped only as the purest possible hospitality, shining forth from under the edges of all borders imaginable. Undoubtedly, this essay is but a provisional and improvised attempt at uncovering the primordial temporal and ontological magic of existence. Yet, is not improvisation in this sense the best virtue possible? As the genuine *im-provisus*, as the unexpectedly unforeseeable of time, being and conviviality?

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HOSPITALITY AS A VIRTUE OF THE PLACE

Lana Pavić

Introduction

In the context of political theory, the term of hospitality is usually defined as a special form of interaction among individuals of different cultural, national, religious or political communities. This interaction provides welcoming of the guest by the host on the border, doorstep, threshold or edge. There is no hospitality without an edge because, as Edward Casey suggests, the edge is "where strangers are received: it is where hospitality happens."[1]

Even though this definition seems understandable, etymological insight in the Latin word *hostis* (signifying at the same time a guest / a stranger / an enemy) opens the inseparability between the understanding of the term hospitality and the term hostility. According to Richard Kearney[2] the wager between hospitality and hostility is one of the inaugural dramas of human ethics. This moral and political wager is strongly rooted in the Western philosophical, linguistic and religious tradition that made the term hospitality, as well as the practices of it, an abstract virtue and at the same time a "living existential struggle – a struggle with crucial contemporary implications."[3]

The struggle for the understanding and providing hospitality for the stranger is a never-ending task because:

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[1]   Edward S. Casey, "Strangers at the End of Hospitality," in *Phenomenologies of the Stranger: Between Hostility and Hospitality*, ed. Richard Kearney and Kascha Semonovitch (New York: Fordham University Press, 2011), 39.
[2]   Richard Kearney, "Welcoming the Stranger," in *All Changed? Culture and Identity in Contemporary Ireland*, ed. Padraig O Duibhir, Rory McDaid and Andrew O'Shea (Dublin: Duras, 2011), 168.
[3]   Ibid.

(…) there are always more guests to be hosted, ever new strangers to be welcomed as they arrive at the door bearing gifts or challenges, asking for bread or refuge, questioning, calling, demanding, thanking. And there are many differed of strangers, not only those aliens and others who come from afar, but also those strangers who come from within ourselves. We are never done with hospitality because we are never done with hosting strangers.[4]

Limitation of the single paper does not allow resolution of the abovementioned dichotomy, incorporated in the notion of hospitality. Its intentions are much more realistic since it will just briefly sketch both challenges of hospitality – the theoretical and the political one. Theoretical overview of the contemporary philosophical understanding of the term hospitality will dominantly be presented through Brian Treanor's essay "Putting Hospitality in Its Place".[5] Political implication of the practice of hospitality will be demonstrated through Croatian experience with the recent *refugee crisis* that took place between September 2015 and May 2016.

Hospitality (in Theory)

As Paul Ricouer notices,[6] the term refugee is a new concept, created by disruption and violence in the 20th century when the establishment of the right for self-determination of a nation coincided with the forced mass migration provoked by two world wars. As a cure for millions of migrants who lost their homes and citizenship (or did not acquire one at all), the right of asylum, defined at the Geneva Convention, was granted to every human being. The Western principle of hospitality marked the essence of the global asylum system. Even though such principle can be traced from pre-Homeric tradition, European modern understanding of hospitality was strongly marked by the evolution of

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[4] Richard Kearney and James Taylor, "Introduction," in *Hosting the Stranger Between Religions*, ed. Richard Kearney and James Taylor (New York: Continuum, 2011), 1.
[5] Brian Treanor, "Putting Hospitality in Its Place," in *Phenomenologies of the Stranger: Between Hostility and Hospitality*, ed. Richard Kearney and Kascha Semonovitch (New York: Fordham University Press, 2011), 49–66.
[6] Paul Ricoeur, "Being a Stranger," *Theory, Culture and Society* 75 (2010): 44, doi: 10.1177/0263276416651976.

the principle itself which began at the end of the Middle Ages. From that time, hospitality previously considered an act of Christian charity, is transformed to the universal human right. The period from the second scholasticism and writing of Francisco de Vitoria at the beginning of 16th century to Immanuel Kant's essay *Toward Perpetual Peace* in the late 18th century was crucial for this evolution.[7]

At the same time, the rise of national states introduced bordered ethnical communities which, by the beginning of the 21st century, respected asylum rights to the level of appropriateness for the national interests. Every time when the migrants who were strangers to the receiving nations seeking refuge became supernumerary, they were characterised as the threat for the citizens. Suspension of the granting of the asylum right resulted from closing of the borders for the mass migration.[8] Position of the borders, therefore, stood for both the inclusion and the exclusion of strangers. Hospitality is impossible without borders, but at the same time, they are considered to be an instrument of the violation of the right for asylum. The improvement of asylum system was expected to happen by the rise of supranational political entities like the European Union. But instead of being improved, traditional strangeness that usually existed as *alterity* within European nations, is transformed to absolute strangeness for the ones outside European (or Western) cultural, political, economic or religious circle. Hence, the problem of the stranger migrant (particularly when it comes to the larger groups of strangers migrants), reoccurred in European theory and political practice.[9]

This problem was especially noticed by French philosophers who were creditable with the main theoretical debate concerning contemporary understanding of the term hospitality. That debate is dominantly led by Derridean deconstruction and Ricoeurean hermeneutics. These

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[7]   Gideon Baker, "The Right of entry or right of refusal? Hospitality in the law of nature and nations," *Review of International Studies* 37, no. 03 (2011): 1424, doi:10.1017/S0260210510001269.

[8]   Duško Petrović and Romana Pozniak, "Tražitelji azila kao prijetnja" ("Asylum Seekers as a Threat"), *Studia Ethnologica Croatica* 26 (2014): 48, doi: 10.17234/SEC.26.3.

[9]   Seyla Benhabib, *The Rights of Others: Aliens, Residents and Citizens* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 163.

two positions open the possibility for understanding the dichotomy or even the *aporia* of the notion and the principle of hospitality. Does it need to be unconditional – an absolute openness to the stranger or should it be conditional? Does such hospitality always remain a hyperbolic ethical ideal or can it be used as the base for policy recommendation and development that lead to asylum right?

For Derrida, whose work on the notion of hospitality had the broader theoretical influence, there is no doubt that the responsibility to the stranger in need is unconditional. As Kearney[10] explains, Derrida is well aware that world belongs to everyone but within the borders of national-states it belongs to some more than others and that is why some form of immigration / emigration laws are inevitable.

That's the law and Derrida accepts this; but he goes on to argue that there's something beyond the law: namely justice. And justice demands more: unconditional hospitality to alien. Hospitality is only truly just, this argument goes, when it resists the temptation to discriminate between good or evil others, that is, between the hostile enemy (hostis) and the benign host (hostis).[11]

On the other hand, hermeneutic approach calls for more caution and opens the possibility for saying *no* to some strangers migrants. Not all strangers are in need of protection and sanctuary. Hermeneutics, thus, addresses the need for "critical informed ethic-political judgement"[12] which will discern between good and evil and embrace conditional rather than unconditional hospitality.

Putting Hospitality in Its Place

Brian Treanor is well aware of tangled questions mentioned in the introduction, but he suggests that before answering them we have to consider an important notion – the notion of the place. As Treanor asserts, hospitality is a virtue of the place and we must understand the place if we do not want to fail in understanding hospitality. Hospital-

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[10] Richard Kearney, "Evil and Other," *The Hedgehog Review* 2, no. 2 (Summer 2000): 69, doi: 101177/0275074014545381.
[11] Ibid.
[12] Ibid., 71.

ity is indeed "so deeply connected to place that it is defined by this association."[13]

Hospitality always happens in a place because it consists in giving place to another and occurs as a part of a relationship between an *implaced* person and *displaced* one. This relationship is composed of two subjects: the host and the guest, but their status is significantly different. The host has the power to accept the guest, but since the guest is a stranger, the main doubt of the host is to open or close the door. In other words – to give his / her own place to the stranger or not to give; to share or not to share the place?

Place is, Treanor argues, *sine qua non* of being. It is primordial to the person because it is the space in and from which one lives. When we are accepting the stranger, we not only ask who he or she is and *how* we can live together but also *where* the stranger comes from and *where* the stranger can be *implaced*. In this context, place is not just any space. It is well known space which is familiar and comfortable, predictable and secure. "Places require more than mere spatial orientation. Places are experienced spaces of a certain sort and as such, they have cultural dimension, they are social, communal and historical."[14]

Citing Edward Casey's essay *Getting Back into Place*, Treanor suggests that place should be thought of as two-sided phenomenon – bounded by our bodies and by the landscape. This duplicity is called *placescapes*, which allows us to achieve orientation that is more than a pure recognition of the environment. When displacement happens (same as *implacement*), it happens by degrees. The higher the degree of displacement is (or the threat of it) the higher the person's fear and pain is. "The fear of being lost (i.e., without ground) appears to be fundamental to the human psyche and to our understanding of being a stranger. Even the most intrepid solitary explorer, itinerant 'sathu', or nomadic Bedouin needs some minimal connection to place."[15]

This fear and pain are also motivated by the problem of language, closely connected to the understanding of the place. "Language is one,

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13   Treanor, "Putting," 50.
14   Ibid., 53.
15   Ibid., 55.

yet languages are many."[16] Since every national state is logocentric, when the process of displacement happens, we are not only faced with the new, unknown environment, but also with the problem of the language barrier that conducts migrations. Would we be able to tell our (his)story? Would we be able to explain our intentions and reasons for leaving our own place and seeking hospitality? If we somehow managed to understand the Other, would there be enough place for our narrative in someone else's narrative?

The problem of displacement is not connected only to the contemporary migration flows, whatever group of the migrants the person belongs to: economic migrants, refugees or asylum seekers. The displacement in post-modern era happens on two levels: the displacement of the stranger (explained above) and the displacement of the post-modern condition (which will be explained in detail further in the text on the example of Croatian town Slavonski Brod), but we are often failing to understand both of these levels. Moreover, with failing to recognize and understand displacement of post-modern condition, we are failing to understand hospitality.

Hospitality in and out of Works

In spite of being a Mediterranean country, given its special geographical (dis)location, Croatia has not had any significant experience with migration flows that, from 2010 onward, were moving by Mediterranean routes from African countries and the Middle East towards the countries of the European Union. At the same time, it stood outside the overland paths of the *Balkan migration route* on its way from Turkey to the Western Europe. Alongside geographic dislocation from main migration routes, permanently unfavourable economic situation within the country has not made Croatia an appealing country for various non–European migrant groups in terms of representing reliable and safe haven from economic and political deprivation or war in their domicile environments. Between July 2004 (when the *Asylum law*

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16   Richard Kearney, "Paul Ricoeur and the Hermeneutics of Translation," *Research in Phenomenology* 37 (2007): 148, doi: 10.1163/156916407X185610.

was first enforced) and June 2014 less than 4.500 requests for asylum and subsidiary protection in Croatia were submitted (out of which 117 were granted).[17]

The continuation of military conflicts in Syria, Iraq and Afghanistan has caused an increase in the number of refugees in Europe. Germany opening up for the acceptance of refugees has made the *Balkan migration route* more frequent than ever before. In the late summer of 2015, Hungary, which was part of this route, had denied further acceptance of new refugees on its soil. Because of that, *the route* was changed and Croatia has encountered the daily overflow of thousands of non–European migrants on its eastern borders. Conditionally speaking, this was the first experience with mass migration of non–domicile population for Croatian government and citizens. The term conditionally needs to be emphasized for two specific reasons. Firstly, Croatia has achieved its full state sovereignty in 1998, only after the five-year long *homeland war* that lasted from 1991 to 1995. The war was the result of the process of dissolution of Yugoslav federation, which Croatia had been part of. During the nineties of the past century, Croatia had the experience with migrant flows and mass migration as almost an everyday occurrence, whether within Croatian borders or from one former Yugoslav republic to another. It is estimated that merely in Croatia, over 700.000 people were internally displaced or became refugees during the war years.[18] A number of citizens of other former Yugoslav republics should be added to this number, especially those from Bosnia and Herzegovina who were exiled to Croatia or stayed there for a short period of time before continuing their journey to other countries, as well as a number of Croatian citizens of Serbian nationality who were exiled from Croatia at the beginning and / or at the end of the war. With all that said, it is important to note that Croatia has traditionally been seen as

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[17]   Tea Vidović, "Tko su izbjeglice i koja su njihova prava" ("Who are Refugees and Their Rights"), in *Interkulturalne prakse: s izbjeglicama i za izbjeglice (Inter-Cultural Practices: with Refugees and for Refugees)*, ed. Tea Vidović (Zagreb: Centar za mirovne studije (Centre for Peace Studies), 2014), 17.

[18]   Josip Esterajher, "Iskustva zbrinjavanja prognanika i izbjeglica i suvremena izbjegličko-migranstka kriza u Hrvatskoj" (Experiences in Taking Care of Displaced Persons and Refugees and Contemporary Refugee Migration Crisis"), (*Političke analize (Political Analysis)* 23 (2015): 17.

one of the countries where migrations originate, especially migrations for economic reasons. *Central Bureau of Statistics (DZS)* estimates that between 60.000 and 100.000 people left Croatia only in the past decade predominantly due to economic reasons.[19] Secondly, for decades now, during summer months (with the exception of *the homeland war* period), Croatian coast has been the tourist centre of the Middle and Eastern Europe, so the daily flow of thousands of foreign citizens on few border passes has become a common sight[20].

Given everything aforementioned, Croatia should have the capacity, experience and knowledge to accept migrants to its territory, regardless of their origin and regardless whether they stay for longer periods or just pass through. Because of the recent war experience, a high level of empathy for persons in the same situation is to be expected from Croatian political leaders as well as from the citizens themselves, which is why the principle of hospitality instead of hostility should prevail in their behaviour towards strangers migrants in need.

However, is this really the case in practice? This paper offers the analysis of the Croatian role in the *refugee crisis* that was in progress on Croatian territory in the period between September 16th 2015 and March 8th 2016, or up to April 15th 2016, when the border for the organized passage of migrants through Croatia was closed.

In that period, 658.068 migrants[21] passed Croatia, most of whom with refugee status, through four key locations: Opatovac, Bapska, Tovarnik and Slavonski Brod. Apart from the official institutions of the

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[19]   Ivana Tomić, "Šokantni podaci: U deset godina ostali smo bez grada veličine Osijeka" ("Shocking Data: The Number of Emigrants in Last Ten Years Equals the Population of Osijek"), *Dnevnik.hr*, May 5, 2014, accessed June 21, 2016, http://dnevnik.hr/vijesti/hrvatska/gotovo-100-tisuca-ljudi-iselilo-se-iz-hrvatske-u-proteklih-10-godina---334253.html.

[20]   Tourism is considered a form of migration, usually a short term migration, even though it is significantly different from the abovementioned process of displacement because tourism is a voluntary activity connected with personal leisure. As Paul Ricoeur notices, a stranger as a visitor – a tourist – travels freely around the territories of a welcoming country and enjoys freedom of movement and trade; see Ricoeur, "Being a Stranger," 41.

[21]   Dario Čepo and Mateja Medlobi, "Stavovi građana i građanki Republike Hrvatske o izbjeglicama" ("The Croatian Citizens' Attitudes towards the Refugees"), the paper presented at the conference *Kamp, kolodvor, granica – mikrostudije izbjeglištva u suvremenom hrvatskom kontekstu (Camp, Train Station, Border – Micro-studies of Refugeeism in Contemporary Croatia)*,. Zagreb, June 14–15, 2016.

Republic of Croatia, such as the basic and border police, the refugees were taken care of by the Croatian Red Cross, the UN, and additionally by the members of the Welcome initiative that arose from numerous non-governmental organisations and was composed of 400 volunteers. Based on the volunteers' reports, Tea Vidović summarised 5 stages of strangers migrants' acceptance into the territory of Croatia in the abovementioned period.[22]

The first stage, the one that took place in Tovarnik on the Croatian–Serbian border, was marked as the Chaos Stage. Croatia was caught completely unprepared by the first appearance of the migrants on its borders, so the former government reached for the ad hoc solutions. Already after the first few days, the migrants were accepted to move from Tovarnik to Opatovac, where the second stage, marked as the Stage of Improvement and Bureaucracy, took place. The third stage – the Stage of Unexpectedness was predominantly happened on the location of Bapska. With the opening of the transit centre in Slavonski Brod on November 2nd 2015, the fourth stage began – the Stage of Supervisory System Creation, which was followed, until April 15th 2016 by the last, fifth stage – the Stage of Closed Sectors.

Vidović claims that the fast flow between the stages and the change in their character from humanitarian at first towards more repressive (which culminated in the fourth stage) shows that despite the official desire to help, the principle of the strict border control prevails.

The Croatian government, led by the Prime Minister Zoran Milanović, Internal Affairs Minister Rajko Ostojić and Defence Minister Ante Kotromanović, wanted to create the impression of humane treatment of the migrants by invoking the feeling of solidarity from local population.

There is no need for panic. We do know what we are doing. We are organized. We are the country that knows what it wants and we will finish this hard and responsible job calmly and with cool heads, but we have to be humane.

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[22]   Tea Vidović, "Tranzit izbjeglica kroz Hrvatsku iz volonterske perspektive" ("Refugee Transit through Croatia"), the paper presented at the conference *Kamp, kolodvor, granica – mikrostudije izbjeglištva u suvremenom hrvatskom kontekstu (Camp, Train Station, Border – Microstudies of Refugeeism in Contemporary Croatia)*, Zagreb, June 14–15, 2016.

Croatia must show its true face, and it must show how responsible and honourable we are.[23]

Nevertheless, the timing was not favourable for the rhetoric of solidarity. Parliamentary election in Croatia were held on November 8th 2015, therefore, the refugee crisis coincided with the election campaign. The crisis itself was not the main topic of the campaign, but it nonetheless served as a means of sharpening the nationalistic discourse in which the leading party (then in opposition) *HDZ (Croatian Democratic Community)* dominated. Such rhetoric was highly supported even by the president of the Republic of Croatia, Kolinda Grabar Kitarović, by openly agitating for *HDZ* (the party she used to be a member of). After the *Visegrad Group* meeting at the beginning of October 2015, she strongly criticized the Government, pointing out how Croatia failed the challenge on protecting the borders and that Croatia should have chosen, like Hungary, Poland, Slovakia and Czech Republic, the strategy of strict military-police defence and the protection of, the so-called, green border from the entry of migrants, with the goal to preserve the Schengen principles:

Even during the period of homeland war and the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina, there was always a control over who entered the country. Even when we were the first country of acceptance, the level of control was higher than it is now when we are facing the migrant wave that definitely has its humanitarian component which I am not denying, but which carries with itself menace to safety and other dangers as well as the fact that amongst them are numerous economic migrants as well. What will happen when Germany begins returning those people? We already now have to be aware of this issue.[24]

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[23]   Raunić, Filip, "Premijer Milanović sutra će posjetiti izbjeglice u Opatovcu, objavila Vlada" ("The Prime Minister Milanovič Visits Refugees in Opatovac Tomorrow"), *Telegram*, September 28, 2015, accessed June 21, 2016, http://www.telegram.hr/politika-kriminal/od-pocetka-izbjeglicke-krize-u-hrvatsku-je-dosad-uslo-oko-77-tisuca-izbjeglica/.

[24]   Ivana Tomić, "Predsjednica oštro kritizirala vladinu politiku prema izbjeglicama: 'Pali smo na ispitu čuvanja granica" (President Severely Criticizes Government's Politics towards Refugees: 'We Failed the Test of Protecting Borders'), Rtl, October 09, 2015, accessed June 20, 2016, http://www.vijesti.rtl.hr/novosti/hrvatska/1786686/predsjednica-ostro-kritizirala-vladinu-politiku-o-izbjeglicama-pali-smo-na-ispitu-cuvanja-granice/.

As Duško Petrović notes, deflection of migration routes on Croatian territory induced two parallel feelings.[25] The sense of solidarity appears, but, simultaneously, so does the vague sense of being threatened which is caused by distrust. Such distrust is dominantly linked to the unknown status of the migrants. Are they truly refugees seeking shelter from war terrors, or are they economic migrants or potential terrorists, criminals and rapists? By marking the entire process as a kind of *weird spectacle*, Petrović furthermore emphasizes how the arrival of a large number of anonymous people in combination with fear causes passive observation that will ultimately result in the reactivation of national borders, or in other words, closing of the same. Petrović claims that with the collapse of the established asylum system each of the EU countries affected by the refugee route turns to search for the solution of the whole problem within their national frames and cruelty – as a common denominator for this distancing from human suffering – begins to dominate the migrant discourse, as well as the practice on the field.

In that context, the divided rhetoric of Croatian political representatives clearly defines the ideological gap between Croatian voters. However, it also underlines two dominant approaches to the refugee crisis: humanitarian versus security approach. While within the first one the sense of solidarity is invoked and the refugees are seen as passive victims, within the second one the clear boundary between *us* and *them* is set. In such dichotomy, the foreign migrants, (in this case refugees), represent the *otherness*, i.e. the threat from which one must protect oneself. A simplified image of the Other, as a passive victim on the one hand, or the terrorist on the other, causes two mutually exclusive principles of action – compassion in opposition to control and repression. While the first principle was dominant in the first stage of Croatian encounter with the migrants, the duration of the migrant wave transformed the initial compassion into doubt and fear. Petrović sees this process of transformation as the paradox of the closed circle of sensibility and

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[25]   Duško Petrović, "Humanitarne granice ili granice humanitarizma: ekspanzija vidljivih i 'nevidljivih' granica," (Humanitarian Borders or Borders of Humanitarianism: Expansion of Visible and 'Invisible' Borders), the paper presented at the conference *Kamp, kolodvor, granica – mikrostudije izbjeglištva u suvremenom hrvatskom kontekstu (Camp, Train Station, Border – Micro-studies of Refugeeism in Contemporary Croatia)*, Zagreb, June 14–15, 2016.

repression where the heightened sensitivity to suffering (in general, as well as of the Other) alternates with the sense of fear and threat. The result of this is the politics that causes the reduction of space, and with it, the reduction of the existing rights. With other words, the final result of the *us* versus *them* dichotomy is causing the reduction of people since *we* are depriving *them* from their humanity.

Reduction of Place as (In)Ability of Providing Hospitality

By discussing Croatian experience of participating in the refugee crisis at the end of 2015, Renata Jambrešić Kirin and Tea Škokić[26] address the particular location – the city of Slavonski Brod where, in its wider surroundings, in the autumn of 2015, the Croatian government allocated the acceptance centre for the strangers migrants on the refugee route through Croatia. This town has endured a vast destruction during the *homeland war* and is still today an impoverished area of the failed state-controlled economy, with high unemployment rate. Furthermore, Slavonski Brod was once an important railroad junction that has lost its importance due to the systematic destruction of Croatian railroads. The existing travel infrastructure, which was used during the war by NATO for the purposes of war activities in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Kosovo, was utilized for the quick departure of migrants from Croatia to further countries of the EU. The acceptance centre itself was built outside the urban centre, in the manner similar to allocating the flow of the migrants outside the capital of Zagreb two months earlier, which was, during the first days of the refugee wave through Croatia, one of the migrant stops on the way to Slovenia. While the citizens of Zagreb in those first days, encouraged by the sense of solidarity, offered refugees free transport to the Slovenian border and brought them food, clothes and hygienic supplies, the long-term unemployed citizens of Slavonski Brod were engaged in public works of building the acceptance cen-

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[26]   Renata Jambrešić Kirin and Tea Škokić, "Shopping centar nenormalne normalnosti" ("A Shopping Centre of Abnormal Normality"), the paper presented at the conference *Kamp, kolodvor, granica – mikrostudije izbjeglištva u suvremenom hrvatskom kontekstu, (Camp, Train Station, Border – Micro-studies of Refugeeism in Contemporary Croatia)*, Zagreb, June 14–15, 2016.

tre and putting it to function. The local population, hence, had direct socio-economic benefits from the centre, not just because of the arrival of the refugees but also indirectly, due to the residence of numerous workers and volunteers in the area of, until then, a marginalized city.

The acceptance centre Slavonski Brod comprised three units – a registration area, a distribution area and a transit area, where the overall sojourn of migrants lasted around four hours. While the registration area was characterized by standing in line, the distribution area was, according to Jambrešić Kirin and Škokić, the space of *place practice*. Namely, free movement was enabled in order to distribute help to those in need or to find a member of their family so that the families could be re-joined. In this area refugees were offered the possibility to seek asylum, however, just a few of them took that chance.[27] The distribution area was therefore the only place where informal talk between volunteers, police and refugees was possible and where a sort of bottom-up screening happened. The refugees were evaluated through verbal and non-verbal ranking considering their knowledge of English language, degree of secularity and even fashion choices. With reference to Meaghan Morris' essay "Things to do with Shopping Centers,"[28] Jambrešić Kirin and Škokić compared this area to a contemporary shopping mall. The search for the appropriate clothing and footwear, where refugees were assisted by the volunteers, enabled a pseudo-store, the notion close and familiar to us all. This was a time of negotiations, but also familiarisation and bonding. Conversations, as well as body contact, occurred in such relations – characteristic for the bazaar culture – specifically, the creation of relationships between local population and strangers migrants. Jambrešić Kirin and Škokić notice that in this process, the clothes are of extreme importance because this does not represent just the welcoming *etos*, but also the reflection of the desire for happier *implacement*. From the refugees' perspective, the clothes offered to them

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[27] Damir Petranović, "Samo deset migranata zatražilo azil u Hrvatskoj, niti jedan Sirijac" ("Only Ten Migrants Requested Asylum in Croatia, not One Syrian"), *Tportal*, October 29, 2015, accessed June 20, 2016, http://www.tportal.hr/vijesti/hrvatska/402326/Nitko-ne-zeli-ostati-Samo-10-migranata-zatrazilo-azil-u-Hrvatskoj.html.
[28] Meaghan Morris, "Things to do with Shopping Centers," in *Too Soon Too Late*, Meaghan Morris (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1998), 64–92.

by the host holds a power of allowing themselves to imagine themselves in the new surroundings of the West in the future.

However, the clothes and, in general, material help at the same time posed a problem to to the hosts – the local population of Slavonski Brod – a problem for strengthening solidarity towards refugees. Namely, since we are talking about impoverished Croatian citizens, who are themselves in need of appropriate work attire for winter temperatures, empathy and hospitality were mixed with frustration caused by their own economic deprivation. As *losers* from the transition game, the citizens of Slavonski Brod, as well as the town itself, have lost a significant part of their previous identity so the problem of post-modern displacement occurred. Even though the local citizens did not move from their birthplace, the town and its role in Croatian economy and society changed dramatically.

Therefore, the distribution tent, according to Jambrešić Kirin and Škokić, was at the same time the place of both welcoming and scepticism. The happiness of helping those in need, especially the children; of bringing families together and of the interaction between – until then – anonymous people; however, there was also frustration. For the locals, this frustration resulted from their own uncertain situation and sometimes even from the distrust in the intentions of the refugees. For the volunteers, this frustration resulted from the lack of warm clothes and footwear for all, the lack of necessary information and the lack of knowledge of the spoken language – the source of understanding each other's problems.

Conclusion

Hospitality is not some abstract virtue or a custom. It is a virtue of the place marked by the risk and the trust. It is a two-sided process which requires the persons as the guest and the host, but also their good will – the good will for accepting the other and the will for asking for acceptance.

In the recent Croatian example, one part of the puzzle is missing. The strangers migrants did not ask for the permanent place – they did not ask for *implacement*. What they did ask for was just the passage, to

open the borders for them not to enter and stay, but to enter in order to carry on. Croatia did pass that exam, even though it is questionable with what mark. What is not questionable is the fact that Croatia, its institutions and citizens are not yet prepared for hospitality as the process of offering and sharing the place, given the lack of trust in the intentions of strangers migrants. In that context, there is still a lot to be done to accept the ethics of conditional hospitality. The absolute one, as it is clearly shown by the Croatian example, remains a distant and inapplicable ethical ideal. However, it is not the one which can be ignored since it indicates the point from which we have to start in relation to strangers migrants in need. Ricoeurean hermeneutics reminds us that some conditions of offering hospitality are not always morally wrong. As Treanor concludes, we are not hospitable if we simply throw open our doors:

(…) even if we ask no questions and allow unconditioned and unchallenged entry. An unmanned gate or port of entry is no more hospitable than uninhabited house. Hospitality requires someone implaced, someone who will greet, and question the stranger. Not all gates are checkpoints, and not all questions at the gate can be reduced to biased or bigoted attempts to exclude others, or to ethnocentric oppression of the strangers.[29]

What can help in this two-sided process is not just the understanding of the ethics of hospitality that arises from our moral duty to every human being in need, but also the understanding of ourselves. With understanding of ourselves, our position in the contemporary non-stop changing world and our own past experience of war and migration traumas (in the case of Croatia), we can help the stranger. Only from there, Treanor concludes, we can adopt the concrete practice of helping the Other in, as Paul Ricoeur says,[30] *emplotting* the one into *implacement*. In this demanding process, language plays an important role because the *implacement* is fundamentally narrative. *Emplotting* the narrative is not an easy task for neither the host nor the guest, but it allows us to see things from a different perspective and it is the essential element which

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29   Treanor, "Putting," 63.
30   Ibid.

can help the guest write himself/herself into the new place or write the place into his/her own story.

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DEBORDERING OF THE BORDER AND ITS LIMIT

Rok Svetlič

Introduction

In this article, the phenomena of the debordering of borders will be addressed. An illustrative example of the debordering of the borders is the European Union. Without exaggeration it can be said that we achieved a better world by this process. We cannot fail to mention the possibilities offered to many individuals, which are to move from one country to another, to gain economic benefits, and, finally, the security consequences on several levels. However, we must consider that this process has its limits. In posing the question whether debordering can become a political (or ethical) program, the answer must be negative. It will be shown that the border is an autonomous phenomenon that resists arbitrary manipulation.

The border is not a matter of convention. The only possible approach to it is to respect the border as an autonomous entity. However, we need to remain open to immanent processes of the transformation of borders that enables the phenomena of debordering. According to Kant's thesis about "perpetual peace", the world will be progressively more and more regulated by the law, i.e. by the reason. If he is right, this is good news for the debordering process. But we must not push it over the immanent possibility: we must respect the limits of debordering.

In this paper, two mistakes of arbitrary manipulation of borders will be analysed. The first one is the attempt to *transfer the border in the blockade*, in the absolute sealed boundary. As an example, the Berlin wall can be mentioned or any other totalitarian states border. The second mistake is, however, its mirror-picture: *the project of violent erosion of the border*. It emerges as a naïve application of cosmopolitan ideas in the politics, and is recently present in the first place as an irrational

migrant-policy that is, in its extreme form, described by the "open the borders" acclamation. The goal of this article is to demonstrate that these two mistakes immanently produce a mechanism that leads to their failure.

We will focus also on the implication of violent manipulation with the border on the capability of the individual to recognize itself as a citizen of concrete state. This capability is a "glue" of each society, without which the state becomes unstable or even dissolves itself. It will be shown that the politics is not free to choose the entity in which an individual will recognize himself. Unfortunately, the most prized concept of a cosmopolitan perspective, the "mankind" as such, is not (yet) able to combine the people in recognized society. On that ground, the mankind is not a political concept and the cosmopolitan values, especially human rights, must be implemented in (politically organized) life in other ways. One of the most important places in that respect is precisely the regime on the border.

From the philosophical point of view, the border represents a very interesting concept. It is the point where two opposite elements come together: continuity and discontinuity, connection and separation etc. This tension is the source of the two abovementioned mistakes that will be analysed in this article. The former isolates the discontinuity and demands to seal the borders hermetically. The latter isolates the discontinuity and demands to abolish the border. The task of the philosophy is, however, to demonstrate that these two elements are connected in immanent manner. No external intervention is needed to hold them together. The continuity and the discontinuity are two sides of the same coin.

Border as the Blockade

We will start with discussing the first mistake, with an attempt to treat the border as the blockade. The starting point of this approach is the assumption that the border can represent absolute negation of some entity, e.g. of the state. It is presupposed that total emptiness lies beyond it, metaphorically said, the end of the world. It should be emphasized that this attitude is the violation of the concept of border

as such. It is not about the moral questionability of closing a certain state behind the wall; this attempt ignores the conceptual dynamic of the border and triggers the process that sooner or later dissolves such a manipulation of the border.

To demonstrate the internal dynamic of the concept of border, we will refer to Hegel's work *Science of Logic*. We could use numerous places in Hegel's opus to illustrate the immanent connection of two contradicting elements, since the program-sentence of his philosophy is *contradictio est regula veri*. However, we refer to the two chapters in the first book of *Science of Logic* as the most suitable ones to describe the mechanism of the border. In the chapter titled "*Finitude*" Hegel discusses the notion of the limit, in the chapter titled "*The One and the many*" the mutual relationship between separation and connection is thematised.

In the former chapter, where the transition from finitude to infinity occurs, Hegel investigates the dialectic between "something" and "other". We can take, as an example, the table and the chair. Our common sense suggests that these two entities are totally separated from each other, and that the limit between them keeps the determination of the first one totally independent from the determination of the second one. The investigation of the limit teaches us that this is not the case. The "something" is in fact stretching itself over the limit into the "other". The "other" is in this way a part of the determination of "something", in negated way: a necessary part of the notion of table is that it is *not* a chair, *not* a book, *not* a computer etc. Traditional metaphysics teaches *omnis determination est negatio*.

That alters common sense understanding of the limit as a simple cutting-off of "something" from the "other". Firstly, it can be said that "something", due to the limit, is (exists) and is not:

"Something, as an immediate existence, is therefore the limit with respect to another something; but it has this limit in it and is something through the mediation of that limit, which is just as much its non-being. The limit is the mediation in virtue of which something and other each both is and is not."[1]

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[1]   Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, *The Science of Logic* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 118.

Secondly, the limit is the manifestation of contradictory nature of "something" as finite and in the same time infinite (i.e. starching over itself) entity. If we say that the limit limits "something", we must presuppose that the "something" is already over it: "In order for the limit that is in every something to be a restriction, the something must at the same time transcend it in itself – must refer to it from within as to a non-existent."[2] Namely, this is the condition of the possibility of being limited.

This contradictory nature of "something" is manifested in the "unrest"[3] on the border that drives the "something" over self. That's why Hegel describes the limit also as *das Sollen*, as a concept that at the same time describes the limitation and also being over the limitation. If we imagine the person in prison, and claim that his freedom is limited, that means *eo ipso* that he is simultaneously already out of prison: with his longing, expectations, imagination. If he was not (by his belonging and longing) over the limitation, his freedom by imprisonment would not be limited.

Now we can describe the mistake of the attempt to treat the border as the blockade. This attempt ignores the fact that "something" unavoidably consists of the moment of infinity. That is why the relationship between "something", the limit and the "other" includes two levels and not only one. From the point of view of "something", the limit represents its first negation, the "other", however, its second negation: "This relation is the external appearance of the fact that limit is a simple negation or the first negation, whereas the other is, at the same time, the negation of the negation, the in-itselfness of the something."[4] The second negation – as negation of the negation – is the negation of "something's" limitation, i.e. the stretching over its own finiteness. The border as the blockade tries to approach the "something" only by first negation. It attempts to control the "unrest" on the border by force: by police or military surveillance, by brutal regime.

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2   Ibid., 121.
3   "The other determination is the unrest of the something in its limit in which it is immanent, the contradiction that propels it beyond itself." Ibid., 119.
4   Ibid.

But this strategy, since it ignores the very concept of the "something", actually amplifies the "unrest", the tension on the border. In produces a false illusion that beyond it, there is an unlimited freedom, the possibility that the unrest can finally be *absolutely* reconciled. This is the consequence of the blockade which deceives the citizens of closed countries, it delivers the impression that the place over the limit is an abstract emptiness that enables unlimited possibilities of fulfilment. In fact, over the border there is just another ordinary state (this is the level of the second negation) with its problems, and then another state and so on. In this way, the blockade unavoidably creates immense pressure of the abstract *Sollen* on the boundary that sooner or later penetrates the blockade.

We can find a similar message in the latter abovementioned chapter of *Science of Logic* where Hegel discusses the unavoidable failure of all attempts that aim to produce absolutely "sterile" area by isolation from the "other":

"Driven to the extreme of the one as being-for-itself, self-subsistence is an abstract, formal self-subsistence that destroys itself. It is the ultimate, the most stubborn error, one which takes itself as the ultimate truth, whether it assumes the more concrete form of abstract freedom, of pure "I," and, further still, of evil. It is the freedom which so misconceives itself as to place its essence in this abstraction, and, in thus shutting itself up within itself, flatters itself that it attains itself in all purity. This self-subsistence, to determine it further, is the error of considering its own essence negatively and of relating itself to it negatively. It is, thus, a negative relating to itself which, while wanting to gain its own being, destroys it – and this, his doing, is only the manifestation of the nullity of the doing. Reconciliation is the recognition that that towards which the negative relating is directed is rather its essence, and this is only in the desisting from the negativity of its being-for-itself rather than in holding fast to it."[5]

This was the analysis of the first mistake discussed herein, which was carried out on the logical level. Many illustrative examples are, however, also in Hegel's works where he investigates the dialectics of spirit. In paragraph 163 of *Elements of Philosophy of Right* he writes about celibacy

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[5]   Ibid., 145.

that incarnates a similar mistake as was the attempt to seal the border. Human being, according to a traditional definition as *animal rationale*, is composed of two parts, rational (or spiritual) one, and affectional (or sexual) one. The spiritual part is "something" that is in relation with the "other", with sexual part of a human being. As we have seen, these two moments are immanently connected: the "something" is unavoidably determined by the "other". This implicates that the spiritual part is not "pure" (i.e. absolutely separated), it is already "infected" on the notional level by sexuality that is in relation with it.

The Church has decided to carry out the measure to keep the spiritual part uncontaminated and has introduced celibacy. Celibacy is the Berlin-wall that should guarantee an aseptic space, secure of sexual passions. The effect of this attempt is precisely the opposite. Hegel writes: "It is a further abstraction if the divine and substantial is separated from its existence in such a way that feeling and the consciousness of spiritual unity are categorized [*fixiert*] as what is falsely called Platonic love. This separation is associated with the monastic attitude which defines the moment of natural life [*Lebendigkeit*] as utterly negative and, by this very separation, endows it with infinite importance in itself."[6] This remark well refers also to the political comprehension of the world. It is a common strategy of all radical political projects that, in an eschatological manner, attempt to build up an entirely new world, and create an order that should be *absolutely* different from the old one. This is the origin of fanatical regime on all borders of totalitarian states – the Berlin wall was, for example, called the *anti*-fascist wall that tried to hermetically close the country from the influences that would infect the social experiment with old disease.

The only possible solution is to respect the notion of the border, to recognize the unavoidable exchange between these two moments. We can repeat the quotation: "Reconciliation is the recognition that that towards which the negative relating is directed is rather its essence, and this is only in the desisting from the negativity of its being-for-itself

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6   Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, *Elements of the Philosophy of Right* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), par. 163.

rather than in holding fast to it."[7] Of course, the passions – if we turn back to celibacy – must be subject to the reason. But to achieve this, the passions must be cultivated, and not, however, killed off. Otherwise the subjected moment gets amplified power, demonic appeal, that which is not on the level that it deserves the within realm of the spirit. To harmonize these two moments, the simple institute, known through the whole human history is enough: the marriage.

The consequences of an attempt to violently separate the entities that are internally connected, the consequence of transforming the border into the blockade, is the erosion of the state. The citizens are not able to recognize themselves in such a concept of the state. The regime on the border was one of the most important reasons for the collapse of the Eastern Bloc, including Yugoslavia.

Dissolution of the Border

The previously discussed mistake was the attempt to seal the border hermetically. The mistake that will be discussed now is, however, its mirror-picture. If cosmopolitan ideas are transferred in a political reality in an unmediated way, the borders slowly lose their tonus and cease to determinate "something", i.e. concrete state. This approach is in *ultima linea* illustrated by the idealistic acclamation: "open the borders", the most often, however, it is present as an irresponsible migrant-policy. Similarly, this mistake immanently produces its own collapse, but the motive for this distortion of the border is a different one. The main goal for sealing the border was the attempt to produce politically sterile space that should enable the realization of an eschatological project. Previously, it was all about the naïve attempt of a self-affirmation. Now, however, the motive is the opposite one, it is about the naïve attempt of a self-negation. It is carried out in the medium of *guilt* that concerns (our own) particularity, which should be abolished in order to enter a universal horizon of existence. Opening the border is meant as a gesture of a self-universalization. This must be further elaborated on.

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[7] Hegel, *The Science of Logic*, 145.

The guilt of particularity is not a moral guilt, referred to certain acts. It concerns the incapability of the subject – the individual person or (western) culture – to reconcile with his / its own existence. It seeks to abandon (his or its own) particularity, not by cultivating but by annihilating it, in order to move on to a "higher" level of existence. This sentiment is the remnant of Christianity that was smuggled in the modern and *prima facie* secular political culture. Cartesian turn and Enlightenment that have developed undiscussed right of particularity should remove the sentiment of guilt from our understanding of coexistence. The right of particularity is the principle of western comprehension of the world which rests on an autonomous individual. Also, the state was defined by this principle, through the social contract. The state has no independent reality, inherited from the history of the nation or deduced from our "social nature", it is the product of our will and was created exclusively in order to serve our interests.

This secular principle – although it seems to dominate our world – in certain situations collapses instantly. It is about the situations that concern the distinction between "us" to "them", between the West and the Third world. In these situations, the Christian concept of guilt triggers the process of inhibition of an entire part of a legal system: from the penal law to the regulation of migration. This attitude is often misinterpreted as a precious moral approach to the migration. As we will see, this is not a moral attitude at all, on contrary, it is the complete dissolution of moral judgment, and therefore, an irresponsible attitude. To illustrate its hidden Christian background we can quote a few famous passages from the Gospels: "Don't condemn others, and God won't condemn you."[8] "When someone slaps your right cheek, turn and let that person slap your other cheek."[9] "But I tell you to love your enemies and pray for anyone who mistreats you."[10] "If any of you have never sinned, then go ahead and throw the first stone at her!"[11]

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[8] Mt. 7:1; For the references to the Bible the following version is used: *Biblija.net: The Bible on Internet*, accessed November 28, 2016, http://www.biblija.net/biblija.cgi?l=en.
[9] Mt 5: 39.
[10] Mt 5:44.
[11] Jn 8:7.

This is the existential sentiment that is capable to inhibit entire legal system when the distinction between "we" and "them" enters the discourse, i.e. to inhibit the legal system regulating the migrations. It emerges in sentences like these: "Who are we to set the rules in this country?" "We have colonized the world, so we have no moral right to condemn the illegal migrants!" "It is true that some migrants commit a severe crime, but Europeans commit crimes to!" The similarity with the Gospels' imperatives is obvious. In both cases the very right of *any* moral judgment is attacked, since the self-negation as the subject of moral judgment is demanded. This is a naïve attempt to negate our own particularity, as well is naïve the expectation that this should automatically guarantee the entrance on a higher, universal level of existence. Entrance into the cosmopolitan perspective.

Highly important is, however, to realize that this is not a moral attitude. On contrary, it is the end of a moral judgment as such. Moral attitude is replaced by abstract and blind "love" to everyone, with naïve "humanity" and "solidarity" if modern language is used. This is a vulgar way of confronting the challenge of our existence, of our particularity: active attitude is replaced by passivity, responsibility by sentiment of guilt, judgment by blind hospitality. It is a sign of spiritual weakness and is nothing but the reaction on the incapability to accept the being of the entity with its own characteristic. That means being "something", having the borders. In the case of migrations, being the Western (spiritual, legal, political, cultural etc.) world.

This attitude is immoral to the migrants and amoral to our self. One of the formulations of Kant's categorical imperative demands: "Act so that you use humanity, as much in your own person as in the person of every other, always at the same time as end and never merely as means.."[12] What is often overlooked in this sentence is that the categorical duty is focused also on our "*own person*". According to Enlightenment's morality, the individual has the duties also to himself. It is not only "the other" who we can mistreat; we can become also the victim ourselves. Is it moral to do so if we abandon ourselves as subject

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[12] Immanuel Kant, *Groundwork for the Metaphysic of Morals* (New Haven and London: Yale University press, 2002), 29.

to moral judgment, interests, identity, will, and replace it by the sentiment of (planetary) guilt (of the West)?

The only possible solution, however, is to find the balance between human rights (as a cosmopolitan concept), and the fact that political life is organized trough the phenomena of particular states. In the case of the migration: the protection of human rights of the refugees must be rigorously demanded, what can be, however, carried out only *by* and *within* concrete state; and not by the negation of the existence of the state(s), i.e. by dissolution of the borders. These are complex questions that need to be further addressed. The goal of this article is, however, to show that arbitrary manipulation with the border – on reason of sentiment guilt or any other – produces its own failure.

The borders as autonomous phenomena resist to both violent manipulations: to attempt to seal it hermetically, and to attempt to dissolute it. The difference between "something" and the "other" does not disappear just by arbitrary opening of the borders. On contrary, a new border is put up immediately. But this border is a pathological, a private one, and highly uncontrollable. The author that we will cite to demonstrate this mechanism is Carl Schmitt. In *The Crisis of Parliamentary Democracy* he criticizes the cosmopolitan concept of equality, according to which "every adult person, simply as a person, should *eo ipso* be politically equal to every other person."[13] To put it differently, it is about the idea that there should be no "borders" between human being at all. According to Schmitt, the cosmopolitan concept of equality is just an abstract concept than can never get any political significance. The equality must – and in fact always does – rest on some "substance" (national, cultural, spiritual, professional etc.) that is differentiated from another one. This, and only this, is politically relevant equality.

If cosmopolitan ideas become a political agenda, the consequences are, maintains Schmitt, twofold:

"Where a state wants to establish general human equality in the political sphere without the concern for national or some other sort of homogeneity, then it cannot escape the consequence that political equality will be devalued

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[13]   Carl Schmitt, *The Crisis of Parliamentary Democracy* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1985), 9.

to the extent that it approximates absolute human equality. (…) Substantive inequalities would in no way disappear from the world and the state; they would shift into another sphere, perhaps separated from the political and concentrated in the economic, leaving this area to take on a new, disproportionately decisive influence."[14]

A sad confirmation of these two warnings is the phenomena of ghettos that have emerged in several European cities. The migration policy has opened the borders to the extent that such a number of people has entered the EU that they were not able to integrate in the dynamic of the western way of life. It is obvious that the gesture of opening borders – which has not respected the difference between "something" and "other" – did not succeed. On the contrary, it has produced an unexpected pathological border that separates the ghetto from the vital society and condemns the people living in them to undignified life:

"Wherever an indifferent concept of equality, without the necessary correlate of inequality, actually takes hold of an area of human life, then this area loses its substance and is overshadowed by another sphere in which inequality then comes into play with ruthless power."[15]

Respecting the Border

The Cartesian tradition is in the heart of our spiritual tradition. It has shaped the secular account of the coexistence, it gave us the right to the particularity, and it enabled the enlightenment. But it has also inflicted on us the burden that the mankind previously had not been aware of: the idea that the world must be created by the man's act. This is the source of radical politics that emerges in modernity, and the source of the attempt to reshape the world in a different extent – the most radical project is the idea of (Marxist or fascist) revolution. It is an important insight of a different author that has indicated the limitation of such attempts. We ned to stress the writing of Martin Heidegger, his famous sentence about a human being as a "herdsman" of the Being:

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[14]   Ibid.,12.
[15]   Ibid.

"One day we shall learn to think our exhausted word for truth in terms of the preserve; to experience truth as the preservation of Being; and to understand that, as presencing, Being belongs to this preservation. As a protection of Being, preservation belongs to the herdsman, who has so little to do with bucolic idylls and Nature mysticism that he can be the herdsman of Being only if he continues to hold the place of nothingness. Both are the same. Man can do both only within the openness of Da-sein."[16]

A man can become the master of a being (*das Seiende*) but never of the Being (*das Sein*). It is, however, the Being that determinates the way *how* the world exists. The revolutionary attempt to change the horizon where the phenomena get their meaning cannot succeed.

It is essential to accept that "something" exists. As mentioned above, it is a secondary question how to define this "something". We can name it, in the case of borders between the states, as ethical substance, specific culture, *forma mentis*, habits, or in any other way. Only one thing is important: we must respect the right of these phenomena to their existence, which is impossible without respecting the border between them. It is about the most basic ethical attitude toward the world, called allow-to-be(ing) (*Sein-lassen*). This is not the appeal to passivity, on contrary, it presupposes an awaken openness to the prose of the Being. Awaken openness is the only way how to get the hints for further steps of debordering of the borders. The borders can be debordered only if we remain open to the immanent processes within them. If we try to deborder them violently, these hints will be misheard, and the manipulation will – as shown above – produce its own failure.

We can conclude this article with the following summarization: the border is not the euphemism for the selfishness, exclusion, proto-fascism, Eurocentrism, xenophobia etc. It is the only phenomenon that enables the cultivation of the relationship between (individual and collective) subjects. It is live and autonomous phenomena that reconcile the finitude and the infinity of "something": it is the place where "something" spontaneously overcomes the "other" and so on. The border is not the negation of cosmopolitan ideas, on contrary; it is a privileged place which can serve human beings.

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[16]   Martin Heidegger, *Discourse on Thinking* (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1966), 81.

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THE MEANING OF NATIONAL AND CULTURAL BORDERS AMONG THE INHABITANTS OF SLOVENIAN ISTRIA: A CASE STUDY OF ITALO-SLOVENIAN TRANSCULTURALITY

Maja Zadel

Introduction

In the last decades, we are witnessing a phenomenon of increased emphasis on the state of "borderlessness." The European integration is trying to focus on "our" common European heritage and territory and to an extent to limit the importance of national borders and the influence of nation-states.[1] Of course, this is true mainly for the space defined as "European." As Morley and Robins point out, Europe is always identifying its "others," which shifted from the "communist" during the Cold War to the Muslims after that time.[2] It could be said that European Union is trying to diminish the meaning of national borders within Europe, as it is widening the Schengen Area and diminishing the controls on national borders as well as fostering the exchange between nation-states.

Furthermore, with the increased migration flows and global interconnections with information communication technologies and otherwise, it seems that national borders are losing their significance. And

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[1]   Steven Castles et al., "Australia: Multi-Ethnic Community without Nationalism?" in *Ethnicity*, eds. John Hutchinson and Anthony D. Smith (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 361.
[2]   David Morley and Kevin Robins, *Spaces of Identity: Global Media, Electronic Landscapes and Cultural Boundaries* (London and New York: Routledge, 1995), 98–100.

not to forget all the initiatives "without borders." There are "Doctors without Borders," "Games without Borders," "Europe without Borders," referring to the diminished border controls within Schengen Area and also to the single charge by mobile phone companies across the European Union. There is also a festival, "Puppets without Borders," a street festival that took place in Slovenian Istria and Udine, a town in Italy, across the national border. And not to forget the financial aspect: the prevalence of introduction of Euro, the common currency. So, when everything is becoming without borders, one begins to question why all this emphasis on "borderlessness." And is it truly the reality we live in? We could see with the events of the so-called "migration crisis" that national borders are of great significance, even within the European Union and the Schengen Area. For example, in Slovenia and other countries, barbed wire, officially referred to as obstacles, were put on the national border.

The importance of national borders and, of course, also nationalism is visible in everyday practices of individuals, in the "banal nationalism," as Michaell Billig[3] calls it, since it is so omnipresent and obvious that we do not acknowledge its existence anymore – and not because it is "benign." The paper thus discusses the relationship of the (trans) cultural practices and self-identification of the inhabitants of Slovenian Istria.

Cultural and Historic Context

Slovenian Istria is a border area in south-west Slovenia that is bordering two nation-states: Italy on the north-west and Croatia on the south. Similarly as other border areas and nation-states, the area of Slovenian Istria was multicultural already in the past:[4] In the 18th century, three

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3   Michael Billig, *Banal Nationalism* (London, Thousand Oaks and New Delhi: Sage, 1995).
4   Miran Komac, "Varstvo 'novih' narodnih skupnosti v Sloveniji," [The Protection of 'New' National Communities in Slovenia] in *Razprave in gradivo: Revija za narodnostna vprašanja* [Treatises and Documents, Journal of Ethnic Studies] 43 (2003): 6–33; Vera Kržišnik Bukić, "Migracije iz drugih jugoslovanskih republik v Slovenijo po 2. svetovni vojni," [Migrations from Other Yugoslav Republics to Slovenia after WWII] in *Migracije in slovenski prostor od antike do danes* [Migrations and Slovenian Area since Antiquity], eds. Peter Štih and Bojan Balkovec (Ljubljana, Zveza zgodovinskih društev Slovenije, 2010), 502–505.

major linguistic groups began to form, namely the Slovenian, the Croatian and the Italian, but this did not mirror any national affiliation,[5] rather a class position.[6]

The Slovenian-Italian relations are historically complex.[7] One of the most significant impact was the annexation of the territory to the Italian nation-state with the Treaty of London (1915) (confirmed with the Treaty of Rapallo, 1920) when the inhabitants experienced fascism on a greater scale,[8] which began to change with the capitulation of Italy in September 1943. Slovenians then began to strive to annex the area to Yugoslavia. In May 1945, it was subject to a "diplomatic fight" and firstly the Free Territory of Trieste (with the corresponding Zone A and Zone B) was created.[9] This changed in 1954 with the Memorandum of Understanding of London, which appointed to some extent the modified Zone A of Free Territory of Trieste to Italy and Zone B to Yugoslavia. After the World War II, the darkest era for Italians and others fond of Italy began,[10] which was seen in the arrest and later killings at the Karst pits, called *fojbe* and resulted in the Exodus.[11]

The area of Slovenian Istria thus presented a world where capitalism and socialism met, and where the logic of the Cold War prevailed. The

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5   Although not uncommon that before the national affiliation became the norm, other forms, such as class affiliation, were more common. See Liah Greenfeld, *Nationalism: Five Roads to Modernity* (Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 1992); Zygmunt Bauman, *Identity: Conversations with Benedetto Vecchi* (Cambridge and Malden: Polity Press, 2013 [2004]).

6   Darko Darovec, *Kratka zgodovina Istre* [A Short History of Istria] (Koper: Univerza na Primorskem, Znanstveno raziskovalno središče, Založba Annales, Fakulteta za humanistične študije, 2008).

7   The presented results are part of the Ph.D. study focusing on Italo-Slovenian transculturation, with special emphasis on Italian media consumption and media culture. Because of that, the paper will present Italo-Slovenian relationships in more detail.

8   Milica Kacin Wohinz, "Badoglio Sonninu: Italijanski načrt za protijugoslovansko akcijo decembra 1918," [Badoglio Sonninu: Italian Plan for Anti-Yugoslav Activities in December, 1918] in *Mikužev zbornik*, eds. Zdenko Čepič, Dušan Nećak and Miroslav Stiplovšek (Ljubljana: Oddelek za zgodovino Filozofske fakultete, 1999), 21; Darovec, *Kratka zgodovina Istre [A Short History of Istria]*, 221.

9   Darovec, *Kratka zgodovina Istre [A Short History of Istria]*.

10   Milica Kacin Wohinz and Nevenka Troha, eds., *Slovensko-italijanski odnosi 1880–1956: Poročilo slovensko-italijanske komisije* [Slovenian – Italian Relations 1880-1956: the Slovenian-Italian Commission Report] (Ljubljana: Nova Revija, 2001), 53.

11   Darovec, *Kratka zgodovina Istre [A Short History of Istria]*.

Italo-Slovene exchange was further enabled by the new political system in Yugoslavia: in the 1960s a more liberal and open political regime was introduced and, consequently, the borders to the West were partially opened and the visas abolished.[12] This represented the specific among socialist states and it enabled its inhabitants to have (regular) economic and cultural exchanges with the Western World, specifically Italy.[13] By the end of the 20th century, national borders were becoming even more open, until, in 2007, Slovenia entered the Schengen Area. At that time, even the border controls were abolished.

Methodology of Empirical Research

The outlined theoretical background of transculturation, and to some extent the meaning of (national) borders were the foundations for an elaborate empirical research, which was the essential part of the dissertation.[14] The results presented in the paper are just a part of the study on media consumption in Slovenian Istria, with special emphasis on Italian media, nationalism and transcultural practices, as they cover an area too wide. Therefore, only the ones that illustrate the paper's thematic are used. The research used a two-step sequential model, combining quantitative and qualitative research methods. The combined methodological approach (the so-called mixed methods) is essential for gaining a complete picture of the subject studied. While the quantitative method yielded generalizable data, the qualitative method provided more in-depth, content rich information on the topic.[15] The quantitative part consisted of a telephone survey that was conducted in Octo-

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[12]   Breda Luthar and Maruša Pušnik, "Introduction: In the Lure of Utopia: Socialists Everyday Spaces," in *Remembering Utopia: The Culture of Everyday Life in Socialist Yugoslavia*, eds. Breda Luthar and Maruša Pušnik (Washington: New Academia Publishing, 2010), 6.

[13]   Ibid.

[14]   Maja Zadel, "Vloga italijanskih medijskih vsebin in transkulturne identitete na območju slovenske Istre" [The Role of Italian Media Content and Trans-Cultural Identity in Slovenian Istria], Ph.D. diss. (Koper: Univerza na Primorskem, Fakulteta za humanistične študije, 2016), https://share.upr.si/fhs/PUBLIC/doktorske/Zadel-Maja.pdf.

[15]   Daniel Bertaux and Isabelle Bertaux-Wiame, "Life Stories in the Baker's Trade," in *Biography and Society: The Life History Approach in the Social Science*, ed. Daniel Bertaux (Beverly Hills and London: Sage, 1981), 169.

ber 2014 with 717 respondents (715 when the results were weighted according to age and gender, as two respondents did not state their age). The telephone survey was conducted among the inhabitants of Slovenian Istria, namely the Municipality of Koper, Izola, Piran and the newly formed Ankaran (before part of the Municipality of Koper). The overall gender breakdown was the following: 39.9 % of male and 61.1 % of female respondents. The age breakdown was: 7.3 % between the age of 15 and 25, 12.6 % between 26 and 36 years of age, 14.8 % between 37 and 38, 19.9 % between 48 and 58 and 45.2 % older than 58 years of age.

The qualitative part consisted of 30 life-stories interviews with the informants from the telephone survey.[16] There were 18 female and 12 male interviewees. There were six interviewees in the first, second and third age group, five in the fourth age group and seven in the fifth age group. The interviews were conducted between February and June 2015.

The interview covered the themes of the telephone survey, however the modality of life-history interviews do not allow us to reproduce exactly the same questions in all the interviews or to copy them from the questionnaire. That is why the telephone survey used a stratified random sampling, which made the generalisations to the whole population possible and it enabled the analysis of statistically significant correlations. The scope of life-story interviews, however, was to get a more complete and detailed insights with the depiction of the feelings, motivations, etc. of the informants (this way the quotes from the interviews also used in this paper).

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[16]   All the informants were supposed to be picked from the telephone survey, but there were some problems getting the younger informants, so three informants from the qualitative study did not participate in the quantitative research.

Borderlessness, National Borders and Nationalism

As we are told, our lives today are less bound to our immediate sur-rounding than in the past.[17] Already in 1986, Joshua Meyrowitz in his book *No Sense of Place: The Impact of Electronic Media on Social Behaviour* stated that because of media and new technologies we are more connected globally than ever before: we are witnesses or, better said, "direct audiences" to performances and events that happen in other places. In that sense, we altered the way we feel participant and we be-gan to express ourselves in ways of being present; for the events that we saw on television now we feel we witnessed them.[18] Meyrowitz points out the assassination of Lee Harvey Oswald,[19] but we can find more recent examples, one of which is surely the 9/11.

Although it is easy to agree with Meyrowitz – we are, in fact, more globally connected than ever before – but that does not mean we are no longer bound to the place where we live. And of course, we must not underestimate the role of nationalism.[20] Therefore, even though we are globally connected, we still do not forget our nationality. According to

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[17]   Morley and Robins, *Spaces of Identity*; Zdravko Mlinar, *Individuacija in globalizacija v prostoru* [Individuation and globalization in space] (Ljubljana: Slovenska akademija znanosti in umetnosti, 1994).

[18]   Joshua Meyrowitz, *No Sense of Place: The Impact of Electronic Media on Social Behavior* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986).

[19]   Ibid., vii.

[20]   Nationalism is a very contested term. In general, it is defined as the ideology that presup-poses the congruence of the national (cultural) and political unit, but it is also the political principle that creates also sentiments and movements; see Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Na-tionalism* (Ithaca and New York: Cornell Paperbacks, 2008 [1983]), 1. Hobsbawm, another theoretician in the field of nationalism, is trying to define "nations". He observed that different definitions include "objective criteria" such as common language, ethnic affiliation or a combi-nation of criteria, i.e. common language, territory, history and cultural characteristics. But, as Hobsbawm points out, these definitions are made *a posteriori* to include all the entities we call nations; see Eric J. Hobsbawm, *Nacije in nacionalizem po letu 1780: Program, mit in resničnost* [Nations and Nationalism after 1780: Program, Myth and Reality] (Ljubljana: Založba /*cf, 2007 [1990]), 12–13. Michael Billig also stressed a very interesting point: nationalism is usually something we ascribe to others, while we have a benign *patriotism*. That is why he introduces the notion of "banal nationalism"; to include all the small, everyday practices that reproduce and enable the system of worldwide accepted division into "nation-states". In the article I will use Billig's the broad definition as it most thoroughly points to the difference between national-ism and cultural identity; see Billig, *Banal Nationalism*.

Michael Billig, there must be some sort of mechanism to sustain the current system of nation-states, but it is so omnipresent that it became obvious and consequently invisible that we do not notice it anymore – it is like the hum of distant traffic.[21] We are daily reminded with the "flagging of our homeland" and are subject to different "banal" practices – that is why Billig calls it "banal nationalism". We are daily reminded not only by national flags, but also with "our" "national heroes" on our national currency, politicians' speeches, and not to forget the deixis in everyday news, where the words "the" and "here" set our context to the commonsensical national context. For example, "the" economy is "our," "national" economy, "the" Prime Minister is the Prime Minister of "our" nation-state, "the" news is "our," "national" news, while "foreign" news regards other nation-states.[22]

As mentioned before, on the one hand, we feel globally connected and the place we live in defines us less than in the past, but, on the other hand, we still do not forget our national identity. Even more, we still want to define ourselves in national terms and the national identity is important to us, regardless of our cultural practices that, we could say, cross the national borders. Of course, I am not stating that there exists something as a "national culture"[23] that is bounded by national borders, but in the minds of individuals, national subjects, it does. I argue that the so called "national culture" is in fact a mixture of different elements, but in the process of unification of the nation-states it became to be understood as a culture of a specific *Volk* (the German word for simple people, people in the ethnic sense, and also nation),

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[21] Billig, *Banal Nationalism*, 94–159.
[22] Ibid., 108.
[23] We can surely agree with Welsch that societies nowadays are "multicultural" in themselves (not just in the multinational or multi-ethnic aspect) – we must not forget the vertical differences in a given society. For example, the difference between the working-class segments and upper-middle class, youth subcultures, etc. Not to mention the horizontal differences: gender, sex orientation, etc. Welsch also points out that lifestyles and cultural practices do not stop at the national border, but rather cross it: the lifestyle of an academic or a journalist in France is more similar to his/her colleague in Germany than to his/her fellow citizens from a different sphere of vocational engagement, which also defines a part of their culture. See Wolfgang Welsch, "Transculturality: The Puzzling Form of Cultures Today," in *Spaces of Culture: City, Nation, World*, eds. Mike Featherstone and Scott Lash (London: Sage, 1999).

with its own history and bounded from others, as Herder argued.[24] However, in the understanding of individuals, such cultures do exist. This is why I nevertheless, asked the informants in the survey about "Slovenian culture" and "Italian culture."

That was also one of the research focuses, namely, what is the discrepancy between the cultural practices and lifestyles of informants and their self-identifications. Inhabitants of Slovenian Istria live in the border area, bordering Italy (and Croatia) and following media programmes from Italy was quite common in the area (even more so in the past), especially Italian television programmes, which, a lot earlier than Slovenian television, provided a wide range of commercial programmes and alongside a lot of children's programmes, too. As the informants pointed out, they grew up with the Italian media and were, to some extent, socialized in the Italian popular (media) culture.

One informant, when asked what he has in common with his peers from other parts of Slovenia, peers from Italy and peers from Istria, concerning his peers in Italy, he pointed out:

What regards the Italians [Italian peers, author's note], I probably watched the same cartoons as they did. I knew the same [media] figures as Italians. As, back then, I knew more Italian famous people than Slovenian. I also read, I don't know, Italian magazines, Cioé, when it was in fashion.

(Interviewee 23, m, 33 years)

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[24]   For the explanation of this process and Herder's influence on understanding of the notion of culture, see Wolfgang Welsch, "Transculturality: The Puzzling Form of Cultures Today"; Wolfgang Welsch, "Transculturality: the Changing Form of Cultures Today," *Filozofski vestnik* 22, no. 2 (2001 [1992]): 59–86; Raymond Williams, *Keywords: A vocabulary of culture and society* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1983 [1976]); Bikhu Parekh, *Rethinking Multiculturalism: Cultural Diversity and Political Theory* (Houndmills, Baingstoke and Hampshire: Macmillan, 2000).

Transculturation

We can see that respondents recognise the transcultural space and transculturality[25] of inhabitants of the border region. In the quantitative part of the research (the telephone survey), the respondents estimated the transcultural practices with five statements on a 5-point Likert scale. There are 73.9 % of respondents who think that "living near the border has been changing the culture of its inhabitants for centuries" and 62.8 % who think that "inhabitants of the border region have adopted some characteristics from the Italians." Half of the informants (strongly) agree that "Slovenians from Slovenian Istria are, according to their lifestyle and mentality, more similar to Italians than to Slovenians from the central Slovenia." However, almost two thirds (strongly) agree that "we are still bound to the national milieu regardless of cultural flows from other countries."

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[25] It is important to point out that different authors stress the impossibility to specifically define the term culture (see Williams, *Keywords*, 87; Tim O'Sullivan et al., *Key Concepts in Communication and Cultural Studies* (London and New York: Routledge, 2006 [1994]), 68) and other concepts related to it, i.e. multicultural, intercultural, cross-cultural and transcultural. The term transcultural in this article derives from Welsch's understanding: transculturality tries to transcend the classical notion of cultures (and other related terms), which presupposed culture as a holistic entity, as an island, isolated from one another with a border. Cultures became, following Herder's notion, to represent a way of life of a certain ethnic group, and consequently something an ethnic group *owns*. Transculturation thus transcends the juxtaposing of cultures and stresses the interaction between different societies and their "cultural" exchange. Furthermore, transculturality also points to the internal complexities. However, even more appropriate is the term transculturaltion, as Marija Jurić Pahor stresses, as it addresses also the process and continuity, while transculturation points to the occurrence of the phenomena. See Marija Jurić Pahor, "Transkulturacija in kulturna hibridnost: dva ključna pojma postkolonialnih študijev kot izziv za proučevanje nacionalnih in etničnih identitet [Transculturation and Cultural Hybridity: Two Key Notions of Postcolonial Studies as a Challenge for the Study of National and Ethnic Identities]," *Razprave in gradivo: Revija za narodnostna vprašanja* 69 [Treatises and Documents, Journal of Ethnic Studies 69] (December 2012): 36–65.

Table 1: Transculturality in Slovenian Istria

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree	No answer	Total
Living near the border has been changing the culture of the inhabitants for centuries.	3.5	5.5	15.8	31.3	42.6	1.4	100
We are still tied to the Slovenian national milieu, even though we are watching (and following) the mass media from different cultural milieus.	1.8	4.6	26.7	33.2	30.7	3.1	100
People living near the Italian border have some characteristics that they adopted from the Italians.	4.9	6.4	26.0	35.8	27.0	0.0	100
The Slovenians from Slovenian Istria are, according to their lifestyle and mentality, more similar to Italians than to Slovenians from the central Slovenia.	8.4	6.6	31.3	30.4	23.3	0.0	100
My childhood and youth would have been very different without Italian TV programmes.	26.8	11.3	17.5	19.1	25.4	0.0	100

Transculturality is rather recognized in Slovenian Istria. The majority of the informants recognize the transcultural aspects of the region; they think that the inhabitants of the area are more transcultural compared to their compatriots from the central Slovenia; are, regarding their lifestyle and mentality, more similar to their "neighbours" across the border than to other Slovenians, etc. However, they do not feel that the Italian TV programmes played an important role. But, as further findings suggest, there was a statistically significant difference between younger and older generations. The Italian TV programmes played a far more (statistically significant) important role with the younger generations, as they were the ones who grew up with the Italian media contents, when Italian TV programmes became widely accessible also in Slovenian Istria. From the questionnaire answers it could be concluded that the middle and younger generations were "socialized" with Italian television and Italian popular culture, which was "confirmed" in the interviews. Many younger generations' informants thus stated they feel the Italian popular culture close to them, in some aspects more than Slovenian popular culture.

However, regardless of recognizing the transcultural aspects lived in Slovenian Istria, respondents still think we are primarily tied to "our" nation-state, Slovenia – the national context is still very important.

National Self-Identification

Furthermore, as presented above, informants recognize the practices of cultural hybridization, that is to say the intermixture of everyday practices that are supposed to belong to different national entities. Although informants recognize this, and some even stated they especially like it as well as they like living in the border area:

I like it, well, there are good and bad things, but I like the fact that we are bordering Italy, that we are open, that we ... that we have also these Italian things. I think that my childhood would have been boring if we hadn't had Italy near us.
(Interviewee 18, f, 25 years)

However, this was not reflected in their self-identifications. When asked about their identification – some interviewees understood from the context that the topic included also national identifications – they answered differently, prevailingly (also) in national terms.[26] Although they were free to express themselves, we can presume that they are used to express themselves in a certain way, for example form different bureaucratic forms, population censuses and similar. However, in comparison to the survey, in the interviews they were a little more "free" to self-identify themselves and also to explain their choice(s).

Their answers could roughly be categorized in three groups. The first group could be identified as "monolithically Slovenian" – usually also with the reference to the Slovenian nation-state:

> I am Slovenian. I am born in Slovenia and all.
> (Interviewee 6, f, 36 years)

The second group classifies those who besides from stating their Slovenian identification, also stressed their regional / local identifications.[27] In other words, they combined regional and Slovenian affiliations:

> I am an Istrian woman. And a conscious Slovenian.
> (Interviewee 10, f, 50 years old)

The third group comprises the informants who wanted to stress also their hybridity:

> Hehe. I am Slovenian. A contaminated Slovenian.
> *Contaminated with what?*
> With Croatianess and Italian-… let's say contaminated by the neighbours. With much pleasure. Of course I can't deny my blood, DNA, but I do not give meaning to that …
> (Interviewee 8, f, 63 years)

This interviewee, even though she is happy to be "contaminated," culturally hybrid, still self-defines with the language of primordial /

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[26]   Informant no. 8 also stressed her gender, besides nationality (and "transculutral contamination") as an important part of her identification.

[27]   However, even these informants always stated their national affiliation. There was just one informant who would not define himself in national terms: "Istrian, Istrian, what else … neither Slovenian, neither Italian, nor Croatian" (Interviewee 15, m, 53 years).

essentialistic view of nationalism, as she "can't deny her blood." Once again, the prevalence of national identifications is in accordance with Billig's observations: our homelands are "flagged" daily and we are daily reminded of our national identity. It could be said that national(istic) framework is very important: even though some interviewees stressed their local or transcultural self-identification, it was still important to them to stress also their national affiliation.

Furthermore, little, banal, everyday practices which are performed by individuals, also sustain the idea of nationality and support "Slovenianness." These everyday practices are exhibited with the purpose of stressing their belonging to the national entity. Some would prefer to buy products and farmers' crops from Slovenians and care about them being produced in Slovenia, they would prefer to buy groceries in supermarkets owned by a Slovenian merchant, some would go on vacation only somewhere in Slovenia (as opposed to going to Croatia and elsewhere, as was usual at the times of Yugoslavia), etc. Informants themselves pointed out that these practices are to explicitly state their Slovenianness. However, regardless of which way informants choose to sustain and express their patriotic concerns – it must be stressed that not all informants pointed out such examples and would also engage in "unpatriotic practices" (buying groceries in Italy) – there is one domain where their nationalistic flags were flagged with great enthusiasm – at least for the big majority – sport. No matter how interested or uninterested they are / were in sports, for how many foreign sportsmen and sportswomen (did) they cheer, cheering for national sportsmen and sportswomen inspires / inspired them with a special pride – a pride that is linked to the conception of "our" compatriots, which is rooted in the belief the (Slovenian) nation is an extended family. This reflects the primordial / essentialistic understanding of nationalism.[28] As Edensor[29] points out, sport is the most media-mediated aspect of national life.

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[28] John Hutchinson and Anthony D. Smith, "Introduction," in *Ethnicity*, ed. John Hutchinson and Anthony D. Smith (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 3; Anthony D. Smith*, The Ethnic Origins of Nations* (Oxford and Cambridge: Blackwell, 1995 [1986]), 12.

[29] Tim Edensor, *National Identity, Popular Culture and Everyday Life* (Oxford and New York: Berg), 2002.

Furthermore, this is also in accordance with Billig's[30] findings: sport represents the domain through which individuals are interpellated as members of a nation with the use of specific deixis.

Discussion

Informants were asked about different cultural practices they engage in either in the telephone survey or in the life-stories interviews. The results show that informants do engage in transcultural practices – the ones that could be understood in commonsensical terms of crossing the borders of "national cultures." These range from language mixing to Italian media consumption, from eating what is understood as Italian cuisine to living the Italian way of life (which is commonsensically referred to as enjoying life and good food, openness, Italian humour, etc.).

From the results of the quantitative study, it can be observed that informants engage in transcultural practices at the level of language. There are 30.7 % of respondents who often and 49 % who sometimes use Italian words when speaking in Slovenian. Regarding the language aspect, respondents are rather transcultural and also "tolerate" language intermixtures in private and public (although to a lesser extent in a public setting).

The aspect of language mixing is very important, especially because "national languages" are thought to be – in many cases – the pillars of "national cultures" and, consequently, have to be nourished and pre-served. They are seen as distinct entities, even though, as Billig[31] points out, different languages and speeches became to be understood as sepa-rate from one another precisely with nationalism. Before that people spoke differently, but it did not have the same meaning it has today; mainly it meant that people just did not understand one another. "Na-tional languages," even though they are a product of modern national processes, and are, of course, social constructs, are supposed to remain intact and thus mixing "national languages" is seen as immoral and

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30   Billig, *Banal Nationalism*, 120.
31   Ibid.

treacherous.[32] This would mean that informants engage in transcultural practises, namely, language hybridisation, but more than that, they are, to some extent, opposing the dominant hegemonic view of pure national languages and cultures, as Andrej E. Skubic suggests that "the resistance to the school grammar is part of the resistance to the dominant culture."[33] Unfortunately, the questions regarding lifestyles, eating habits, humour and similar were not – as it is also quite difficult to get this kind of information from quantitative research – asked in the telephone survey, but these themes came up in some life-stories interviews. However, the informants believe that their lifestyles, including eating habits, "life perspectives" (as enjoying life to the fullest, enjoying good food, leisure, etc.), humour and other things are commonly understood to be part of the "Italian culture." In their eyes, this makes them more similar to Italians than to Slovenians from the central part of the state.

Well, it surely influences [cultural practices crossing the national border, author's note]. It can't be any other way, right. We are people, we are not stones. But I can't say that now I became an Italian. (…)

Would you then rather say that your habits are more similar to Slovenians from other parts of Slovenia?

No, it's not that. (…) It is hard to generalise like that. Here, we are more open, in comparison to other parts of Slovenia and that makes us more similar to Italians, right. (…). We are mentally open, right. I don't know, I would say that we treat ourselves and that we, I don't know, like to eat good food. But everybody does that, right. It's just that "good food" for me is something completely different than for someone from Upper Carniola [a region in Slovenia, author's note], right.

(Interviewee 2, m, 30 years)

Cuisine, music, fashion and this openness, connecting with others, but also this body language, when we speak, right. We are like Italians, we show it all with our hands [when we speak, author's note]. (…) This is the part that makes us somehow (…) a little different [from the Slovenians from other

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32   Maruša Pušnik, *Popularizacija nacije: Komuniciranje, nacionalizem in proizvodnja mej* [Popularising the Nation: Communication, Nationalism and Producing Borders] (Ljubljana: Fakulteta za družbene vede, Založba FDV), 2011.
33   Andrej E. Skubic, *Obrazi jezika* [Faces of a Language] (Ljubljana: Študentska založba, 2005), 209.

parts of Slovenia, author's note], right. (…) They [the Italians, author's note] have a humour, which is close to ours, right. Now, in Ljubljana [the capital of Slovenia, author's note], they will not understand that. That is why Italian television is close to us, this openness, because they are not restrained. They say it. While in Slovenia, we are as (…) sometimes I feel we are watching a theatre performance.

(Interviewee 9, f, 48 years)

Many interviewees pointed out they feel at home with Italian culture and enjoy it.[34] In general, practices bound to the Slovenian context, had a nationalistic overtone, while the transcultural ones, mixing what informants commonsensically believe to be Italian (popular) culture were in the domain of the pleasure – especially watching television –, with the exception of sports, of course. Informants chose the "Slovenian" practices, as they were congruent with their patriotic concerns as nationalism favours the national economy, while Italian transcultural influences are in the domain of pleasure. Even the ones, previously identified in the field of Slovenianess, e.g. shopping (supporting Slovenian economy), was then explained as pleasure: because buying Italian products in Italy meant greater quality and originality, consequently increasing their pleasure in experiencing authenticity. However, even though people identify within Italianness and it is, to some extent, a point of reference to differentiate from "other Slovenians," it still seems sacrilegious not to define oneself in nationalistic terms.

Conclusion

On the one hand, informants recognise the transculturality of the area and (at least some of them) engage in different transcultural practices. They also like Italian (media) culture, where they feel at home. Living in the "liminal space" between two (and more) "national" cultures is their everyday, their home. However, even though they prefer Italian media culture and feel closer to the commonsensical Italian "openness,"

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[34] Anyway, the mentioned cases are just to point to the prevailing atmosphere among the inhabitants of Slovenian Istria (and without focusing on other transcultural practices as Englishness in the last years and Yugoslavianness even before that) and are not an indicative representation of the actual population.

etc. than to Slovenian media culture and other aspect of Slovenian "national culture," they live in the Slovenian Istria and are (predominately) Slovenian citizens. Therefore, on the other hand, the Slovenian national context is their point of reference, especially regarding their self-identification and affiliation, which is understood in essentialistic terms as quasi-kinship, extended family metaphor. This is seen especially in the field of sport's affiliations, but also others, e.g. helping the Slovenian economy by buying Slovenian products sold by Slovenian merchants, going on vacation in Slovenia and, thus, promoting Slovenian tourism, etc.

Anyway, it still must be stressed that there were some interviewees who refused to identify in national terms (interviewee 15, m, 53 years and interviewee 7, f, 33 years). Others pointed to the social construction of national cultures (interviewee 7, f, 33 years, interviewee 17, f, 67 years and interviewee 26, m, 17 years) and to the role of the education system in the socialization into the "national" culture and question its construction (interviewee 3, m, 23 years and interviewee 23, 33 years). Nevertheless, the omnipresence of nationalism still makes the system of nation-states accepted worldwide and we rarely question it: we are trained to define ourselves in national terms. It would seem that there are a lot of initiatives to diminish the meaning of borders and to connect people, especially in Europe, and even more in the Schengen Area, which facilitates the exchange of goods and people. However, it is also evident that national borders persist in our heads and the majority "cannot deny their blood," thus, reproducing and reinforcing the essentialistic view of nationalism.

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MARIBOR: IN SEARCH OF THE CITY'S IDENTITY AFTER THE FIRST WORLD WAR

Dragan Potočnik

Introduction

Socio-political changes after the First World War fundamentally influenced the development of Maribor. The town of Maribor lost its previous economic and traffic position in the new Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenians. The ethnical structure of population also changed. Officials, who were mostly German, emigrated, which also changed the social structure of the urban population.

New immigrants came into the town, mostly from the Primorje region, partly from Carinthia and from other provinces of the new state. People from the Primorje region were economic, ethnical, political emigrants and they left a considerable mark on various fields of the social and cultural landscape of Maribor after the First World War. They significantly contributed to the formation of the town's new identity.

Socio-Economic Conditions in Maribor before the First World War

Through the military and education system Maribor acquired various traffic, administrative and judicial offices in the second half of the 19th century. The consequence of this was the change of the rural appearance of the town. Factors such as Maribor's natural position, rural hinterlands, industry growth, lively commerce, developing trade, transportation, postal services and especially the railway contributed to this change. The position of the town along the new railway connection from Vienna to Trieste contributed to the construction of the outbuildings in the town – among others, the Southern Railways workshops

in Studenci. In the middle of the 19th century, the ethnic tensions between the Slovenians and the Germans barely existed. Members of both nations were active in the social and cultural life of the town, although at that time, the Slovenians presented only around 20 % of the whole population. Slovenian intellectuals were also active in German cultural circles. They were members of the Kazino theatre society and the German choir. German was the official and colloquial language of the citizens. Most of bourgeoisie barely spoke Slovenian, they communicated in German. German was considered as the language of higher classes. It was the official and school language. For easier communication, Slovenian intellectuals preferred to use German as their language of communication. Moreover, they spoke German often because fellow citizen did not master Slovenian.[1]

The statistics suggest that the result of the integration into the German cultural circles and the German economic power was the increase of population which was considered German (according to the spoken language). These statistics, however, are not quite realistic. Instead of the criterion of nationality, the criterion of the colloquial language, the so-called Umgangssprache, was used). The criterion of spoken language allowed for the political and economic pressure to influence immigrants in towns. They assumed the language of the majority in the environment in which they lived, therefore, German. Even the citizens who spoke little German were regarded as German. The population count thus did not show the real situation in the ethnic structure of the citizens of Maribor. The last Austrian count in 1910 found that Maribor had 22.653 members of the German speaking population, 3.623 members of the Slovenian speaking population and 1.519 others.

According to the criteria used, the Austrian statistics showed more German population in Maribor, but the Slovenian majority population in rural areas enclosing the German stronghold of the town of Maribor could not be hidden. The census in 1910 also showed that 58.9 % of the Maribor population were Slovenian-born. The figure shows that more than half of the pre-war Maribor population was of Slovenian origin.

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[1] Ivan Kejžar, "Zgodovina Slovanske čitalnice v Mariboru," [A Short History of Slavic Reading Club in Maribor] *Tabor*, May 21, 1922.

In spite of the Slovenian envelopment, the share of the Slovenian population declined. In 1880, it amounted to 18 %, in 1890 to 16.5 %, in 1900 it increased to 21 % and in 1910 it fell back to less than 14 %.[2]

Due to the increased German immigration to the Slovenian ground, the number of Slovenians in the town, and generally in Lower Styria, fell in percentage, especially in Maribor. Because of the emergence of new the German factories, more and more German officials, traders and craftsmen moved into the town. While in the 1850s, the Slovenian and German citizens lived in ethnically tolerant, but unequal coexistence, in the 1860s, when the restoration of the constitutional life in Austria enabled its people more freedom, this seemingly harmonious coexistence became more fragile. In 1880, Austrian Germans gave an initiative for the establishment of the German school society *Schulverein* to defend the economic and cultural centers in Slovenian Styria and to prevent the progress of Slovenians. In 1889, the Germans in Graz founded the organization for economic consolidation of the Slovenian- -Styrian German *Südmark*. The purpose of both German societies was to germanise the Slovenians and to gain access to the Adriatic sea.[3]

Relations between the Germans and Slovenians in Maribor and the Styrian Podravje region after the First World War

The Germans in Maribor did not remain still after Maister's defensive action. They demanded to join Maribor and its surroundings to Austria. Their demand was based on the assertion that Maribor mostly had a German population, whereas in the northern part of the Slovenian hills and in the Apače field is there was an ethnically mixed population, which was influenced by the Styrian provincial patriotism. Moreover, they argued that there were economic reasons which dictated the integration of this territory to Austria, such as the transport connection

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[2]   Dragan Potočnik, *Kulturno dogajanje v Mariboru 1918–1941* [Cultural Events in Maribor 1918-1941] (Maribor: Litera, 2003), 19.
[3]   Dušan Biber, *Nacizem in Nemci v Jugoslaviji 1933–1941* [Nacism and Germans in Yugoslavia] (Ljubljana: Cankarjeva založba, 1966), 94.

between Bruck, Villach, Maribor, Ptuj and Ormož and the electricity produced by the Drava power plants.[4]

Even the Südmark society and the *Deutscher Schulverein* did not remain inactive. They constantly pleaded for a plebiscite on the lost territory of Lower Styria. They tried to incite unrest among the population and convince the people of the region that the only thing waiting for them in the Yugoslav state was economic distress. Among many propaganda slogans there was also a call: "Do not sell our homeland and future to the Serbs!"[5]

After the annexation of the towns of Lower Styria to Austria, Graz became the centre of the German propaganda. There they printed a variety of propaganda literature. In 1919, the Academic senate of the University of Graz required the "Vitanje line" as the minimum state border, which went from Olševa through Smrekovec on Basališče by Vitanje and further east over the Konjiška mountain, the mountain Boč and the Rogaška mountain. The Austrian requests to carry out a plebiscite on the territory of the Slovenian Styria were rejected due to the opposition of the French delegation.[6]

The culmination of the anti-Yugoslav movement was reached on 27 of January 1919, when the American delegate Major Sherman Miles visited Maribor. The Germans who lived in Maribor tried to exploit this opportunity to show him the German character of the town. There was a tragic shooting that ended with the death of some demonstrators.

The St. Germain peace treaty with Austria on the 10th of September 1919 gave the town of Maribor and almost the entire territory of the former Dukedom of Styria, populated by the Slovenians, to the new state of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenians. As apparent from the article in the Marburger Zeitung on 11th of September 1919, some

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[4] Tone Ferenc, *Nacistična raznarodovalna politika v Sloveniji v letih 1941–1945* [Nazi Assimilation Policy in Slovenia in the years 1941-1945] (Maribor: Založba Obzorja, 1968), 79.
[5] Historical Archives of Ptuj, Municipality of Ptuj 1919, box no. 240, file no. 14/131–919.
[6] Tone Zorn, "'Deutsche Grenzwacht' in razmejitev na Štajerskem v letih 1919–1922," [Deutsche Grenzwacht 'and demarcation of Styria in the years 1919-1922] *Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje* 51 (1980): 165–180.

Germans in Maribor accepted the new political reality (some of them only temporarily), even though it was painful for them.[7]

Demands for a German Maribor became louder again with the rise of Nazism. In the article "*Unser deutsches Marburg*," which was published in the Viennese German national socialists *"Der Kampf"* in 1933, it was written that the Germans had not come to terms with the new situation in Lower Styria. The writer of the article wrote: "The Slovenians have occupied the town for fourteen years and the blossoming German society was forced into economic and cultural ruin."[8]

When the Slovenian government commissioner took over the authority in the town, they fired many German officials and replaced them with Slovenians. The need for local officials in the Slovenian government was filled by the immigrants who came from Slovenian Carinthia the Primorje region, which belonged to Italy and became a part of Austria after the plebiscite of 10th October 1920. In particular, the immigrants from the Primorje region made an indelible mark on the social events of this period.[9]

Immigrants from the Primorje region and their contribution to the new identity of the town

The coastal emigration to Maribor began before the First world war for economic reasons. Some people from the Primorje region emigrated to Maribor also during the First world war. As a result of the military operations on the Soča River, they migrated into the hinterland of the Slovenian ethnic territory. The exact number of people from the Primorje region who came to Maribor in this period is unknown. In this first wave, they consisted of refugees from Gorizia and its surroundings. They settled into the hinterland of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, mostly in special camps.

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[7]   "Unser deutsches Marburg," *Marburger Zeitung*, September 11, 1919.
[8]   "Unser deutsches Marburg," *Mariborski večernik Jutra*, May 20, 1933.
[9]   Miroslava Grašič, "Začetki delovanja primorskega emigrantskega društva Nanos v predvojnem Mariboru," [The beginnings of the Primorje Nanos emigrant association in the pre-war Maribor] *Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje* 61 (1990): 23–35.

With the Treaty of Rapallo, Slovenians from the Primorje region were separated from the nation of their origin and subjected to a foreign authority. Despite the Italian promises of respecting the rights of their ethnicity, they were soon subjected to hostility, particularly due to the emergence of fascism in Italy. In addition to the economic reasons, emigration from Slovenian Istria and Primorje soon acquired national and political character. After the rise of fascism in Italy, the position of Slovenians in the Primorje region got worse. The Kingdom of SHS became the destination of an increasing number of refugees who were often living in very uncertain living conditions.

Maribor was a logical destination for migrants from Primorje. Soon after the end of the First World War, most of the German population emigrated to Germany, which made it easier for emigrants from Primorje to find a new home and work in Maribor. They contributed to the increasing slovenisation of the town.

The settlement of emigrants from the Primorje region happened in two periods. The first wave of emigrants from this region to Maribor occurred due to the pressure from the Italian authorities. These emigrants consisted mainly of officials and intellectuals. They emigrated in search of finding a better life and better work possibilities. Maribor needed these professionals after the emigration of the Germans. Soon after the end of the First World War, many young people came to Maribor from Primorje. Under the leadership of General Rudolf Maister, they were included in the units which fought on the northern border and later for the inclusion of Carinthia. The number of soldiers, returnees and refugees from the occupied territories of the Primorje region grew day by day. From volunteers at the draft point in Tezno in Maribor, the military unit was assembled, from which arose the Trieste regiment.[10]

After the arrival of the first emigrants to Maribor, the living conditions and the prospects of employment were very favorable. There were lots of open positions for officials, intellectuals and cultural workers in Maribor. The immigrants from the Primorje region were Yugoslav-ori-

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[10]   Dragan Potočnik, *Zgodovinske okoliščine delovanja generala Rudolfa Maistra na Štajerskem, Koroškem in v Prekmurju* [Historical Circumstances of the Operation of General Rudolf Maister in Styria, Carinthia and Prekmurje] (Ljubljana: Založba Koščak, 2008), 76.

ented with a strong Slovenian national consciousness, which opened the door to government offices and related departments. Many of them worked for the police force, they also became craftsmen and merchants in Maribor. They established themselves as lawyers and members of medical and other similar services. Some of the immigrants rose in the political and social structure. One such example is Rudolf Golouh. He was one of the first Slovenian journalists and an important organizer of the labour union movement. He was also the Deputy Mayor of Maribor in the years 1933–1935.

The following strong wave of immmigration to Maribor occurred in 1923, when a lot of teachers came from the Primorje region. By the end of the 1920s, many people emigrated for political reasons. In the 1930s, more and more farmers and workers from the Primorje region began to emigrate. They settled in the surroundings of the town. After 1935, many people also emigrated because of the war in Ethiopia and the Spanish civil war.

Due to the economic crisis in Maribor at that time, the new emigrants from the Primorje region were often seen only as unwanted competitors for the few jobs left and little social support available. In contrast, during the first wave of immigration of refugees from Primorje, the immigrants did not have major problems to get a job.

After the first wave of migrations, the refugees from Primorje were employed as town officials. They took small businesses from the Germans who were forced to leave town (painters, carpenters, blacksmiths). Many of them were employed in the police commissariat in Maribor, many found employment in the railway transport, as penitentiary guards and in Maribor textile factories. Some of them continued the traditions of their places of original home. Each following wave of immigrants arriving in the Kingdom of SHS had more problems in settling down. Opportunities for employment were dwindling. Jobs in the town administration were already taken. Teachers also had a problem in getting work. Over time, the relations between the domestic populati-

on and immigrants from Primorje improved. People from the Primorje region quickly became an indispensable part of the town.[11]

Slovenisation of Maribor after 1918

Before the St. Germain peace treaty with Austria, the town saw an emergence of the Slovenian judiciary and administration. The municipal advisory committee requisitioned the property of the former German institutions and organizations, theatre and the casino building, on the basis of the new legislation. The German printing house and the traditional local newspaper *Marburger Zeitung* came under the Slovenian control. The Slovenian municipal administration also supervised the slovenisation and renaming of the streets and inscriptions on the craft and trade premises. On the night of 28 October 1918, the following writing could be found on houses, banks and elsewhere in Maribor: "We don't want to see any German inscriptions in Yugoslavia! They remind us of our slavery. Remove them immediately!"[12]

The new Slovenian administration renamed the streets. The Maribor streets named after prominent Germans were renamed after Slovenian and Yugoslav citizens. The renaming was partly successful (e.g. Schiller – Gregorčič, Goethe – Prešeren, …) but in some cases also accidental (e.g. Kaiserfeld – Jože Vošnjak, Kernstock – Princip).[13]

Maribor slowly and gradually replaced all the public inscriptions in German. The town magistrate issued an ordinance according to which all craftsmen had to provide a Slovenian or Serbo-Croatian inscriptions by 30th June 1919. From this day, German public inscriptions were forbidden.[14]

Many of public places, including restaurants and cafes in Maribor were renamed, e.g. the former Theresienhof cafe became Velika kavarna, the Mohr hotel became Pri Zamorcu hotel, and the Erzherzog Johann restaurant became the Union.

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[11]   Dragan Potočnik, "Primorski Slovenci v Mariboru 1918–1941," [The Littoral Slovenes in Maribor 1918-1941] *Annales* 21(2011): 58–63.
[12]   Maribor University Library, *Scolding in Styria* (Maribor: Catalog of manuscripts), ms. 151.
[13]   The Regional Archives Maribor, fond of Franjo Baš.
[14]   "Slovenski napisi," [Slovenian Inscriptions] *Mariborski delavec*, December 7, 1918.

In light of the new situation, the Maribor citizens needed to learn the Slovenian language. After the First World War, most officials were fired due to their lack of knowledge of the Slovenian language. Individual officials were ordered to learn Slovene by the end of December 1919.[15] In some places, language courses were organized.[16] But the situation changed only slowly. Thus, a circular of town hall on 30th May 1920 said that no one had submitted a certificate of the knowledge of the Slovene language.[17] In some cases, language courses were very scarce. Thus the *Jutro* newspaper on 29th December 1920 they reported: "(…) rather than the exams of the Slovenian language, they were rather a workshop for women power in office."[18]

The Slovenian language was, thus, not pervasive in all spheres of life. Even 10 years after the First World War, there were cases where the officials of the town hall talked in German with each other. Also, certain permissions by the town hall were passed on to the citizens in German.[19]

In 1929, the police commissioner issued a decree according to which Slovenian was to be used in all public establishments. Only if guests of a café or restaurant did not understand Slovenian, they were allowed to be addressed in German. The decree was felt to be necessary, as there is evidence that the guests in various bars in Maribor communicated exclusively in German. Despite the decree, the germanization of the town continued.[20]

At the same time, *Tabor* writes: "What's the use being served in Slovenian if these Germans fill their pockets with Slovenian profits and scorn us secretly."

For a long time after the end of the First World War, German was used in publications. In 1933, the *Jutro* newspaper reads: "If we banned

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[15]   "Mariborski meščani se učijo slovenski," [The Citizens of Maribor Learn Sloenian] *Mariborski delavec*, December 5, 1918.
[16]   *The Regional Archives Maribor*, fond Municipality of Maribor, box no. 516, file no. 283/20.
[17]   *The Regional Archives Maribor*, fond Municipality of Maribor, Tips Town Hall from May 30, 1920.
[18]   "Slovenski kurzi v mariborski delavnici," [Slovenian courses in Maribor's workshops] *Jutro*, December 29, 1920.
[19]   *The Regional Archives Maribor*, fond Municipality of Maribor, box no. 310, file no. 33074.
[20]   "Nemškutarjenje v Mariboru," [Playing German in Maribor] *Tabor*, August 29, 1920.

German and bilingual signs, then we must also ban publications in German!"[21]

Slovenian language was marginalized not only as a national and state language. The letters delivered to Maribor were still signed with *"Marburg an der Drau."* The former German names of the streets, roads and squares were not all replaced. In German newspapers which were published in Slovenia, German names for Slovenian towns, mountaintops and other geographical places were still used. There were several reasons for this situation.[22]

An important reason was the German pressure on a socially fragile population. This pressure on Slovenians was reflected in different ways. Some industrial plants in the town forced the Slovenian workers to speak German with the German factory owners. Therefore, many workers began learning German when they started to work.[23] Many of them even forgot their native language and talked in German to each other.[24]

During the period after 1918, there was also a well-organized boycott on the German side. Not only in the economic sphere, but also in cultural and charity events. Due to a handful of German deputies, national conflicts were increased in the National Parliament. Political offensives organized by the German minority, demanded an establishment of a German publishing house in Maribor as a reward for its parliament support, in addition the other concessions from the government of Nikolaj Pašič.[25]

A German publishing house would issue a German newspaper and other publications and thus help to strengthen the position of the Germans in Maribor.[26] Relations between Slovenians and Germans were an open wound that would not heal and would start to hurt and bleed

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[21]   "Nemške tiskovine in nemški listi," [German Publications and German Papers] *Mariborski večernik Jutra*, April 12, 1933.

[22]   "Nemško ustmeno uradovanje – Nemška krajevna imena – Proti stari z novo mentaliteto," [German Oral administration - German Place Names - Against the Old with the new Mentality] *Mariborski večernik Jutra*, January 22, 1930.

[23]   "Varujmo naše delavstvo pred ponemčevanjem," [Protect our Workers from Germanisation] *Slovenec*, February 24, 1938.

[24]   "Narodni problemi," [National Problems] *Tabor*, September 13, 1924.

[25]   "Vstajenje štajercijanstva," [The Rise of Styrianism] *Tabor*, February 24, 1923.

[26]   *Marburger Zeitung*, January 4, 1924.

at the slightest touch. That was the time of the rise of Nazism in Germany.[27] With the rise of Nazism there were more and more of similar developments, and in this period Maribor appeared as a German town. Thus, on 29th December 1934, the *Slovenec* newspaper published the German national socialist statement from the *Geopolitic* scientific journal, that Maribor was a German town.[28]

The result of this pressure was that the germanisation of the Slovenian Styria continued after 1918. During the first months of the Slovenian authority after the end of the war, General Rudolf Maister and the National Council of Education left the German education system intact. They were aware that this was a very sensitive area where the German impact was strongest. There was a great need for good, nationally conscious, hard-working teachers, since there were only five Slovenian teachers in elementary and middle schools in Maribor at that time.

On 27th January, the Higher Education Council in Ljubljana issued the ordinance which eliminated the German language as a compulsory subject in primary and middle schools. At a conference on 23rd February 1919, they discussed the suggestion for the replacement of German teachers with Slovenian teachers. According to this proposal, German headmasters would be replaced with Slovenian headmasters. At the same time, all the German teachers and students who participated in demonstrations against the state of Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenians on 27th January 1919 would be dismissed.[29]

On 1st April 1919, radical changes transformed the school system. Slovenian teachers took over almost all positions in elementary and middle schools. Most German teachers were fired. Despite that, classes in all schools remained to be taught in German until the end of the school-year. The curriculum had only three hours a week of compulsory Slovenian language. In the next school year, the German section enrolled only those children for whom it had been proven that both parents were of the German origin. They had the right to have classes in their native language, but even in these classes there were compulsory hours

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[27] *The Regional Archives Maribor*, fond Municipality of Maribor, box no. 460, file no. 16639.
[28] "Kljukasti križ nad Mariborom," [Swastika over Maribor] *Slovenec*, January 9, 1935.
[29] *Marburger Zeitung*, February 26, 1919.

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of the Slovene language. German sections had been reduced, and by 1923, the only school which remained completely German was only the girls' public school, which was to receive Slovenian classes already in the following year. A similar situation unfolded with technical and secondary schools. As soon as in 1918, the Slovenian National Gymnasium was introduced and it was named the National Classical Gymnasium. The majority of its students and professors were Slovenian. The school kept the German classes, but they were canceled within a few years due to a small number of students. The Realschule had the highest proportion of German students. The school remained mostly German until the school year 1924/25, when the Slovenian classes prevailed and the school was renamed the National Real Gymnasium.30

The number of people in Maribor according to the census in 1921 and 1931

In the new state Kingdom of SHS, Maribor as the town of the border area lost its previous economic and traffic position. The ethnic structure of the population had changed. The criterion for nationality was the native language. According to the census in 1921, Maribor had 73 % of Slovene population and only 22 % of German population due to the emigration of the German officials. The social structure of the urban population also changed. New immigrants came into the town, mostly from The Primorje region, parts of Carinthia and from the Kranjska region but also from other provinces of the new state. The emigrants who came from the Primorje region as economic, ethnic and political emigrants were very active in different spheres, such as choir singing, as well as educational, social and national-defense organizations. As a result, they were an important part of the social and cultural life of Maribor in the period between the two world wars.

According to the census of 1931 (which, in addition to the native language, considered the nationality), the town had 81 % of Slovenians

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30   Potočnik, *Kulturno dogajanje v Mariboru 1918–1941* [Cultural Events in Maribor 1918-1941] 64, 65.

and only 8 % of Germans. In the decade between 1921 to 1931, the number of Germans fell again, mainly due to emigration.

The new statistical data reveal that the germanizing efforts in the Habsburg Monarchy were not so successful. The last Austrian count was misleading. The number of Germans in 1921 was much lower, although after 1918, some German craftsmen, traders and officials left the town, most of them emigrated to Austria. The number of the people who left cannot be determined exactly, but according to estimates it amounted to about 5.000 to 6.000 people.[31]

Instead of them, around 2.000 Slovenian officials, entrepreneurs and others settled in Maribor with their families, replacing the Germans who had left. In 1924, around 5.000 people asked for Yugoslav citizenship, and so did all their families. Later, around 250 to 300 Slovenians asked for Yugoslav citizenship. Most of these applicants were from Gorizia, Trieste, Istria, Slovenian Carinthia and partly from the today's Austria and the Czech territory. Population count in 1921 showed a transformed ethnical structure of the town.

The percentage of the German population between the wars was also a consequence of the efforts of the past Germanization. The census showed individual citizens who indicated German as their native language, even though they were born in Slovenian towns and their parents were of Slovenian descent. There were also cases that some of them referred to their *"German upbringing"*, thus declaring themselves to be German.

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The domination of the industry by the German
capital continues

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A large part of the industry in Maribor had been built with domestic capital, mostly German. There is no specific information about the structure and power of the German capital in Maribor between the two world wars. Some data shows, however, that the Germans had an important role in the town's economy. Just before the occupation, the

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[31] Potočnik, *Zgodovinske okoliščine delovanja generala Rudolfa Maistra* [Historical Circumstances of General Rudolf Maister's Activities] 152–154.

German and Austrian capital was pervasive in 45 major industrial businesses in the town. The German capital was strongest, dominating the textile and metal industry.

The situation was similar even in the wider region of the Slovenian Styria. According to the data collected by the German intelligence service in the early forties, the German population in Slovenian Styria included 25.9 % craftsmen, 21.7 % traders, 17.9 % freelancers, 13.2 % workers, 5.6 % civil servants and senior citizens and 1.6 % industrialists. According to these data, 144 industrial companies were in German possession and only 131 in Slovenian possession.[32]

Only smaller companies, many of which did not belong to big industry, belonged to Slovenian citizens. Therefore, the Germans were still the major employers to the Slovenian people. Only few among the managerial staff were fluent in Slovenian. Most of them were foreigners who did not understand Slovene. Slovenian names were given to companies, but behind these names there were foreigners who did not contribute much to the Slovenian national and cultural progress. Therefore, most of the profits were shipped abroad and the Germans in Maribor retained their strong economic position from the period before 1918.

The municipality, administrative authorities and various societies in the town made an effort to resist the dominance of the German capital. Czech societies tried to attract Czech entrepreneurs with propaganda in order to reduce the risk of aggressive germanisation, but were not particularly successful.[33]

Conclusion

When general Rudolf Maister took control of the town and the entire lower Styria in November 1918 and after the Treaty of St. Germain determined the northern Slovenian border, a large part of the German population left Maribor. As a consequence, the town on the

[32]   Biber, *Nacizem in Nemci v Jugoslaviji 1933—1941* [Nazism and Germans in Yugoslavia 1933-1941], 27.
[33]   Potočnik, *Kulturno dogajanje v Mariboru 1918–1941*, 72–75.

Drava River experienced a major economic and cultural transformation. Although Maribor had no more than 20 % of Slovenian population before the fall of the monarchy, they took the initiative for the cultural transformation of the town. They successfully laid the foundation for the development of Slovenian culture and science in the town before the First World War. Despite of the small number of Slovenian intellectuals before 1914 and the small Slovenian cultural scene, individual figures played an important role in the gradual transformation of the town. The determined actions by Bishop Anton Martin Slomšek established the northern boundary of the renewed Lavant diocese. General Maister with his volunteers secured the Slovenian territory and defined a valid border according to this boundary. The resolute actions by General Maister, with the help of Karl Verstovšek and other members of the National Council for Styria, created the conditions for integrating Maribor into the State of SHS.

Afterwards, Maribor was able to offer a new home to many Slovenians who had to leave their home as a consequence of pressures causing the political, economic and cultural tragedy in Gorizia and Klagenfurt. With the help of Slovenians from the Primorje region, Maribor was able to transform its social and cultural landscape considerably. The town assumed a new role in the Kingdom of SHS and, as the second most important town of the region, become an important centre of trade and culture, at times even overshadowing the capital itself.

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THE BORDER BETWEEN "OURS" AND "THEIRS" DRAWN BY PLACE NAMES

Peter Jordan

Introduction

From a cultural-geographical perspective, to which especially Yi-Fu Tuan[1], Don Mitchell[2] and Botolv Helleland[3] have essentially contributed, the endonym / exonym divide with place names symbolises the distinction between "ours" and "theirs" in geographical terms, i.e. between geographical features on a community's own territory and features on the territory of another community. An in-depth discussion on the concepts of endonym and exonym and the endonym / exonym divide has been conducted by the United Nations Group of Experts on Geographical Names (UNGEGN) and more specifically by its Working Group on Exonyms (convened by the author of this article) between 2007 and 2014. It is well-documented by publications and provides also the basis for this article.[4] From this cultural-geographical angle we could define

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[1] Yi-Fu Tuan, *Space and Place: The Perspectives of Experience* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1977); Yi-Fu Tuan, *Topophilia: A Study of Environmental Perception, Attitudes, and Values* (New York: Columbia University Press [1974] 1990); Yi-Fu Tuan, "Language and the Making of Place: A Narrative-Descriptive Approach," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 81 (1991): 684–696.

[2] Don Mitchell, *Cultural Geography: A Critical Introduction* (Malden, Oxford, Carlton: Blackwell, 2000).

[3] Botolv Helleland, "Place Names as Means of Landscape Identity," in *Geographical Names as a Part of the Cultural Heritage*, edited by Peter Jordan, Hubert Bergmann, Catherine Cheetham, and Isolde Hausner, Wiener Schriften zur Geographie und Kartographie, 18 (Wien: Institut für Geographie und Regionalforschung der Universität Wien, Kartographie und Geoinformation, 2009) 25–31.

[4] See especially Peter Jordan et al., eds., *Trends in Exonym Use: Proceedings of the 10ᵗʰ UNGEGN Working Group on Exonyms Meeting, Tainach, 28–30 April 2010* (Hamburg: Kovač, 2011); Peter Jordan and Paul Woodman, eds., *The Quest for Definitions: Proceedings of the 14th UNGEGN Working Group on Exonyms Meeting, Corfu, 23–25 May 2013* (Hamburg: Kovač,

endonym as a name used by a community for a geographical feature on its own territory, e.g. *Slovenija, Ljubljana,* exonym as a name used by a community for a feature outside its territory and differing in its form from the respective endonym(s), e.g. *Slovenia* (eng.), *Slowenien* (ger.), *Lubiana* (ital.), *Laibach* (ger.).

Endonyms in this sense are symbols of appropriation. Who owns a feature or has the responsibility for it, usually reserves the right to name it. This function of endonyms is similar to that performed by flags, coats of arms or logos.

For geographical features outside their own territory, a community will usually adopt the existing names, translating them into its own language or adapting them morphologically or phonetically. In contrast to names for features on its own territory, i.e. endonyms, these are exonyms, needed by a community to address such features in such a way

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2014); Peter Jordan and Paul Woodman, eds., *Confirmation of the Definitions. Proceedings of the 16th UNGEGN Working Group on Exonyms Meeting, Hermagor, 5–7 June 2014* (Hamburg: Kovač, 2015); Paul Woodman, *The Great Toponymic Divide: Reflections on the Definition and Usage of Endonyms and Exonyms* (Warszawa: Head Office of Geodesy and Cartography, 2012). Earlier elaborations of the author on the same and related topics can be found in Peter Jordan, "The Importance of Using Exonyms: Pleading for a Moderate and Politically Sensitive Use," in *Second International Symposium on Geographical Names "GeoNames 2000", Frankfurt am Main, 28–30 March 2000*, ed. Jörn Sievers (Frankfurt am Main: Bundesamt für Kartographie und Geodäsie, 2000), 87–92; Peter Jordan, "Exonyms as Indicators of Trans-National Spatial Relations," *Review of Historical Geography and Toponomastics* 4, no. 7–8 (2009): 7–16; Peter Jordan, "Place Names as Ingredients of Space-Related Identity," in *Geographical Names as a Part of the Cultural Heritage*, ed. Peter Jordan et al. (Wien: Institut für Geographie und Regionalforschung der Universität Wien, Kartographie und Geoinformation, 2009), 33–39; Peter Jordan, "The Endonym: Name from within a Social Group," in *Trends in Exonym Use: Proceedings of the 10th UNGEGN Working Group on Exonyms Meeting, Tainach, 28–30 April 2010*, ed. Peter Jordan et al. (Hamburg: Kovač, 2011), 9–20; Peter Jordan, "Is Exonym an Appropriate Term for Features Beyond Any Sovereignty?" *Semestrale di Studi e Ricerche di Geografia* 25, no. 2 (2013): 41–53; Peter Jordan, "The Endonym/Exonym Divide from a Cultural-geographical Point of View," in *Challenges in Synchronic Toponymy / Défis de la toponymie synchronique,* ed. Jonas Löfström and Bettina Schnabel-Le Corre (Tübingen: Narr Francke Attempto Verlag, 2015) 163–179; Paul Woodman, *The Sea of the Three Endonyms,* paper presented at the 15th International Seminar on Sea Names, 3–5 September 2009, Sydney; Paul Woodman, "The Naming Process: Societal Acceptance and the Endonym Definition," in *The Great Toponymic Divide: Reflections on the Definition and Usage of Endonyms and Exonyms*, ed. Paul Woodman (Warszawa: Head Office of Geodesy and Cartography, 2012), 11–18; Paul Woodman, "Endonyms, Exonyms and Language Boundaries," in *The Great Toponymic Divide: Reflections on the Definition and Usage of Endonyms and Exonyms*, ed. Paul Woodman (Warszawa: Head Office of Geodesy and Cartography, 2012), 75–78.

that it is comfortable, i.e. that these names are easily pronounceable and easy to communicate. In contrast to endonyms, exonyms are not symbols of appropriation and do not express claims. Instead, they indicate the importance of a feature for this community and the relations it has with it, i.e. its network of external relations. Exonyms help to integrate this foreign feature into the cultural sphere of a community and help avoid exclusion and alienation.[5]

So, while the endonym / exonym divide marks the border between "ours" and "theirs" in the territorial sense, exonyms have also a function of debordering, of connecting us with others.

It has, however, to be remarked that linguists do not always share this cultural-geographical perspective on the endonym / exonym divide. While from this perspective neither officiality (of a name or a language) nor language are criteria, and the spatial relation between the community that uses the name and the feature marked by the name is the only thing that counts, linguists like Otto Back[6] or Phil Matthews[7] would rather style difference in language the criterion for this divide: A name that conforms to the language of its environment is an endonym; a name that contrasts from its linguistic surroundings an exonym. *Pizzeria Vesuvio* as the name of an Italian-style restaurant in England would then be an exonym, even if it has been named so by its owner and is addressed so in its neighbourhood; *Mon Repos* as the name of a villa in Germany would fall into the same category, because it is a French name in a predominantly German-speaking surrounding.

This contribution will, however, further elaborate on the topic of the endonym / exonym divide from a cultural-geographical perspective by at first highlighting briefly the place-naming process and then addressing some critical cases as regards the endonym / exonym divide. Finally,

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[5]   Otto Back, *Übersetzbare Eigennamen: Eine synchrone Untersuchung von interlingualer Allonymie und Exonymie* (Wien: Praesens, 2002).
[6]   Ibid.
[7]   Philip W. Matthews, "Endonyms, exonyms, boundaries and standardization," in *Confirmation of the Definitions: Proceedings of the 16th UNGEGN Working Group on Exonyms Meeting, Hermagor, 5–7 June 2014*, ed. Peter Jordan and Paul Woodman, (Hamburg: Kovač, 2015), 61–104.

it will also show how exonyms reflect the networks of external relations by the example of some European linguistic communities.
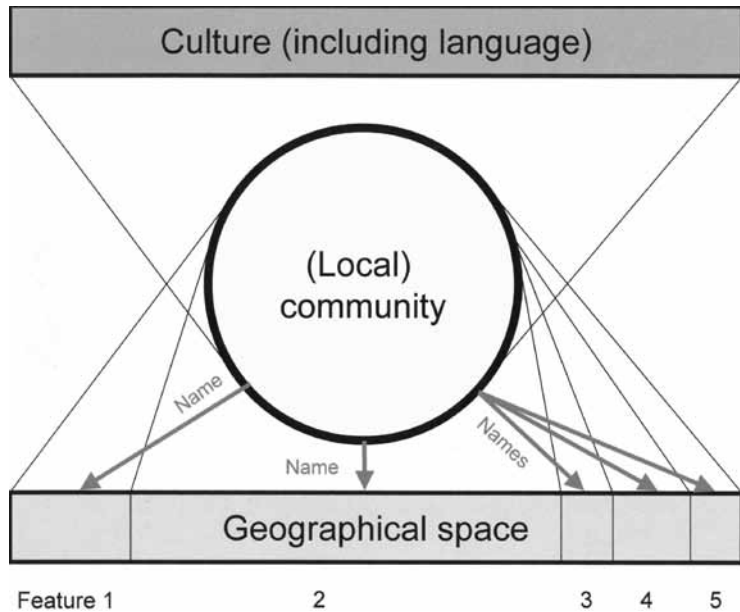
The Place Naming Process

Fig. 1: The place naming process.[8]

In the place naming process, there are three factors involved (see Fig. 1): The community in the sociological sense of an identity group feeling to have some characteristics in common, not necessarily interacting on a regular basis and knowing each other. It can vary in size from a family or a partnership to a nation and the community of global citizens.

The second factor is the community's culture, including language; culture understood in the most comprehensive sense as the totality of all human expressions.

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[8] All the figures are author's drafts or photographs, unless otherwise stated.

The third factor is geographical space subdivided into geographical features; geographical space understood according to Wilhelm Leibniz as the totality of all relations between physical-material features.

The only actor in this process is the human community inhabiting a certain section of geographical space, having developed a certain culture and language, structuring complex geographical space mentally into the features on the background of its culture and – led by its specific interests – marking these features by place names. In fact, a geographical feature exists as a mental construct only if it bears a name. A feature without a name is mentally part of another feature.

Of course, also an individual can assign a name to a feature, but such a name will not get into use, assume communicative value and persist, if it is not accepted by the community. So it is at the end always the community, who acts in this process.

Place names used by a community for features on its own territory, i.e. endonyms, are (among other means) the markers of the community's territory, since names are also symbols for appropriation – as already mentioned before. This function of proper names in general, but of place names in particular, is also expressed by Genesis 2:20, when it says: "The man gave names to all the cattle, and to the birds of the sky, and to every beast of the field (…)"[9] So names always and inevitably have a political dimension.

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[9] *The Bible*, English standard version, Gen 2:20, accessed November 22, 2016, http://bible-hub.com/genesis/2-20.htm.
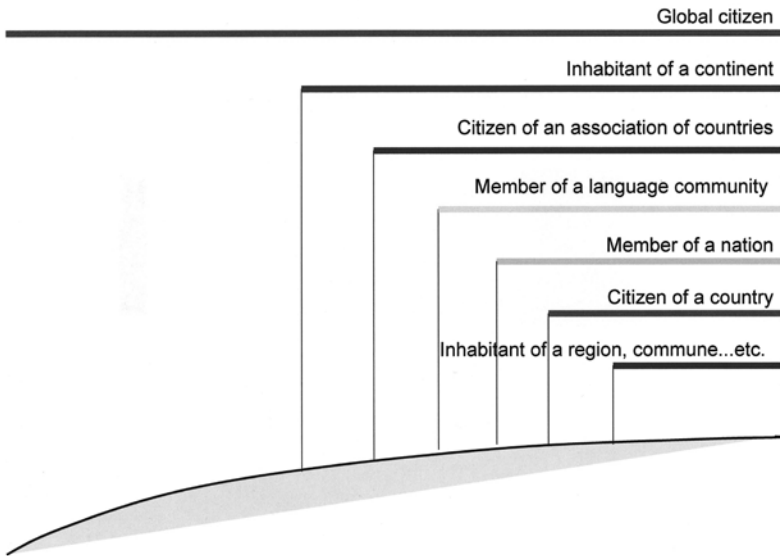
Fig. 2: Multiple space-related identities.

It is, however, also a fact that we usually do not belong to only one community, but rather to a multitude of them – we have in fact multiple identities, also multiple space-related identities. We are not only inhabitants of a village, commune, city, region. We are at the same time citizens of a country. We are also members of a nation, a language community (e.g. the English). We are citizens of an association of countries like the European Union. We may even feel as inhabitants of our continent or to be global citizens, when we engage ourselves for questions like climate change, global disparities in development etc.

So, when it comes to defining, whose name is the endonym (the name from within a community) and the exonym (the name from outside) according to the subsidiarity principle, it is always the local group that gives the name. The name for the Earth is an endonym in all languages, because we all inhabit the Earth. The name for Slovenia is an endonym in Slovene, Italian and Hungarian, because these are

the languages of the local, autochthonous communities. The names for Gozd Martuljek and Kranjska Gora are endonyms just in Slovene, because their inhabitants are Slovenes, while the German name *Kronau for Kranjska Gora is an exonym.*

<div align="center">

The endonym / exonym divide:
Where is the line between "ours" and "theirs"?

</div>

Another question arising is: Where is the line drawn between "ours" and "theirs" and which are the consequences for the endonym / exonym divide?

The answer is quite easy and clear-cut, when features are located within community boundaries (see Fig. 3):
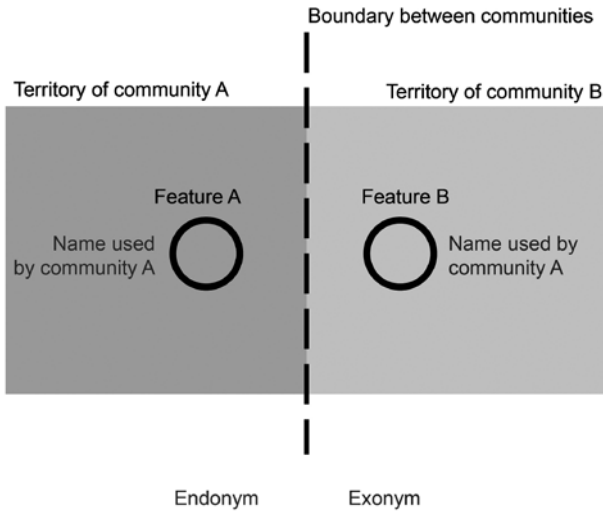
Fig. 3: Features located within community boundaries.

Names used by a community for the features located exclusively on the own territory are endonyms. Names used by a community for the features located exclusively outside are exonyms.
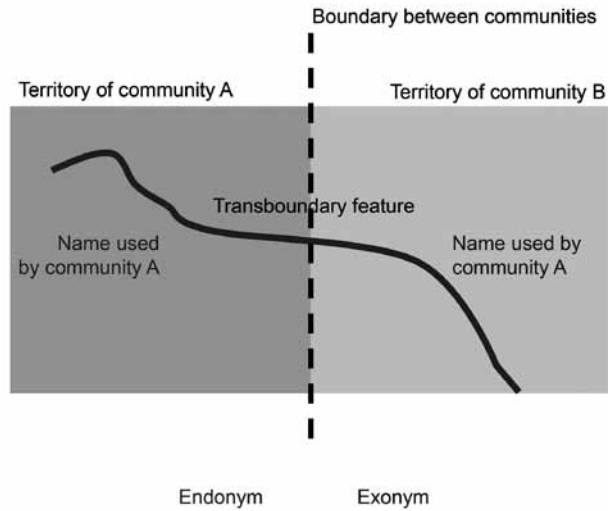
Fig. 4: Transboundary features.

If transboundary features are affected (see Fig. 4), a name is (naturally) valid for the whole feature, but has its endonym status only up to the boundary and assumes exonym status on the other side.

The problem is much more complex with seas. It is rather difficult to say where exactly a community's attitude of feeling responsible and emotionally attached ends. From my personal experience with the Adriatic Sea, I know that coastal dwellers have a profound emotional relation to their coastal waters – coastal waters not in the juridical sense, but in the sense of waters between the islands and in visible distance from the coast, where fisher boats and tourist vessels are cruising. They are as much part of their living space as land is. They are resources of food, areas for transportation, function nowadays also as tourist attraction. It is certainly justified to say that the coastal dweller community regards its coastal waters as their own.

But it is certainly different with the high sea – the sea beyond the horizon from the coast. Here it is necessary to differentiate between the cognitive and the emotional level.

Fig. 5: The endless sea. Gulf of Trieste.

Emotionally, the high sea is conceived as endless – even a narrow sea like the Adriatic (see Fig. 5), where you can look from coast to coast from a mountain top when skies are clear. This is, e.g., expressed by folk or also pop songs, which frequently use *sea* as a metaphor for the unlimited, the indefinite, the unconceivable.

Charles Trenet in "La Mer" (2nd verse)[10]

La mer	The Sea
Au ciel d'ete confond	With the summer sky
Ses blancs moutons	Mix up her white horses
Avec les anges si purs	With the angels so pure
La mer bergere d'azur	The infinite azure shepherdess
Infinie	Sea

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[10]   Charles Trenet, "The Sea," trans. Elisabeth "purplelunacy," in *Lyrics Translate*, accessed November 22, 2016, http://lyricstranslate.com/de/la-mer-sea.html.

Gianna Nannini in "Alla fine"[11]

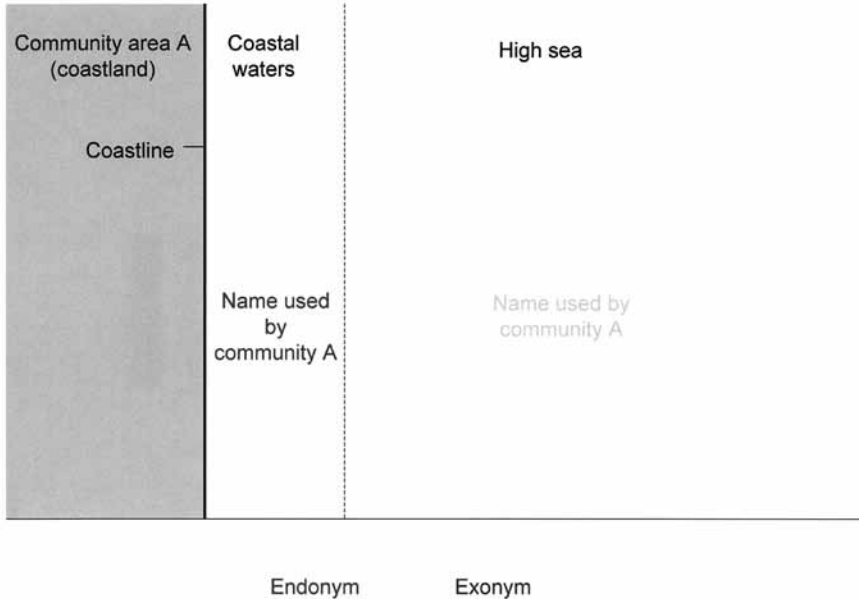|	
Davanti a me si perde il mare	In front of me the sea gets lost
io sto con te senza lacrime	I stay with you without tears
tu come fai a darti pace	How can peace be added
in questa immensità in questa	To this immensity, to this
solitudine.	solitude?

Fig. 6: Endonym status of sea names under the emotional aspect.

It can be concluded from this attitude (as expressed in the poems above) that, emotionally, coastal dwellers recognize no opposite coast, no counterpart beyond the horizon. They would, consequently, also not draw a strict line between "their own" and "the other's" somewhere out in the sea; they would also not feel the necessity to confine the endonym status of their own name to some part of the sea. They would

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[11] Gianna Nannini, "In the End," trans. Lucia, in *Canzoni contro la Guerra*, accessed November 22, 2016, https://www.antiwarsongs.org/canzone.php?id=4122.

eventually extend it to the sea in its entirety, because they feel that this status is not contested by anybody else (see Fig. 6).

But it is also very likely that the intensity of this feeling fades away more or less as a function of distance, that the feeling of being the owner of the sea is relative insofar as it is combined with the other feeling that the sea is endless and unconceivable. (It is in the nature of the endless and the unconceivable that it can never be completely owned, that it is impossible to achieve full command of it.)

Fig. 7: The Adriatic Sea surrounded by various communities and languages using their own name for it.[12]

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[12]   Adriatic Sea map.png: NormanEinstein and MaGa, "Politička karta zemalja koje izlaze na Jadransko more," *Wikimedia Commons*, accessed December 6, 2016, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Adriatic_Sea_map_hr.svg.

At the cognitive level, they are aware of the fact that the sea ends somewhere, that there is an opposite coast inhabited by other people, who speak a different language and have another name for the same feature. They have learned this in schools, from maps (see Fig. 7) and charts and from the media.
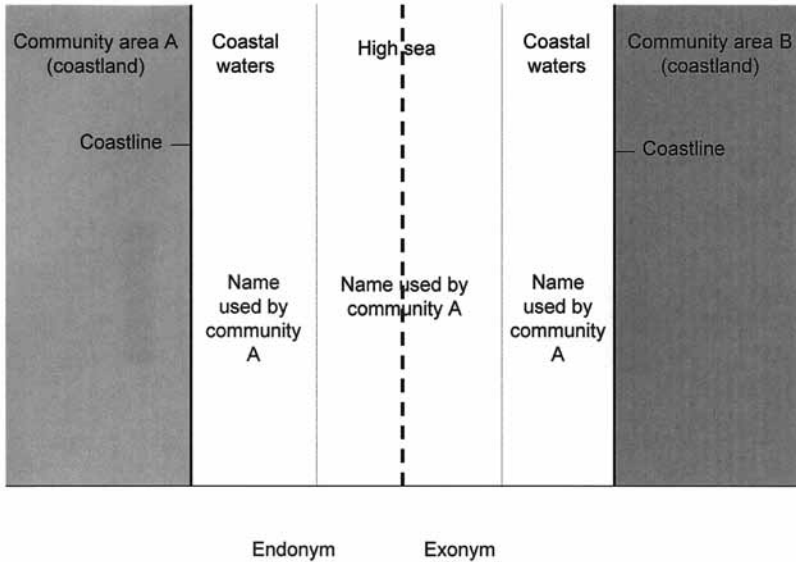

Fig. 8: Endonym / exonym status of sea names under the cognitive aspect.

Based on this knowledge, they would, however, usually (with the only exception of a politically aggressive and expansive attitude) be ready to acknowledge and accept that their own name loses its endonym status somewhere in between this opposite coast and their own coast; have no problem with accepting regulations ruling that there is some "artificial" line between the area where their name has its endonym status (see Fig. 8) and the area where the name of the others is valid as endonym. They will usually – as in many other fields of social interaction – accept that their right ends where the right of others begins, if this avoids dispute and conflict.

Debordering by the Use of Exonyms

Let us finally address – in response to the title of the journal – the debordering, integrating function of exonyms by the examples of three linguistic communities. As already mentioned, exonyms indicate the importance of a feature for a community, the relations it has with it, i.e. in their totality the community's network of external relations.

Mainly by translation of endonyms or by their morphological and/or phonetical adaption to the receiver language, exonyms facilitate to address foreign features, help integrating a foreign feature into the cultural sphere of the receiver community and help avoid exclusion and alienation.

Three maps to follow will demonstrate the network of a specific community's cultural, political and economic relations in present and history as indicated by its use of exonyms. All three maps show exonyms of a certain linguistic community just for populated places – not for other feature types like water bodies, mountains, landscapes or countries. The reason is that names for water bodies, mountains, landscapes or countries are much more frequently translated into the receiver language and become exonyms in this way. The network of relations is, thus, somehow distorted. It is, however, also distorted by some linguistic factors: linguistic relation and closeness of languages, easiness to pronounce a certain name, spread of trade languages.[13]

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[13]   It would go too far to elaborate on these aspects in this context. For some further research see Back, *Übersetzbare Eigenname*; Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Kartographische Ortsnamenkunde (AKO), *Empfehlungen zur Schreibung geographischer Namen in österreichischen Bildungsmedien* (Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2012).

Fig. 9: German exonyms of populated places used in Austria.[14]

German exonyms frequently used in Austria (see Fig. 9) show the network of relations of the Austrian German-speaking community. It is dense in the lands of the former Holy Roman Empire, i.e. Northern Italy, the Bohemian Lands, Belgium. It is also dense in East Central Europe with former German settlement and territories of former empires with Germans as dominant groups. The pattern of cultural networks is, however, distorted by the gradient in language prestige from West to East: Almost no German exonyms for populated places appear in the anglophone and francophone sphere. These are well-known trade languages in Austria, almost everybody knows how their endonyms are spelled and pronounced.

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[14]   Author's draft based on Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Kartographische Ortsnamenkunde (AKO), *Empfehlungen zur Schreibung geographischer Namen in österreichischen Bildungsmedien* (Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2012).

Fig. 10: Hungarian exonyms of populated places.[15]

The pattern of Hungarian exonyms in frequent use (see Fig. 10) reflects the former Hungarian Kingdom and Hungary's traditional trade relations to Northern Italy and Northern Germany. Hungarians have a lot of exonyms for places in modern Slovakia and the cis-Carpathian parts of Romania, Serbian Voivodina, Croatian Baranja and Međimurje, Slovenian Prekmurje and Austrian Burgenland. Very obvious are also the Hungarian trade routes across the Dinaric mountain range to the upper Adriatic as well as via Cracow and Wrocław to Leipzig and other parts of Northern Germany.

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15   Author's draft based on András Dutkó, *List of Hungarian exonyms*, paper presented at the 5th Meeting of the UNGEGN Working Group on Exonyms, Prague, 2007.

Fig. 11: Italian exonyms of populated places.[16]

The pattern of Italian exonyms in frequent use (see Fig. 11) highlights the Venetian trade network in the Eastern Mediterranean and, again, the former Holy Roman Empire, of which Northern Italy was a part. It is especially dense along the eastern Adriatic and Ionian coasts, where Venice had its trade posts on the way to the Levante. But also the non-Italian parts of the Holy Roman Empire up to the coasts of the North and Baltic Sea including Bohemia stand out on the map.

Conclusions

When place names are regarded from a cultural-geographical perspective and under the aspect of the spatial relation between the human community using the name and the geographical feature assigned by it, we arrive at the endonym / exonym divide. Endonyms are from this aspect names used by a community for geographical features on its own territory, while exonyms are names for geographical features outside its

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[16]   Author's draft based on Sandro Toniolo, *Main Italian exonyms for European geographical elements*, Eighth United Nations Conference on the Standardization of Geographical Names, Berlin, August 27–September 5, 2002.

own territory and differing in linguistic form from the endonym. In contrast to endonyms, exonyms are not symbols of appropriation and do not express claims. Instead, they indicate the importance of a feature for this community and the relations it has with it, i.e. its network of external relations. Exonyms help to integrate a foreign feature important enough to be addressed by a community into the cultural sphere of a community and help avoid exclusion and alienation, thus, having a debordering effect. It is, however, not always easy to draw the line between endonyms and exonyms. This is especially true with names for terrestrial transboundary features and even more so for seas. Up to where do coastal dwellers regard the sea as "their own", i.e. have an endonym for it? It could, however, be demonstrated that the endonym / exonym divide from a cultural-geographical perspective is applicable and makes sense also with these critical cases and that it works as a universal, all-comprehensive concept.

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PEACE-MAKING WITHIN THE GREEN AND LIMINAL BORDER OF CYPRUS

Angelos Evangelou

Introduction

In their introduction to *Border Theory: The Limits of Cultural Politics*, Michaelsen and Johnson point out that "the intellectual entry point of the 'border' is one of the grand themes of recent, politically liberal-to-left work across the humanities and social sciences."[1] They further explain that "interestingly, the entry point of 'the border' or 'the borderlands' (…) often is assumed to be a place of politically exciting hybridity, intellectual creativity, and moral possibility. The borderlands, in other words, are *the* privileged locus of hope for a better world."[2] This article evaluates why a border is indeed *the* privileged locus of possibility for a better world by pointing to the symbolic significance not just of the border generally but of the space *within the border*. It illustrates an alternative border poetics consisting not of barbed wires or sand-bags, but of breathing things such as trees, flowers and animals. This exploration will draw from a selection of literary texts – mainly poetry – by contemporary Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot poets which will help me evaluate the symbolic significance of the perspective of being inside the border. As a space of neutrality and ambivalence itself, the literary space can, perhaps, best accommodate, express and reflect the neutral and ambivalent space of the border.

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[1]   David E. Johnson and Scott Michaelsen, "Border Secrets: An Introduction," in *Border Theory: The Limits of Cultural Politics*, ed. David E. Johnson and Scott Michaelsen (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997), 2.
[2]   Johnson and Michaelsen, "Border Secrets," 3.

Historicizing the Border

Cyprus is an island with an incredibly long history of colonization due to its strategic position connecting Europe, Asia and Africa. After a special arrangement between the Ottoman and British Empire in 1878, Cyprus came under the British Crown rule until 1960, when it became an independent sovereign state: The Republic of Cyprus. Three years into its independence, Cyprus entered the period of the so called "troubles" which was marked by an outburst of nationalistic sentiment, tension and violence between the Christian Greek Cypriot and Muslim Turkish Cypriot communities. This hostility was initiated and fed by the Greek Cypriots' cause for *Enosis* (union with Greece) and the Turkish Cypriots' response with *Taksim* (partition). In 1964, Major-General Peter Young and commander of the British peace force (predecessor of the United Nations) drew a cease-fire line on a map of Cyprus. This drawn line on the map which was supposed to separate the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot neighbourhoods of the capital city became known as the "Green Line" – the chinagraph pencil the Major-General used to draw this line happened to be green – and was to flesh up into an impassable border extending beyond the city of Nicosia toward the east and west of the island after the Turkish military invasion of 1974. This landmark event was triggered by a military coup led by the fascist Greek junta and supported by a segment of Greek Cypriots against the legally elected president of the newly established Republic of Cyprus, Archbishop Makarios. The invasion was disguised as an attempt to protect the Turkish Cypriots from the Greek Cypriots' aggression and from an ensuing union of the island with Greece.

On each side of the Green Line the Greek Cypriots and the Turkish Cypriots constructed – in a very messy way – what was thought to serve as a barrier protecting from "enemy" trespasses from the other side. These barriers consist, literally, of barbed-wire fences, concrete wall segments, watchtowers, anti-tank ditches, sand-bags and even minefields. What is special in this case, therefore, is that, in reality, there are two "walls." What I am mostly interested in here is not these "walls" but the space which lies between them. The Green Line spans an area of 346 square kilometres (134 square miles), varying in width from less than 5

metres to more than 7 kilometres forming thus a third territory, a zero point, a neutral land, a no-man's land. The forced neutrality of this space allows for a number of signifiers, each with different connotations: "Green Line," "buffer zone," "no man's land," "forbidden zone" and "dead zone."

In the context of political, administrative and military discourses this zone serves as a demarcation of a certain territory with opposite values for each side. On the one hand, in the context of the nationalistic discourse of the Turkish Cypriots, the line marks an uncontested demarcation of its sovereign territory, as the following incident clearly illustrates. In the context of a peaceful protest on 14 August 1996 in Deryneia (Famagusta), Solomos Solomou, a Greek Cypriot civilian was shot after he had escaped the UN control, crossed the buffer zone, stepped in the Turkish Cypriot territory and climbed up the flagpole with the intention of bringing the Turkish flag down. In an interview with a Greek journalist years after the incident, the then Deputy Prime Minister of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, Serdar Denktaş, stated: "We told very openly to UN [sic] that if there is any attempt of *breaking our lines* there is an order to shoot, so they should take precautions so nothing [sic] happens."[3] And later: "Going up the pole was a very stupid action to do. To kill someone was not a correct decision but there was an order to shoot, so the soldiers there had to shoot. / Q: Who gave the order to shoot? / A: It was the government's order that if there is a case *where our lines are crossed*, there is an order to shoot."[4] Denktaş' repetition of the idea of "crossing a line" clearly illustrates the hardliner Turkish Cypriot government's understanding of the line (the border) as an undisputed territorial marker that needs to be respected, protected and maintained. On the other hand, and in a *structurally* similar perception of this line, the Greek Cypriots consider it as a very much disputed and invalid territorial marker which is a bitter reminder of the illegal Turkish military invasion and of territorial loss. The popu-

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[3]   Yiannis Natsis, "Τάσος Ισαάκ και Σολωμός Σολωμού," [Tasos Isaak and Solomos Solomou,] TV documentary televised by *Φάκελοι* [Mega Channel], Greece, 1996, Youtube video, 27:43, posted by "Páre-Dóse," December 6, 2012, 05:05–05:24, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=57uwPmVbZqM.
[4]   Ibid., 12:04–12:33.

lar slogan of the Greek Cypriots – "*Τα σύνορά* μας είναι στην *Κερύνεια*" (Our borders are in Kyrenia) – implies a radical dispute of the border by voicing an acknowledgement only of the natural border of the sea of Kyrenia, a city on the North coast of the island.

This situation is not unique: for Palestine and Israel, India and Pakistan, Ireland and Northern Ireland, the Crimean peninsula, Gibraltar and so many other places, a dispute over a border is a very familiar story. To the most turbulent and violent of these cases of territorial dispute worldwide, the international community responds by the installation of United Nations forces which aim, faithful to the very nature and purpose of its constitution in 1945, to maintain peace and security. Without dismissing the value of the UN presence in real cases of conflict, it is true that, for as long as it holds, the very act of securing the peace around the border prolongs the life of the border as a device of separation – a "buffer zone" – between parties that need to be kept separated.

The necessity of a shift in perspective of understanding the border, though, is essential for overcoming its effect. This requires moving beyond the rigidity of this historicised, official and militaristic discourse in which the border has a territorial value, to an understanding of the border on a different – symbolic – level, and one which holds the possibility of its own dissolution. Contemporary Cypriot poets could not fail to speak about this symbolic significance of the border and draw attention to its power not of blocking passage but of allowing a "crossing" through reflection, imagination and affective engagement. All these are conveyed by a metaphoricity which the poets achieve with references to species which occupy the space of the border yet are not subjected to its laws: flora and fauna.

Theorizing the Border

For the border to acquire the qualities of reflection and self-undermining, in other words for the debordering of the border to occur, it is necessary that one "see" – in the sense of both thinking and feeling – from within a space which allows for this space's own dissolution. This perspective, which is full of philosophical, symbolic and transgressive possibility was articulated by the conceptual architect Rem Koolhaas.

Speaking of the Berlin Wall in 1971, he argued that "neither those in the West nor those in the East are free, only those trapped in the wall are truly free."[5] Koolhaas (together with Madelon Vreisendorp, Elia and Zoe Zenghelis) developed this idea in their 1972 conceptual-architectural project "Exodus, or the Voluntary Prisoners of Architecture" in which a long walled space filled with scenes of human activity is superimposed on the map of London. This radical and quasi-dystopian architectural – as well as political – statement effectively draws attention to the potentiality inherent in the perspective of being within the border.

Jacques Derrida's work also emphasizes the importance of concepts such as *border*, *borderline* and *edge* as they point – literally – to what is *entre deux* (between two things), serving thus well his deconstruction project. Derrida's main theorization of the border happens not so much in relation to geographical or political borders but in relation to questions of genres and the nature of the literary, specifically the relationship between the inside and the outside of the text in Blanchot,[6] between life and death in Heidegger,[7] and between the author's life and the author's work in Nietzsche.[8] Derrida describes how the line, zone, edge or border, initially thought of as compromising a binary logic, inherently has the ability to swell up and create a space which undoes its own partitioning status and allows for reflection and ambiguity: "wherever the paradoxical problem of the border is posed, then the line (…) – this very line itself becomes unclear."[9] This ambiguity technically functions as a threat to the border, which, like a machine, is programmed to divide. This is what Derrida points to when he calls the borderline "*dynamis*

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[5]   Rem Koolhaas in Jeffrey Kipnis, "An Introduction to a Perfect Act," in *Perfect Acts of Architecture*, ed. Jeffrey Kipnis (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 2001), 14.

[6]   See Jacques Derrida, "The Law of Genre," trans. Avital Ronell, *Critical Inquiry* 7, no. 1 (Autumn 1980): 55–81; and Jacques Derrida, "Living On," trans. James Hulbert, in *Deconstruction and Criticism*, Harold Bloom et al. (New York: The Seabury Press, 1979), 75–176.

[7]   See Jacques Derrida, *Aporias*, trans. Thomas Dutoit (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1993).

[8]   See Jacques Derrida, "Otobiographies: The Teaching of Nietzsche and the Politics of the Proper Name," trans. Avital Ronell, in *The Ear of the Other*, ed. Christie McDonald (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1988). 1–38.

[9]   Ibid., 44–45.

because of its force, its power, as well as its virtual and mobile potency – is neither active nor passive, neither outside nor inside."[10]

In "Living On," Derrida is committed to an investigation of the term "border" or "edge"[11] in relation to the text and interrogates about the border of the text. Is it the title? Is it the first sentence? But the answer is not straightforward when the outer limit which is supposed to easily and unproblematically demarcate the border of the text fails to maintain its position and turns inwards: the edge "itself in turn folds its outer edges back over onto inner edges whose mobility (…) prohibits you from making out a shoreline."[12] Employing the concept of *invagination*, Derrida shows how "the edge (…) is a fold,"[13] and explains that it [invagination] "is the inward refolding of *la gaine* [sheath, girdle], the inverted reapplication of the outer edge to the inside of a form where the outside then opens a pocket."[14] It is this formation of the pocket that is of interest here: the idea of invagination which allows us to experience the edge (of a border) not as an outer, defining, determining, demarcating, positivistic marker but as an inside, as a pocket of which the status is one of neutrality, uncertainty and ambivalence. It allows for a logic beyond the binary, a logic beyond the perspectives of each side.

Poeticizing the Border

Perhaps because of its own quality of neutrality and ambivalence, the literary space best accommodates, expresses and reflects the neutral and ambivalent space of the border. Our aim in this article is to assess how Cypriot poets understand and appreciate the symbolic significance of the border as well as the possibilities it bears. Their work contributes towards a political realization, namely, that the very demolition of the border requires a thinking from *within the border*. In other words, it requires that one reflect from within this neutral and liminal space, precisely because it is the space in which everything is neutralised; it

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10   Ibid., 5.
11   Derrida, "Living On," 81.
12   Ibid.
13   Ibid., 96.
14   Ibid., 97.

is the only space which is devoid of either side's "truth" and territorial and national(istic) discourses. The analysis of the following poems is designed to illustrate that unless one steps inside the border one cannot acquire the freedom that Koolhaas identifies within the Berlin Wall, or the neutrality which allows for understanding the other stripped off of colours, flags and religions. As to how this stripping-off works, the poets unanimously imply that we can take valuable lessons from nature. The common element which unites the following poems and the short story extract is how discreetly they direct the reader's attention to nature as the elemental realm through which we manage to heal the gaping wound of division conserved by the physical presence of the border.

Niki Marangou's "Street Map of Nicosia" (c. 2010) creates an effective analogy between two historical facts that have had an impact on the city of Nicosia and on the lived experience of its inhabitants. Both facts involve arbitrary man-caused distortion – if not destruction – of the natural order of things, in other words, an *unnatural* act. The physical continuity of a street which would – under different circumstances – accommodate without interruptions both Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots is now split. This break violates the flow of the street and imposes upon it the political and historical reality of the war and the division. Two completely different names (one Turkish and one Greek) exist to refer to different parts of exactly the same street. Marangou writes how "[l]ooking at the street map / of Nicosia and its suburbs / Fuad Paşa street ends on Dionos and Iasius / Defne Yüksel on Lambros Porfyras / Yenice Şafak on Leontios Machairas."[15] Much to the poet's disappointment, the new maps seem to respect this split by visually representing arbitrary end points to streets marked by politics rather than geography or urban architecture. This man-made arbitrary disruption of the natural flow of the street is likened in Marangou's poem to another similar gesture which happened centuries ago: "close to the Rocca Bastion / on old maps the river cuts through the town / but Savorgnano changed the bank / to fill the moat with water."[16] This

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[15]   Niki Marangou, "Street Map of Nicosia," in *For a Faint Idea*, trans. Xenia Andreou, (Athens: To Rodakio, 2013), 12; The translation of this poem as is used here has been slightly altered by the author.

[16]   Ibid.

incident goes back to the Venetian rule in the 16th century (1567 AD) when, in their effort to protect the city of Nicosia from the Ottomans, the Venetian rulers undertook the creation of new fortifications around the city. One of the two engineers who were commissioned, Giulio Savorgnano, diverted River Pedieos, which naturally flowed through the city of Nicosia – a metonymy of fluidity, connection and movement that Marangou employs here – outside the city to protect the residents from flooding and to fill the moat encircling the new walls with water. Just like Savorgnano interrupts the flow of the river, the border now interrupts the continuity of the streets and the trans-linguistic and trans-cultural continuity which once existed. It would not be farfetched to read these *unnatural* acts of interruption also in relation to Major-General Peter Young's cease-fire line intervention on the entire island. This allusion to another man-made and equally arbitrary gesture of interruption discreetly yet powerfully encapsulates the poet's critique of the "divide and rule" method of the British colonial enterprise.

Yet, the ending of Marangou's poem marks a reversal from its earlier critique of the past to a meaningful look at the present, which, despite its realism, is also injected with hope and optimism for the future. She writes: "There, on Sundays, housemaids / from Sri Lanka spread out their shawls / and eat together. / The palm trees remind them of home."[17] Apart from securing a realistic touch for the poem, Marangou's decision to place these women's luncheon close to the Rocca Bastion should be explored more closely. The Rocca Bastion – now within the Turkish territory – is close to one of the narrowest points of the buffer zone making the border at that point particularly thin. The thinness of the border is pertinent if one considers how the spread shawls of the Sri Lankan housemaids – like a bandage or dressing – are large enough to cover, hide, cancel and invalidate the space of division. The palm trees, inaccessible by the Turkish Cypriots and largely ignored by the Greek Cypriots, are enjoyed by these women who function – in a rather ambivalent way – both as a reminder of foreignness and of home: "The palm trees remind them of home."[18] The foreign guest is placed there

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17   Ibid.
18   Ibid.

to remind the reader of the possibility of the border's disappearance. The space of division embedded in the border is eradicated under the colourful patchwork fabric of these women's shawls who teach us how to challenge the fixities of the binaries between self and other, home and away, familiar and unfamiliar. This is how Marangou achieves the construction of a voice of resistance and hope from the border itself.

One of the most dominant thematic imageries in contemporary Cypriot poetry is the transcending and defying quality that nature is (re)assigned in relation to man-made or *unnatural* borders. This is interpreted as a re-assignment because of these poems' profoundly Romantic expression of trust in the power of nature versus the positivistic, militaristic and political machinery which has constructed and still feeds the border. Nature, on the other hand, is revisited and celebrated for its power – both symbolic but also literal – of transgressing these man-made lines of division through a demystification of the mighty force of concrete, which serves as a powerful reminder of the permeability of walls. The next poem, "No Man's Land" (2011), also by Niki Marangou is a prime example of this style.

There is no such thing as "no man's land". / Every no man's land / was someone's land. / On the clothesline of memory / little vests are cracking in the sun / a boy falls down / and hurts his knee. / A woman sobs. / Luckily the earth, unaware of all this, / decorates the destroyed walls with ivy / the wounds with poppies / the tombs with thyme.[19]

Here, a high degree of symbolism can be observed, which is achieved with special attention to the materiality of Marangou's imagery: the "destroyed walls", the "wounds", the "tombs" are all metonymies of war, conflict, division, pain and death. On the other hand, in sweet defiance of all this, the earth generously decorates the "walls with ivy," "the wounds with poppies" and "the tombs with thyme." The matching pairs that symbolize destruction and healing are telling. Ivy climbs on walls by gnawing on the rough surface of the wall with small but very strong roots that grow on the bottom side of its tendrils. Doing this, ivy can keep the destroyed walls from collapsing completely, re-establishing

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[19]   Niki Marangou, "No Man's Land," in *For a Faint Idea*, trans. Xenia Andreou, (Athens: To Rodakio, 2013), 70.

not only hope for but the very means of reconstruction. Similarly, the redness of the poppies (at least in the Cypriot cultural consciousness) competes with and effaces the redness of blood. And finally, the aromatic and medicinal thyme grows triumphantly, nourishes, and neutralizes the stench of putrefaction. It is also important to mention that the literal translation of the poem's Greek title – "Νεκρή Ζώνη" (Nekri Zoni) – is "Dead Zone" and would, perhaps, be preferable to the more legalistic term "No Man's Land." The connotations of the Greek title allow Marangou to play with the distinctions not only between the dead and the living but also between the country's past, present and future. This becomes clear in the first line of the poem and as long as the translation of "Νεκρή Ζώνη" (Nekri Zoni) as "Dead Zone" (and not as "No Man's Land") is applied consistently: "There is no such thing as a 'dead zone' / because it has always belonged to some living," while the infiltration of nature that we witness in the poem is Marangou's attempt to show that the now "dead zone" is still alive for some or for something.

Another explicit reference to the symbolic significance of the necessity of nature in the dead zone is found in Neriman Cahit's poem "We Are Much Too Late, Kleopatra" (1995), in which the woman-nature--peace vs. man-politics-war paradigm is at work. Despite the thematic wealth and complexity of the poem, perhaps of most interest here is how, assuming the persona of a mother, the poem's narrator summons Kleopatra's womanhood and motherhood. The reader should ignore the allusion to the historical Cleopatra as the name refers to a Greek Cypriot woman, a teacher and a friend of the poet who lives on the other – south – side of the border, with whom the narrator converses: "Our sons are killed. / One from your side, one from my side."[20] Summoning Kleopatra's connection to Earth, the narrator makes requests for nourishments: "Bring condiments for my Mesaoria bread, / Kleopatra," "bring wine (…) and let us toast to honour / Friendship and peace", "bring me a handful of soil (…) and let us grow peace flowers."[21] Cahit offers here a poetic representation of the hunger for reconciliation,

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[20]   Neriman Cahit, "We Are Much Too Late, Kleopatra," trans. Joseph Josephides, in *Contemporary Turkish Cypriot Poetry*, ed. Ayten Sururi (Istanbul: Turkish Cypriot Artist & Writers' Union, 2008), 9.

[21]   Ibid.

friendship and peace. In spite of the recognition that "we are much too late," the poet projects these requests onto the present and much more importantly into the future. What is fascinating in this poem is how Cahit's proposal for quenching this thirst is translated into an invitation to plant trees together, and not just anywhere but on the very line, in the dead zone: "Come, Kleopatra, join me to grow / Almond trees on the Green Line, / Let us plant peace into the branches, / For blossoming every spring, / And let us blow winds of friendship together, / Raising the children of next generation."[22] By calling for an alternative green-ness for the Green Line, this poem expresses the symbolic value of the very space of the Green Line as the promise and possibility of change, perhaps the only space which can bring a long-term change – "let us plant peace into the branches, / For blossoming *every* spring" (emphasis added) – provided we "replace the politicians / We, the mothers."[23]

Cahit's poem points to a larger strand of Cypriot poetry, one which emphasizes the juxtaposition between the reality of the border on the one hand, and how this is neutralized or effaced by the poetic vision on the other. Assuming a more urgent tone, Gür Genç does precisely this in his poem "Your Wall" (2013). With his feisty language he strives to dissociate from the wall its meaning and its effect: "Your wall, that you have raised for forty years with suspicion and fear, stands strong – / protecting you from the Turks, the Greeks! / Your wall, a monument of your bigotry, distrust, cowardice and hate. Your wall is your child, / already dead!"[24] We witness here the poet's reading of the wall as what the wall stands for, its meaning, which is mostly in our mind and psyche and is fed by fear and hatred. In another poem – "Invitation" (2005) – Genç boldly attacks the concept of the border and reverts to nature in order to construct a bucolic imagery in and through which friendship and peace can flourish.

Fuck the border, one side and the other / the island is not divided, just its meaning, / monument to foolishness, in a pile of tin and wire / The Bee-eater

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22   Ibid., 10.
23   Ibid., 9.
24   Gür Genç, "Your Wall," trans. Oya Akin, *Cadences: A Journal of Literature and the Arts in Cyprus* 10 (2014): 51.

is temple flying / An ultimate expression of faith here / Come let's have our breakfast from the tree – / Like shepherds leaning on their sticks / watching the billowing of the fields, / watching Mesaoria / Let us multiply life / over our dead, as nourishing as dung.[25]

Genç has his faith restored not in modernity but in a nostalgic rural lifestyle which can alone house and nourish the future. Just like Cahit summons Kleopatra from the other side, Genç's invitation in this poem is for his Greek Cypriot friend and poet Stephanos Stephanides to whom the poem is endearingly dedicated – "*To Stef.*"[26]

In the same way that Genç annuls the meaning of border, Stephanides stages the death of the wall in his poem, "Requiem for Trikomo" (2004). He locates his autobiographical persona on the Green Line, and contemplates whether he should sing a requiem to his birth village of Trikomo, now in the North: "Do I come to sing your requiem? / At the checkpoint."[27] In an impressively succinct and effective way, Stephanides constructs the modern history of Cyprus by a metonymic reference to the five flags standing for the relations among Greece, Cyprus, the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, Turkey and the United Nations and makes this historical reality disappear: "I do not see the five flags flutter / History has never been."[28] Stephanides' disregard of the flags and the inherent feelings of nationalism attached to them is reminiscent of the ending of Jenan Selçuk's poem "The Date Palm" (2003): "Paranoias / Stitched of the flag cloth, a straightjacket / made in Greece / made in Turkey."[29] To substitute the island's bitter history marked by nationalistic paranoia, Stephanides employs "[o]nly creatures hovering / With the instinct of seven humming birds / Drawing me near / Light as an apparition."[30] As in Gür Genç's poem in which the wall is already dead, for Stephanides, too, the physicality of the wall, and the symbols

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[25]   Gür Genç, "Invitation," trans. Oya Akin and Stephanos Stephanides. Published only in Turkish as "Davet" in *Kelebek Tekmelemek* (Nicosia: Bilinçatı Yayınları, 2011), 60.
[26]   Ibid.
[27]   Stephanos Stephanides, "Requiem for Trikomo," in *Blue Moon in Rajasthan and Other Poems* (Nicosia: Kochlias Publications, 2005), 22.
[28]   Ibid.
[29]   Jenan Selçuk, "The Date-Palm," trans. Aydin Mehmet Ali with the poet, *KUNAPIPI Journal of Postcolonial Writing & Culture* 33, no. 1–2 (2011): 48.
[30]   Stephanides, "Requiem for Trikomo," 22.

of division recede in the narrator's imagination which plunges into a space of cultural and emotional memory triggered by creatures with the instincts of birds. With the words "hovering", "instinct", "humming" and "apparition," Stephanides conveys effectively the lightness of this memory or fantasy which is juxtaposed with the heavy and disturbing contextual baggage of the five flags which flutter. It is the same technique that he uses in his poem "Broken Heart" (1993; revised 2000) in which the suffering of his "ailing heart" is attributed to the "fluttering banners / that banish me from severed arteries"[31] and in which, once more, the narrator's only choice is a regression in the realm of the imagination, the ethereal as well as of nature: "and I move outward through the city gates / while I dream of east and north / of apparitions of community / a communion / with sea citrus milk of sheep / and olive / in a drawing waning earth / fragile trophy of my quest."[32]

It is the same letting go into the timeless, internal, magical world of fantasy and imagination that Nora Nadjarian's poem "Jasmine" (2003) achieves.

She reached the line: / the perfume, the white scent / leading her. Jasmine. / It was her childhood again, / visiting; like that small breath / of flowers from another's garden / as she passed by, a child playing / the fence railings like the harp. / Come, come, the scent pulled her, / Always. But the garden was not hers, / she was told. Nor was the aroma, / which lured and dared her to trespass. / Now, as she crossed the unstraight, / the invisible, the impenetrable line, / and as the blue-bereted soldier / watched her feet closely, eye-measuring / the millimetres, and as his mouth / opened to call out HALT! / she was a child again, running, strong. / HALT! they called but she didn't turn. / Furious pages were missing in the book / of her life. And, breathless, she thought / of the jasmine she was to find; the house / she was to see; the garden; the fence; / and her father's buried heart.[33]

Becoming a child allows the character to cross the border being led by "the white scent" of the jasmine. The white colour could not be

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[31] Stephanos Stephanides, "Broken Heart," in *Blue Moon in Rajasthan and Other Poems* (Nicosia: Kochlias Publications, 2005), 44.

[32] Ibid., 45.

[33] Nora Nadjarian, "Jasmine," *In Focus* 12, no. 2 (2015), https://cyprusinfocus.org/poetry/nora-nadjarian/.

any more pertinent, encompassing at the same time, the symbolism of childhood innocence – and therefore of defiance as well as carelessness – and of peace, juxtaposed with the blue beret of the UN soldier and the implied rusty colour of the fence railings. But the child defies all this; she touches and plays with the fence railings making music out of them "like the harp." The flowing and unstoppable white scent of the jasmine helps Nadjarian to create an image of something ethereal and intangible like Stephanides' apparition and the melody of the humming birds. At the same time, she builds a tension by pointing to the antithetical notions of fragility and potency, both associated with jasmine. The reader is therefore reminded that despite its delicate make up, jasmine's scent is pungent enough to trigger and serve as a vehicle for trespassing the border.

While Nadjarian's character is allowed only an imaginary crossing, poets such as Aydin Mehmet Ali and Neşe Yaşin employ animals for their operation of debordering. With references to animals, Mehmet Ali and Yaşin bring yet another perspective or dimension of experience, which, similarly to nature, manages to transgress the man-made borders rendering them utterly useless. In the opening of her short story titled "Forbidden Zone" (2007–2008), for example, Mehmet Ali captures a bird's eye view which moves freely and undisturbed by walls and borders:

The pigeons in defiance of orders fly in and out, settle anywhere they wish, shit indiscriminately, even worse dance in courtship and fuck all over the balconies, in full view of the guards impotent in preventing or punishing such audacious violations of morality, decency and military dictates. The quick succession of generations ensuring erasure from memory passed on by those witnesses to carnage.[34]

Mehmet Ali's call for a simulation of this animal freedom uncompromised by borders is reminiscent of Neşe Yaşin's project in her multi-part long poem, "Unsent Letters" (1992), with which she points not only to the border's interruption of physical movement but also its

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[34]   Aydin Mehmet Ali, "Forbidden Zone," in *Forbidden Zones* (London: Fatal Publications, 2013), 11.

cruel constraints on any kind of emotional and physical experience or encounter with people from the other side.

Your name / is like a knot inside me / I undo it / the soul pain and love seizures increase / if loving is not joyful / what's the use? / I must submit a petition / (My request is obvious) / "Permission to cross the border to be granted due to longing." / A lovesick flower / is dying / the guns turn on it / -Love has been detained in no man's land / It confessed to being a lunatic escapee.[35]

Reproducing the governmental bureaucratic discourse in this second poem of the series – "Permission to cross the border to be granted due to longing" – the poet cries out the tragedy of a lover who is denied their love and who will eventually manifest as an animal keeping with the "animal freedom" concept also employed by Mehmet Ali. At this stage in Yaşin's poem, the dead zone is established as the space of detention for love which, in this context and under these circumstances is identified with madness: love "confessed to being a lunatic escapee." It is madness to love someone from across the border, someone whose name is in a different language than mine: "a forbidden name."[36] In the third poem of the series, the relationship between the personal and the political is further fortified by the declaration: "[e]ven if I know nothing / I know everything / Love is the God of non-recognition of borders."[37]

It is in the final poem, however, that, like Mehmet Ali's birds, Yaşin devises her own Trojan horse which will enable the lovers to transgress the border and meet in spite of it. With the first line of each stanza, Yaşin establishes sarcasm by describing the border and its conventional meaning factually: "No permission to cross" and "No access to love / (Our Army is our greatest security)."[38] The capitalization of the Army and the placement of the sentence in parentheses fortifies the ventriloquized militarist that Yaşin's poem challenges passionately. While the stanzas begin with the reminder of the blockage, they continue in a

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[35] Neşe Yaşin, "Unsent Letters," trans. Aydin Mehmet Ali, in *Weeping Island* (Nicosia: United Cypriots Friendship Association, 2001), 102.
[36] Ibid., 107.
[37] Ibid., 103.
[38] Ibid., 107.

more lyrical mood to establish not the meaning of the border but its effects and the suffering it causes: "No permission to cross / in reality it is the traces of hope which disappear / days spent in longing have turned to grief / Don't wait for me / in the other cell of sorrow / No access to love / (Our Army is our greatest security) / I kept looking at the stars tonight / hoping you were looking too."[39] One should not ignore how it is under the auspices of unbiased nature – the open sky and the stars – that the lovers can unite at this stage in the poem which gradually builds up to reflect a climactic intensification of the narrator's passion: "Your message for a meeting has reached me / in a different country / at a different time / But I can't wait / the yellow snake called time / keeps writhing inside me / I have fallen into unpostponable longings / I must see you today."[40] In front of the ruthless face of the wall, the narrator prepares to commit her own heroic act of rebelliousness and defiance: "I will tell everyone I am in love with you / even the policeman at the check-point. / I will tell everyone your forbidden name."[41] Soon, however, the weight of reality is established. At this critical moment, the poet employs what can simulate the desired crossing. This time it is not a plant or a flower: "I will then walk through / dressed like a cat. / Wait for me / take me in your arms / I will say 'meow' to you in Turkish."[42]

Conclusion

Through the poetic representation of the transgressive presence of nature on the very border, these Cypriot poets manage to convey – in a symbolic way – the power and the effect of being and thinking from the zero point, the neutrality of a border. Focusing on the Dead Zone allows poets to explore the act of crossing in dimensions other than the literal or physical. This exploration makes clear the distinction between the physicality of the border and the more mental manifestations of it and suggests, perhaps implicitly, that in the same way that the fra-

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[39]   Ibid.
[40]   Ibid.
[41]   Ibid.
[42]   Ibid., 107–108.

gile nature triumphs over walls and borders, people too, through the thinking of the neutral can transcend and transgress their own mental borders raised by nationalism and ideology: as Gür Genç reminds us: "[their] wall is [their] child, already dead!" Employing representations of imagination and nature, these poets install a substitute for the UN force in the Dead Zone. As Niki Marangou's women from Sri Lanka have shown, an alternative peace keeping force is intrinsic to the border. Eating together under the palm trees on Sunday, these women reiterate the hope for a more genuine force of reconciliation and peace, a much more creative and constructive usage of the buffer zone. Speaking from its own zero point, poetry can make manifest "the *dynamis* of that borderline."[43]

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DEBORDERING THE BORDERS OF SELF AND OTHER, AND MATTER AND SPIRIT IN MYSTICISM

Shiva Hemmati

Introduction

The aim of this study is to argue debordering the borders and boundaries of inner and outer, spirit and matter, self and other through appreciating the universal divine love which is within all human beings. For too many centuries, humans have been caught in the myth of separation, until they have become isolated from each other and from the energies of creation that sustain them. But now there is a growing light that carries the knowing of oneness; the oneness that is alive with the imprint of the divine. This is what is being given back to all human beings. This awakening light of oneness is a reflection of the divine oneness of life, and humankind is a direct expression of this oneness. And this oneness is not a metaphysical idea but it is in every breath. This oneness is a life which is no longer experienced solely through the fragmented vision of the ego, but known within the heart, felt in the soul. This oneness is the heartbeat of life. It is creation's recognition of its Creator. In this oneness, life celebrates itself and its divine origin. The recognition of divine within humankind is a way to deborder the borders of self and other, and matter and spirit, to move beyond all that creates the separation, competition and domination, and to embrace all that creates interconnection, flow, oneness, the melting of boundaries.

Union of Dualities in Mysticism

Mysticism moves freely between the borders and realms of the invisible and the visible. The smooth flow and intercommunication betwe-

en these two levels, inner and outer, self and other allows human beings to both access the full potential of their own being and to transform the outer world from the inner. The inner orientation of mysticism is dynamic, expansive, and powerfully transformative. Mysticism unifies the spirit and matter, the transcendent and the immanent, and in the process making transparent the oneness of all creation in the Divine. It can be said that human beings with the "Same Self" cannot be divided or separated by any external religion. It is the energy of the Primal Source, the flowing Light, and pure Being that has not yet manifested the inner aspect of things. An understanding of the organic, creative, and harmonious life enables human beings to combine the science of the mind and the senses with inner knowing.

Humans have been exiled from their real home, their soul, their sacred life, and the divine presence that is within all. Everyone longs for a life that unites the inner and outer worlds, which will be different and unique. The relationship between the inner and outer as well as the spirit and matter can be restored. Only then a new earth can emerge, the reflection in its true meaning be lived, and the responsibility will become a living force. As the Divine Reality is inaccessible in respect of the Essence, and there is contemplation only in a substance, the contemplation of God in his creatures is the most intense and the most perfect. The various aspects of nature of the cosmic pole suggest receptivity, fertility, and becoming. In other words, nature symbolizes microcosmically that very principle of the cosmic image which reflects to the Divine Subject the beauty of His Own Infinite possibility to become. Ibn Arabi makes an interesting analogy of the term "Rahma" which is the Creative Mercy to "Rahm" an Arabic term for the womb. The Creative Mercy is that which brought creation into existence giving the creaturely existence an opportunity to Know and to be Known.

Mary[1] in Christianity gave birth to a child who was the direct incarnation of the Divine Spirit. Maria, Greek form, takes its etymological root from the Latin "Mare" meaning Sea, which is understood to be the Sea of Divinity that holds the forms of Knowledge within itself. She became the living conduit of the Essence of God as symbolically

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[1]   Miryam in Hebrew, and Mariam or Maryam in Arabic language.

it is through her that the Divine was born into manifestation. Mary is the symbol of the Great Soul that carries a creation in its womb. The essence of creation being the Divine Spirit, symbolized as Christ.[2]

Divinity is not a distant god in heaven, but a presence that is within all human beings. Every one enters the womb on a tide of powerful and deeply creative feminine energy. Yet because humans are rewarded for developing an externalized sense of value based on what they do instead of who they are, this early feminine connection is often forgotten while she is always a part of everyone. Now she needs to be known again, not just as a myth or a spiritual image, but as something that belongs to the blood and the breath. She can awaken human beings to an expectancy in the air, to an ancient memory coming alive in a new way. She can help all to give birth to the divine that is within everyone, to the oneness that is around all. She can help humans to remember their real nature.

The Qurān says that from water is the creation of every living thing. Jesus is that blessed current that emerges from the Pure Sea "Mare" of Creativity. The image of reflection for humans came as the image of the surface of water, the source of life without which they cannot live, that when clear allows the reflection of whatever is near and above to reflect on it. By its nature it connects human beings to the mystery of life. All creatures' existence is from water as the source of life, regeneration, and the foundation of all life, therefore, one has to return to the core, to the home, to the essence, to that reality on all levels. This natural consciousness, that is feminine sacredness, is the consciousness of life itself that is what needs to be restored. It is feminine power within which embodies the flow of energy which nourishes everyone's true needs and inner happiness, joy, and peace. It holds the secret of creation, which is the light hidden in matter, and humans need to reawaken this aspect in life and to return to the realization that they are a soul, that the earth is a living being, that the rich soil is sacred, to the fact that water is the source of life and that they are also water, to this knowledge, which is held naturally within the woman's body as a sacred space. Only then,

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[2]   Barbara G. Walker, *The Woman's Encyclopedia of Myths and Secrets* (San Francisco: Harper-Collins, 1983).

all feminine qualities will rise as a natural follow-up from a sacred space and can be implemented in the outer world as a service to humanity, as an agent of change in consciousness, a revitalizing force of a new life.

The Qurān states that God molded Adam out of clay and breathed his spirit into him.[3] God's longing for the human is none other than a longing for his own self, this spirit that is in the human, for the human is created in his external aspect and is divine in his internal aspect. Therefore, God made the human according to his own image. Since the divine essence is transcendent and inaccessible, human beings can only see God as he is reflected in creation and nature.

Divine Love and Unity of Being in Mysticism

The goal of Sufi mysticism is the "annihilation" and destruction of the ego (*Nafs*), and the return to the source of "Divine vibration" (*Neda*) which results in the mystic sounds of the Eternal, the cosmic sound from which all other sound derives and which can be heard during deep meditation. It is from this vibration, mystics say, that all life emanates. "God most High created the world from a Word, for He said, 'Be!' and it is."[4] At the heart of Islam, there is God's Word, the Qurān which has a great deal to say about oneness of divinity.

The unity of being or oneness of existence is at the core of Sufi mysticism, as Ibn Arabi defines the Oneness of Being (*Wahdatal Wujud*) beyond dualities. Since there is no room for duality here, there is no divide between male and female either. There is only the yearning amongst everyone to journey towards the one and only "truth". Sufis of all ages, and Rūmī more than any other, have expressed three aspects which they have identified in all things as love, lover and beloved while Ibn Arabi interprets them as knowing, the knower and the known. According to Ibn Arabi (1165–1240), the Sufi path is a path of knowledge of which love is the consort. William Chittick expands on *The Sufi Path of Love*, based on the work of Rūmī, in his *Sufi Path of Knowledge* (1989), an in-depth study of the doctrine of unity (*tawhid*) and the concept of

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3   Arthur John Arberry, *The Qurān Interpreted* (New York: Touchstone, 1996), 32:9.
4   Ibid., 2:17.

mystical knowledge (*Ma'rifa*). Chittick's books are invaluable in making these Persian and Arabic texts, especially Jalaluddin Rūmī's works, accessible to readers.[5]

Jalaluddin Rūmī, the great thirteenth century Persian Sufi mystic and poet, born in Balkh in present-day Afghanistan in the year 1207, began studying the exoteric sciences including Arabic, Shariah law, the Qurān, *Hadith* (the sayings of the Prophet), theology, philosophy and mathematics at an early age. Rūmī's *Mathnawi* in five volumes, first published in 1930, is called "the roots of the roots of the roots of the (Islamic) Faith",[6] emanating directly from God; the essence of the Qurān. The general theme of Rūmī's thought, like that of other mystic and Sufi poets of Persian literature, is essentially that of the concept of *tawhid*, union with his beloved, his soul's search for the Beloved (the primal root), from whom he has been cut off and become aloof – and his longing and desire to restore it. Rūmī says in *Mathnawi*:

> I am not from east or west
> not up from the ground
> or out of the ocean
> my place is placeless
> my trace is the traceless
> 'Tis neither body nor soul, for I belong to the soul of the Beloved.
> I have put duality away, I have seen that the two worlds are one;
> One I seek, One I know, One I see, One I call.
> Is it really so that the one I love is everywhere?[7]

Rūmī introduces the divine voice that resonates in all things; the One which gives meaning to life. He called the universal feminine a precious jewel which enhanced every aspect of individuals' life:

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[5]   William Chittick, *The Sufi Path of Knowledge: Ibn Al-Arabi's Metaphysics of Imagination* (Albany: SUNY press, 1989); William Chittick, *The Sufi Path of Love: The Spiritual Teachings of Rumi*, SUNY series in Islamic spirituality (Albany: SUNY press, 1983).

[6]   Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, *The Mathnawi of Jalaluddin Rūmī*, trans. Reynold Alleyne Nicholson, 5 vols., 3rd ed. (New Delhi: Adam Publishers, 2003), book 1, 3.

[7]   Rumi, *Collected Poetical Works*, Delphi Poets Series 58 (Hastings, East Sussex: Delphi Classics, 2015), xxxi.

There is a force within
Which gives you life – Seek that.
In your body
Lies a priceless gem – Seek that.
O wandering Sufi,
If you want to find The greatest treasure
Don't look outside,
Look inside, and seek That.[8]

Rūmī's "deliberate evolution" theory is expressed so clearly in the following lines of *Mathnawi* from his thirteenth-century "Couplets of Inner Meaning":

He came, at first, into the inert world, and from minerality developed into the realm of vegetation. Years he lived thus. Then he passed into an animal state, bereft of memory of his having been vegetable (…) From realm to realm man went, reaching his present reasoning, knowledgeable, robust state – forgetting earlier forms of intelligence. So too shall he pass beyond the current form of perception. (…) There are a thousand other forms of Mind. (…) Because of necessity, man acquires organs. So, necessitous one, increase your need.[9]

Intrinsically, matter and spirit or form and meaning have the same composition, the difference is the degree of fineness of vibration: "Nothing rests; everything moves; everything vibrates".[10] It can be said that the whole universe is a manifestation of the One; all things have a divine aspect. Therefore, when the Sufi mystic speaks of "the sacred manuscript of nature", nature should be understood in the broadest sense, as a collective which includes all natures – mineral, vegetable, animal, human and divine, the latter manifesting in the former. Hence, the Sufi saying that God sleeps in the rocks, slumbers in the plants, awakens in the animals and is fully conscious in humanity.[11] Rūmī's belief in Oneness is mentioned in many parts of his *Mathnawi* when he says: "All things are included in one all-embracing consciousness in a manner which displays itself as their containment within a single spa-

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[8] Rūmī, *The Mathnawi, book* 1, 21.
[9] See Indries Shah, *The Way of the Sufi* (London: Octagon Press, 1968), 226.
[10] Ibid.
[11] Rūmī, *The Mathnawi*, book 4, 231.

tiotemporal system".[12] In another part, he addresses Universal Reality's all-inclusiveness:

"Nature", i.e. the cosmos as a whole, or "every real thing" in respect of the Universal Reality's all-inclusiveness is everywhere, and the more one communicates with life, the more one feels that even the rock is not without life, that through it pulses the blood of the universe. And when we look at life from this point of view, we see that there is no place, no object which is not sacred; that even in a rock one may find the source and goal of all things in that particular form.[13]

Rūmī called the body "dust on the mirror spirit", dust that veils the radiant spirit found beneath it. He also referred to the body as a "vessel for the wine soul". The other component of the human being is the "*nafs*", usually referred to the lower instinct of human beings, but which can be educated and refined. "The spirit cannot function without the body, and the body without the spirit is withered and cold. God made the body the locus of manifestation for the spirit".[14] Rūmī points out to the mystery of the self, divine love, and the body as the location of spirituality and divinity:

Where the lips are silent the heart has a thousand tongues.
Reason is powerless in the expression of Love.
Yesterday I was clever, so I wanted to change the world. Today I am wise, so I am changing myself.
Both light and shadow are the dance of Love.
You are a volume in the divine book
A mirror to the power that created the universe
Whatever you're looking for can only be found
Inside of you.[15]

Rūmī emphasizes self-love as the basis of love of God and others. He urges people to awaken the love of self through love of God. He longs the union with God and the love of God:

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[12]   Ibid., book 2, 28.
[13]   Ibid., book 2, 29.
[14]   Ibid.
[15]   Ibid., 30.

You have been hiding so long, endlessly drifting in the sea of my love.
Even so, you have always been connected to me.
Concealed, revealed, in the unknown, in the un-manifest.
I am life itself. You have been a prisoner of a little pond,
I am the ocean and its turbulent flood. Come merge with me,
leave this world of ignorance. Be with me, I will open the gate to your love.[16]

Rūmī believes that the light of God is within us which springs from the sacred depths of the soul. He encourages human beings to love themselves and find God within themselves:

Everything in the universe is within you. Ask all from yourself.
Do you know what you are?
You are a manuscript of a divine letter.
You are a mirror reflecting a noble face.
This universe is not outside of you.
Look inside yourself;
everything that you want,
you are already that.[17]

For Rūmī, the essence of God is within all of us, therefore, human beings share the same divinity. In other words, the borders of self and other are debordered by finding God within self. Rūmī points out to the divinity within self in *Mathnawi:*

I searched for God and found only myself. I searched for myself and found only God.[18]

Rūmī describes the love of God as a way of finding self and the enlightenment:

You are the Essence of the Essence,
The intoxication of Love.
I long to sing Your Praises
but stand mute
with the agony of wishing in my heart!

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[16] Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, *The Love Poems of Rumi*, ed. Deepak Chopra, trans. Deepak Chopra and Fereydoun Kia (New York: Harmony Books, 1998), 32.
[17] Rumi, *A Garden beyond Paradise: The Mystical Poetry of Rumi*, trans. Jonathan Star and Shahram Shiva (New York: Bantam Books, 1992), 29.
[18] Rūmī, *The Mathnawi*, book 2, 71.

If Light Is In Your Heart
You Will Find Your Way Home.[19]

For Rūmī, love of God connects human beings and deborders the
borders of self and other through sharing the same breath:

Your breath touched my soul and I saw beyond all limits.
Seek us in love itself,
Seek love in us ourselves.
Sometimes I venerate love,
Sometimes it venerates me.[20]

Rūmī addresses the shared breath and motion of love within human
beings which are acknowledged through love of God:

There is little one can say about love. It has to be lived, and it's always in
motion.
The minute I heard my first love story, I started looking for you, not
knowing how blind that was. Lovers don't finally meet somewhere. They're
in each other all along.[21]

Rūmī urges human beings to meditate and love God through sha-
ring breath:

It is tears of longing that clean the mirror of the heart.
Pray! Pray always!
Meditation and adoration are your breath!
And if your breathing stops a moment
Your life will end![22]

Rūmī longs the annihilation in God and wants His love to overcome
him and to take him away from belongings of the world:

Oh my Beloved!
Take me, Liberate my soul,
Fill me with your love,
And release me from both worlds.
If I set my heart on anything but you,
Oh fire, burn me from inside!

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19   Rūmī, *The Love Poems of Rumi*, 16.
20   Rūmī, *The Mathnawi*, book 2, 701.
21   Ibid.
22   Ibid.

Oh my Beloved
Take away what I want,
Take away what I do,
Take away everything that takes me from you.[23]

Rūmī emphasizes the unity of being and sees love of God in everything which belongs to Him:

Love came and it filled me with the Beloved.
It became the blood in my body,
It became my arms and my legs,
It became everything!
Now all I have is a name,
The rest belongs to the Beloved.[24]

It is simply a statement of the Oneness of all things, from inanimate to Godhood is One Life, one Ocean of Being, on which lives and other entities are but the bubbles in the foam at the surface. Like Rūmī, Ibn Arabi, one of the greatest mystics, in *Fusus Al-Hikam* proposes "Oneness of Being" and says:

God is not understood to be a Being, or even the Supreme Being above and beyond the universe, for both conceptions imply that there are other beings outside Him. What is meant by God is simply Being as such. This cannot ever become an object of knowledge or contemplation or thought; it can only be known as unknowable, but simultaneously it presents itself as both the knower and the known, the contemplator and the contemplated, the lover and the beloved.[25]

Ibn Arabi focuses on the path of knowledge, love of God, and the world which is the manifestation of God and it is for this reason that everything is nothing other than God who has been conditioned in the station of that being. He puts it as follows:

The existence attributed to the created thing is the Being of God, since the possible has no existence. However, the essences of the possible are receptacles

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[23] Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, *The Rumi Collection: An Anthology of Transaltions of Mevlâna Jalâluddin Rumi*, ed. Kabir Helminski, introd. Andrew Harvey (Boston and London: Shambhala Publications, 2005), 617.
[24] Rumi, *A Garden beyond Paradise*, 77.
[25] Ibn Arabi, *Fusus Al-Hikam*, trans. Ralph Austin, Classics of Western Spirituality series (New York: Paulist, 1980), 61.

for the manifestation of this Being. (…) For the verifiers it has been establis-
hed that there is nothing in Being but God.[26]

It can be said that the fundamental insight is that ultimately the
ground of all things, in whatever sphere, is one; and "things", be they
the largest mass or the tiniest subatomic particle, are a perpetual state
of becoming of that One. There is immediate contact between each
thing and its reality, so that each receives Being according to its degree
of preparedness. According to Ibn Arabi, creation and manifestation
is something that takes place within the Absolute Himself and is not a
process that lies outside of Him.

> He who created things within Himself,
> You include within Yourself all the things that You have created,
> You create things that are infinite within You,
> So You are full and at the same time extensive.[27]

Every life, whether consciously or not, is a voyage of discovery of
what this unity of being really means. Rūmī in *Mathnawi* says the fol-
lowing about the union of God with other creatures:

> The moment I heard of His love, I thought,
> To find the Beloved
> I must search with body, mind and soul.
> But no – to find the Beloved
> you must become the Beloved.
> Tonight we go to that place of eternity.
> This is the wedding night –
> a never-ending union
> of lover and Beloved.
> We whisper gentle secrets to each other
> and the child of the universe
> takes its first breath.
> Escape from this cage
> and breathe the scented air of His garden.
> Your thoughts will take you
> wherever they please –
> don't follow them!

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[26]   Ibid., 67.
[27]   Ibid., 88.

Follow your destiny
and become the Self, become the Self.
Everything you want and need
is inside you.
For the Lovers in us, nothing less than this love-strike makes us happy.[28]

According to Rūmī, human beings need to achieve self-knowledge to be closer to God. When we are able to feel the depths of what has been internalized within our own beings through the generational oppression, our hearts will move into an awakened state of love for ourselves, for other women, for men, for all of life. And, when we come to embody this love fully, for ourselves, and for others, every cell of our being will be filled with Grace. Rūmī's *Mathnawi* is an almost inexhaustible description of his vision of unity, his Beloved inseparable from any part of the whole. He urges human beings to go beyond the belongings of the world which takes them away from the love of God: "Your task is not to seek love, but merely to seek and find all the barriers within yourself that you have built against it."[29] Rūmī addresses the richness of divinity within human beings through the love of God:

My eyes see only the face of the Beloved.
What a glorious sight
For that sight is beloved
Why speak of two? –
The Beloved is in the sight
And the sight is in the Beloved.[30]

Rūmī urges human beings to search God within themselves to find enlightenment: "What else do you search for outside, when within yourself you possess your riches, delights, satisfaction and kingdom – your beloved whom you desire and seek?"[31] He emphasizes the union of beings and God. To the Sufi, matter, as manifestation of the One, is sacred, and the attribute of divinity is from matter. Recognizing mentality alone does not enable us to imagine the innerness of things. Rūmī

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[28]   Rumi, *A Garden beyond Paradise*, 59.
[29]   Rūmī, *The Mathnawi*, book 2, 702.
[30]   Rumi, *A Garden beyond Paradise*, 6.
[31]   Ibid.

develops this mystical concept of concealment in numerous verses, referring to the veils covering the Beloved's face as "intermediaries", since their purpose is to shield the eyes from the "Heart-ravishing Beauty of the Face unveiled"[32] – beauty of such magnitude that mortals cannot bear to look at it until they no longer look at life from the outside. Like Rūmī, Ibn Arabi believes in the union of God and other creatures:

Every atom of this universe, mental or material, is an outcome of that eternal source and cannot exist without having part of that heavenly radiance within it. Even a mote of dust has radiance behind it and if it were not for this radiance it would not have manifested to our view. We see it because it has light in it; it is its own light that shows it to us. That is its soul.[33]

Ibn Arabi addresses divine energy within all creatures which is eternal and unlimited:

Energy is "the one". Because energy alone exists on the ultimate level, it is the single, unique root and source of all that exists. It is pure, unmixed and unadulterated. As the ultimate substance, energy pervades every corner of the cosmos. It is omnipresent, infinite and unlimited with respect to time and space. Energy is eternal.[34]

Ibn Arabi explains the union of creatures with God: "God (Being) says 'Be!' and the thing receives coming to be. Its reception of coming to be is the fact that it becomes a locus of manifestation for the Real. This is the meaning of His words, 'Be! And it is'".[35] The Real therefore stands beyond the realm of appearances, but all things are signs (*ayat*) of its reality which they in turn, by virtue of their being, express and communicate. Corbin in his book brings from Ibn Arabi's *Book of Theophanies*:

Listen, O dearly beloved!
I am the reality of the world, the centre of the circumference,
I am the parts and the whole.
I am the will established between Heaven and Earth,
I have created perception in you only in order to be the

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[32] Rūmī, *The Mathnawi*, book 2, 267.
[33] Ibn Arabi, *Fusus Al-Hikam*, 41.
[34] Ibid.
[35] Ibid., 90.

object of my perception.
If then you perceive me, you perceive yourself.
But you cannot perceive me through yourself,
It is through my eyes that you see me and see yourself,
Through your eyes you cannot see me.
Dearly beloved!
I have called you so often and you have not heard me
I have shown myself to you so often and you have not
seen me.
I have made myself fragrance so often, and you have
not smelled me.
Savorous food, and you have not tasted me.
Why can you not reach me through the object you touch
Or breathe me through sweet perfumes?
Why do you not see me? Why do you not hear me?
Why? Why? Why?
For you my delights surpass all other delights.
And the pleasure I procure you surpasses all other pleasures.
For you I am preferable to all other good things,
I am Beauty. I am Grace.
Love me, love me alone.
Love yourself in me, in me alone.
Attach yourself to me,
No one is more inward than I.
Others love you for their own sakes,
I love you for yourself.
And you, you flee from me.
Dearly beloved!
You cannot treat me fairly
For if you approach me,
It is because I have approached you.
I am nearer to you than yourself,
Than your soul than your breath.
Who among creatures
Would treat you as I do?
I am jealous of you over you.
I want you to belong to no other,
Not even to yourself.
Be mine, be for me as you are in me.
Though you are not even aware of it.

Dearly beloved!
Let us go toward Union.
And if we find the road
That leads to separation,
We will destroy separation.
Let us go hand in hand.
Let us enter the presence of Truth.
Let it be our judge
And imprint its seal upon our union
Forever.[36]

Conclusion

The present study examines the highest level of mystical elevation in Sufi mysticism to emphasize the union of existence by debordering the borders of self and other, and spirit and matter. For discussing Sufi metaphysical concepts of spiritual union with the Absolute and divine love, the study focused on the mystical views of Rūmī and Ibn Arabi. Rūmī's divine love and Ibn Arabi's Oneness of Being refer to the level of spirituality that one attains after going through a journey in the search of the One. And the person who strives to find God is motivated by love for the Divine. The Divine Spirit is present in every human being, and he is just not aware of it. The seeker ascends the ladder of knowledge and self-recognition in order to achieve the level of Unity with the Real in which love plays a vital role. The human gains knowledge of God through self-knowledge and achieves unification with the Real Being and also gains some Divine attributes which unveil the secrets of the universe to him. It makes him look at the world beyond its limits through debordering the borders of matter and spirit, and self and other.

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[36] Henry Corbin, *Creative Imagination in the Sufism of Ibn Arabi*, trans. Ralph Manheim, Princeton Legacy Library (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014), 36.

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WOMEN'S VOICES AND VULNERABILITY: INVISIBLE AND VISIBLE OBSTACLES

Nadja Furlan Štante

Introduction

The paper brings together perceptions and concerns about the practical consequences of the concept of women's vulnerability and the question of negative gender stereotype of women as passive listeners. Through the body, we are exposed, opened onto the world and to others, even as for others we are the ones to whom they are exposed and vulnerable. In this sense, vulnerability is universal, an inevitable part of embodiment. The root of the word vulnerability is the Latin *vulna*, which means "wound." The term is used in a variety of ways: economic, geopolitical, emotional. On one side it describes the fragility of our bodies, and the terror, confusion and fellow-feeling that can come from our perception of our shared embodiment. As Sarah Hagelin refers "both to the physical fact that a thin layer of skin separates the inside of our bodies from the outside world and also as coplex structures of feeling in this case those that define our sense of ourselves as vulnerable."[1]

Kate Brown summarizes three distinct but interrelated concerns about the practical consequences of the concept of vulnerability: (1.) vulnerability is a patronizing, paternalistic, and oppressive concept; (2.) vulnerability becomes a premise for an instrument of social control; and (3.) vulnerability has stigmatizing and exclusionary consequences.[2]

Through the body, we are exposed, opened onto the world and to others, even as for others we are the ones to whom they are exposed and

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[1] Sarah Hagelin, *Real Vulnerability: Power, Pain, and Gender in Contemporary American Film and Television* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2013), 13.

[2] Kate Brown, "Vulnerability: Handle with Care," *Ethics and Social Welfare* 5, no. 3 (2011): 316.

vulnerable. In this sense, vulnerability is universal, an invitable part of embodiment. Or with the words of Judith Butler: "(…) the body implies mortality, vulnerability, agency: the skin and the flesh expose us to the gaze of others, but also to touch, and to violence, and bodies put us at risk of becoming the agency an instrument of all these as well."[3] The theme of vulnerability is implicit in all Butler's work, yet it is treated most directly in *Precarious Life*. Butler's idea of precarity, which is politically conditioned and precariousness as "the condition of being conditioned" is definitive of life itself and reveals "life as a conditioned process."[4] Precariousness is akin to an exsistential sense of finitude in that it emphasizes the fragility of existence, but it serves a different purpose. Precariousness calls our attention to the way any of us might be substituted for another. Understood in this way, precariusness is an ungrounded ground for "positive social obligations."[5] To the extent that I am vulnerable and my life is precarious, it is also because I am bound to others. Social bonds condition my existence.

Vurnerability in this sense usually means a system of beliefs, images and narratives that imply a capacity to be harmed (either physically or emotionally). Generally, the word has also implied a powerlessness or victimization that spring from our understanding of the term, especially in regard to images of the female body. Or as E. C. Gilson stated, "female vulnerability is manifest in the way women are portrayed as submissive, powerless objects that are acted upon and often harmed by men."[6]

From the perspective of feminist critique, there is always something both risky and true in claiming that women are especially vulnerable. The claim can mean that women have an unchanging and defining vulnerability, and that kind of argument makes the case for paternalistic protection. And yet, there are good reasons to argue for the differential vulnerability of women; they suffer disproportionately from poverty

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[3] Judith Butler, *Undoing Gender* (New York: Routledge, 2004), 26.
[4] Judith Butler, *Precarious Life: The Powers of Mourning and Violence* (New York: Verso, 2006), 23.
[5] Ibid., 22.
[6] Erinn C. Gilson, *The Ethics of Vulnerability: A Feminist Analysis of Social Life and Practice* (New York: Routledge, 2014), 157.

and literacy, two very important dimensions of any global analysis of women's condition. Women disproportionately suffer also the impacts of disasters, severe weather events and climate change because of cultural norms and the inequitable distribution of roles, resources, and power, especially in developing countries.

In some ways, vulnerability has been regarded as a value in feminist theory and politics. This means neither that women are more vulnerable than men nor that women value vulnerability more than men do. Rather, certain kinds of gender-defining attributes, like vulnerability and invulnerability, are distributed unequally, and for purposes of shoring up certain regimes of power women are subordinated by that.

The modern progressive conception and understanding of gender order is certainly rather significantly related to the issue of socio-cultural paradigm of power and power distribution. The present paper also results from the progressive view that the roles of men and women were mainly shaped by influences arising from the history, culture and society, and, therefore, change as the society itself changes.

Religion (Christianity) has been one of the patriarchal structures that have objectified women and denigrated their bodies. At this point, we should briefly examine perceptions and concerns about the practical consequences of perceiving women's bodies as the seed of carnal wickedness and seductive wilderness, imprinted negative stereotype by Church Fathers and perpetuated throughout church history.

Women's Body: Prejudice of "Carnal Wickedness" and "Seductive Wilderness"

Women and femininity have found themselves in a unique moment in history, marked by a high appreciation of the body, corporeality and at the same time of the humanity and likeness to God in both sexes. Our era is that of images, imagination. A corporeality expressing concreteness has become the central element of society, lending a new meaning to sexuality or the concrete, corporeal expressiveness of man and woman in terms of the importance of embodiment and ebodied experience.

The body is, thus, of fundamental importance in the determination and formation of an individual's identity. Women and men are standing at a turning point in terms of flexibility and definition of their roles and concepts. In the process of globalisation, women and men are more and more intensely faced with numerous media and social influences, which at times inflict on them images of corporeality as well as new definitions of masculinity and femininity. Due to the mass of influences forcing on human being various images and notions, human is befogged or blinded by the search for the ideal representation, corporeality and image. At the same time, he / she is blinded by many stereotypical gender-related images which hinder our freedom of expressivity. The weight of negative stereotypes and prejudices thus represents a burden for the modern man / woman, who is looking for and re-creating both his / her image and his / her attitude towards the other. Although much has changed with regard to prejudices that in the past used to define and restrict women and men in their activities even more severely, it is possible even today, although women receive the same kind of education as men and have, at least theoretically, equal opportunities in employment and participation in the public sphere of life, to recognise a covert influence on interpersonal relations and the views of masculinity and femininity and the conceptions of women's bodies.

The most powerful component of negative gender stereotypes, however, refers to personality traits in close connection with the so-called nature of the body. Also, in today's increasingly media-defined society, which is perhaps already obsessed with the body and appearance, identifying negative gender stereotypes should not be overlooked either.

Throughout history, in fact, negative representations of women have been piling up and have created an image that does not suit today's (wo)men. Or, better, in the course of history, the exclusively unilateral interpretations of Biblical texts and the accentuation of the wrong elements of determinating Christian truths have allowed certain negative stereotypical views of gender roles to form, especially the stereotypes about women and their "bodily carnal wickedness."

The emphasising of the following Biblical text, for instance: "And the rib, which the Lord God had taken from man, made he a woman,

and brought her unto the man,"[7] led to extremely patriarchal patterns of women's roles. The woman was for this reason marked as a second--class being, made from man and as such completely obedient and subordinate to him. This prejudice was further consolidated by Aristotle's idea that the female is a female by virtue of a certain lack of qualities and that we should regard the female nature as afflicted with a natural defectiveness. In relation to this, Thomas Aquinas proclaimed the woman to be hommo manque – an imperfect man. The negative connotation of the woman's position was further strengthened by the representation of woman as a temptress, which had, in the history of Christianity, a crucial influence on the views and oppression of women. For this reason, the disdain for women was especially present in the ascetic lives of monks. All carnal things in fact had the seal of the Kingdom of Darkness. St. Augustine, for instance, connected original sin to the sex drive, and together with St. Ambrose placed evil-bearing Eve in opposition to Mary, the bearer of life and salvation. St. Augustine respected Mary as the Mother of God, his own mother St. Monica, and Mary Magdalene, who announced the resurrection to the apostles, but he considered all other women were a symbol of weakness and inclination to sin.[8] On the other hand, the accentuation of the unattainable ideal of the Virgin Mary only underlined Eve's lack of chastity and the sinful nature of average women. The more patriarchal society and the Church became, the more stress was laid on the weak nature of women. Sentences taken out of context, such as "She should be submissive," and "Wives, be in subjection to your own husbands," strengthened the patriarchal perspective of male supremacy and female subordination.

Excessive emphasis on the exclusively familiar role of women, of woman as a mother, substantiated and justified the division of labour myth and kept the woman in the private, domestic sphere. The stress on the importance of her ability to give birth made many feminists accuse the Church of confining and reducing women to the merely reproductive role.

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[7]   Gen 2:22.
[8]   Nadja Furlan Štante, *Women, Nature, and Religion: Eco-feminist Perception* (Koper: Univerzitetna založba Annales, 2014), 34–35.

Throughout history, each period separately borrowed from Christianity what suited it most. The image of women was marked by the negative power of prejudices and second-class rank, which was reflected in the unimportance and, in places, utter absence of the female element in the Bible as well as in the life of the Church. On the other hand, the image of Mary set before women an ideal that reminded them of their power and the noble female nature branded with carnality and weakness.

On the other hand, the prejudice of the impurity of women's body is also concerned with early Christian discourse on menstrual practices, its implications for women as embodied subjects in early Christianity and the creation of taboos and negative stereotypical religion-determined pattern of femininity, women's impurity and inferiority and stigmatization of woman's body is of a great importance as well. Early Christian male writers propagaded and perpetued an inherent androcentrism rooted in ancient Greco-Roman perceptions of the female somatic experience. Ancient medicine always equated the female somatic experience with inferiority. Hereforth, patriarchal culture demeans and denies the elemental power of the female body. So the taboo of impurity and inferiority of women's body, dangerous and impure in ritual is stigmatized and pathologized. Menstruation is regarded, not only by physiologists and many doctors, but also by some feminists, as a sickness, a blank spot, a non-event that the women must endure and would be better without, an evil time.

So the insight into the marginalization of woman's body her menstrual purity / impurity in the view of early Church Fathers is of a great importance because it is still inherent in contemporary gender religious policy. And it needs a healing deconstruction and new formations of embodied experience of the positive aspect of female body.[9]

The institutionalised Church became patriarchal in its mentality, as well as structure. Under Constantine, the Church adopted the patriarchal form of rule and order of the Roman culture of the time, and

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[9]   Nadja Furlan Štante, "Rojstvo in ženska kot prenašalka življenja: iz perspektive teološkega eko-feminizma" ("Birth and Woman as a Carrier of Life: from the Perspective of Eco Feminism"), in "Krogotok rojstva in smrti" (The Circle of Birth and Death"), ed. Irena Rožman, *Poligrafi* 15, no. 58–60 (2010): 39.

thereby also the main principle of Roman law – *pater familias* – which was anything but favourable to the woman. According to Roman law, the woman was completely subordinate to her father or husband. She did not enjoy any legal protection or legal rights. Her status was marked and defined by the prejudicial belief in her physical and mental weakness. This same status was assigned to the woman within the Church and further aggravated in the 4th century. Many Early Church Fathers characterised women as dangerous to men. "You are the devil's gateway!" said Tertullian about women in the 3rd century. Since the woman was considered impure in pre-modern cultures, this prejudice became the basis for excluding women from liturgical rituals. At the Synod of Laodicea in the 4th century, it was decided that, due to their uncleanness, women could not go to the altar. In 829, the Synod of Paris added the rule that women were prohibited from touching holy objects. In the same spirit, in the 12th century Gratian insisted that women be completely subject to their husbands, as they were not created in God's image.[10] Men of patriarchal views were almost completely blinded by human haughtiness. Even in the case of the canonisation of Teresa of Avila, a Church teacher who surprised the men of the cloth with unusual gifts and powers, the giftedness and extraordinariness of this woman were justified by the presumption that she had defeated her female nature. Only because she had defeated her female nature could she get closer to men. In other words, a woman could not succeed or do good deeds unless she adopted manliness or the male principle of action.[11]

Negative stereotypical gender definitions of the woman *as an imperfect man, devil's temptress, unchaste adulteress and sinner, inferior servant or forth-bringing uterus* have aggravated the position of women throughout history. Many negative gender stereotypes and prejudices have left a strong impact on the social sphere as well the Catholic Church and Christianity. Given the close interaction of culture and religion, that is, the society and the Catholic Church, it is understandable that the

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[10] Gerald A. Arbuckle, *Violence, Society and the Church, A Cultural Approach* (Minnesota: Liturgical Press 2004), 69–70.

[11] To a great extent, this is still valid today: the woman is secretly expected to assume the male principle of action if she wants to be successful in society.

gender stereotypes and prejudices present in the society transferred into the life of the Catholic Church and vice versa.[12]

Clearly, religion has been one of the patriarchal structures that have objectified women and denigrated their bodies. Although Christian theologians from early on recognized the goodness of the human body, they expressed a great deal of ambivalence with regard to woman's body. The Church Fathers were ready to admit that woman's body was a good creation of God, but at the same time, they tended to portray woman as intellectually inferior to man on account of her different body. It was this different body that pulled her away from eternal concerns and led her into temporal cares. This bodily weakness made woman an easy victim of deception and explained the tragic fall of the first woman, Eve. She was called "the author of sin" because she "dragged her husband" into sin and became the "Devil's gateway" to all humanity. Eve's carnal wickedness sealed the fate of all women.[13] Women were perceived as susceptible to sin, inherently flawed, and in need of men's assistance against the weak powers of their bodies.

If the Church Fathers described Eve's deception of Adam as her "enticing" him and giving an "incentive" to his sin, they did not make an explicit connection between Eve's seductiveness and Adam's sin. At the same time, there are indications that such associations were made in a less direct manner. The early fathers were obsessed with the so-called cosmetic theology, that is, women's relation to their decoration. These early theologians criticized women's concern for personal appearance because they took it to be a sign of women's worldliness and a lack of spiritual discernment. One specific danger the fathers addressed had to do with the increase of women's seductive powers as a result of their adornment. A woman displaying her beauty was considered immoral not because she failed to protect her own sexuality but because she failed to protect the sexuality of men. As a result, Tertullian warned that a woman's beauty had to be feared.[14] Woman's moral purity was seen as absolute when her body could neither tempt nor be tempted. This ha-

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[12]   Nadja Furlan, *Manjkajoče rebro* [The Missing Rib] (Koper: Annales, 2006), 59–60.
[13]   Ibid, 115–119.
[14]   Wioleta Polinska, "Dangerous Bodies: Women's Nakedness and Theology," *Journal of Feminist Studies in Religion* 16, no. 1 (2000): 46–49.

ppened only at the time of death, when her perpetual virginity was fully realized. At times, the Church Fathers recognized their own responsibility for sexual temptations. This distinction became clouded even further with the acceptance of Aristotelian biology in the late Middle Ages. According to this scheme, a man is fertile and perfectly formed, and contributes his soul to the offspring, whereas a woman is infertile and deformed, and contributes her body to the offspring. Not only is a woman a defective man, but also, in contrast to the man, who rules by nature, she obeys by nature.

Among other negative consequences that negative gender stereotypes regarding women's bodies have had on the perception of women as embodied subjects, the vulnerability of women's bodies and their abuse is fare more destructive.

Athough the paper will not focus on the question of vulnerability of women's bodies further on, it would be appropriate to stress out three aspects of women's vulnerability in terms of embodied experience: (1.) on women's disproportial suffering from poverty and literacy, (2.) on feminicide (the phenomenon of the female homicides in Ciudad Juárez, called feminicido (feminicide), involves the violent deaths of hundreds of women and girls since 1993 in the northern Mexican region of Ciudad Juárez, Chihuahua) and (3.) on women's involvement in abuse (be it sexual abuse in terms of rape) or in terms of Kelly Oliver's *Women's as Weapons of War*. Within popular discourse, women's bodies, menstrual blood, and female sexuality can be used as tactics of war because of the potency of their association with danger of nature. Oliver states that "akin to a natural toxin or intoxicant, women's sex makes a powerful weapon because, within our cultural imaginary, it is by nature dangerous."[15]

From this standpoint, the next focus of this paper will be the question about the gendering of perceived or marked vulnerabilities and how they function to expand or justify those structures of power that seek to achieve cultural-religious dominance in the social context of speech and voice: the two recognized metaphors of power.

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[15]   Kelly Oliver, *Women as Weapons of War: Iraq, Sex, and the Media* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007), 31.

Here we touch upon and deal with the question of vulnerability of silenced women's voice and speech and negative gender stereotype of women's silence (in discriminatory way) imprinted in our collective memory.

Negative Gender Stereotype: Women as Passive Listeners

After we briefly drew attention to the interaction between women and vulnerability (in relation to the formulation of gender order and negative gender stereotypes which correspond to the socio-religious agenda of a particular time and environment), we will now briefly highlight the proportion of the impact of institutionalized Christianity on the formation and strengthening of negative gender stereotype of women as passive listeners. This negative stereotype has in fact left a strong mark until today, burdening public participation of women as well as their scientific performance. The presence of women in public is a sign of their social power and its most perceptible metaphors are speech and voice.[16] Verbal practice and social interaction are the places where the struggle for power and superiority of one gender over the other takes place and is reflected, notes Susan Gal, an anthropologist, and further indicates the political and educational institutions, courts of law and religion as a place where different forms of antagonisms between the genders are formed.[17] In accordance with her arguments, it is in these institutions where the struggle for power between the genders takes place, the images of equality are created and where it is determined what, when and how someone can say. Throughout history, female silence and quietness were justified and argued with female modesty, humility and obedience, which are supposed to be characteristic female virtues. At the expense of highlighting these virtues, women were deprived of their participation in public debates, speeches and appearances. Their opinion was most frequently insignificant, put in shade and justified with modesty, humility and obedience, which all set a limit for women

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[16] Voice and speech on the material level include the symbolic-metaphorical level.
[17] Susan Gal in: Deborah Borisoff and Lisa Mersill, *The Power to Communicate: Gender Differences as Barriers* (Illinois: Waveland Press, 1998), 5.

which was not allowed to be exceeded. Because of these characteristics or virtues that were expected from women, they were neither allowed to speak publicly nor to expose their opinions. If women crossed the border of obedience and silence, they were labelled as unruly and immoral. Only the one-sided emphasizing of Paul's commandment for women to be subordinate, as the law says, and to remain silent in the Church[18] has even more reinforced and enhanced such requirements in the Christian world. Therefore, throughout the history, the exposure of women in public has been perceived as unethical behaviour, worth of conviction.

At this point, we should make a brief excursus into biblical exegesis and the interpretation of the above mentioned biblical passage by the leading Christian feminist biblical exegete Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza. In Paul's behaviour she sees a preventive measure by which Paul wants to protect the Christians against external mischief makers. In her opinion, Paul's restriction on women's freedom and equality has grounds in the missionary inclinations. In doing so, the apostle Paul would only try to meet the then Roman social norms that prohibited women from speaking in public. Paul therefore had no intention to harm or oppose the spiritual freedom and the charismatic engagement of Christian women. One of the hypotheses is that Paul's restriction applies only to married women and widows. Regarding Paul's view on women, Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza says:

In any case, Paul's view of women's leadership is double-edged. On one hand, it emphasizes Christian equality, parity and freedom. By encouraging women to lead unmarried life, he is enabling them to a new, independent way of life and participation. On the other hand, he puts women at a disadvantage both in marriage and in their participation in the Christian community.[19]

The double-edgedness of Paul's view was supposed to allow the later generations to transfer patriarchal hierarchy into the new Christian community. Later, in the process of institutionalization of Christianity this was even escalating. Regardless the fact that Paul's interpretation

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[18] The entire passage from 1 Cor 14:34–35: "As in all the churches of the sacred the women in your churches are to remain silent as well. They are not allowed to speak, but should be obedient as the law says. However, if they want to become learned they are to inquire of their husbands at home, because it would be shameful if a woman had a word in the Church."
[19] Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza, *In Memory of Her* (New York: Crossroads, 1983), 236.

of the baptismal formula: "There is no Jew nor Greek and no slave nor freeman, there is no man nor woman: for you are all one in Christ Jesus,"[20] in his letters in Corinth it clearly confirms the equality of the charismatic gift, which is intended for both women and men in the Christian community. Both women and men can then have a prophetic and leading position in the Christian community. They are also both called to either married or unmarried life. For with the baptism the Christian men and woman receive religious equality.

In the times of Jesus, such religious equality at the same time meant socio-political equality. In the then Jewish society this meant that anyone who has become a Christian man or a Christian woman, among other things also received the norms of equality and thus had to abandon Jewish male religious privileges. The first Christian communities in the pre-Pauline period and in the time of the Apostle Paul, were characterized by a spirit of equality and mutual solidarity. During this period, the position of women in almost all things was equal to the position enjoyed by men. Women in the early Christian churches also administered the Eucharist, preached the word of God, performed various leading functions and did the missionary work. Women therefore played an important role in the formation of the first Church.[21] Even Hans Küng recalls the spirit of equality, which was a typical trademark of the first Christian churches.[22] In the process of institutionalization of the Catholic Church and Christianity, the ethos of equivalence and equality was replaced by a tendency for power and domination of men over women. Thus, Christianity gradually absorbed patriarchy and doing so also the power and domination over women. As culture marked Christianity with its patriarchy throughout the history, so did Christianity often help to reinforce the patriarchal mindset of the culture in which it has evolved. Tina Beattie, for example, reminds of this kind of reciprocity.[23] In her opinion, the Catholic hierarchy in the twentieth century took over and used the thesis according to which the passivity

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[20]   Gal 3:28.
[21]   Arbuckle, *Violence, Society and the Church*, 70.
[22]   Hans Küng, *Women in Christianity* (New York: Continuum, 2001), 3.
[23]   Tina Beattie, *Woman, New Century Theology* (London, New York: Continuum, 2003), 106–107.

of women together with other similar characteristics that are attributed to women, is the result of biological determinism of gender.

This prejudice is still present today, as the male way of presenting, speaking and lecturing in practice remains elevated as the norm, while female way is considered as emotional, rather confusing and not as rational as the male one. Despite the fact that women are today active participants in public speaking and shaping public opinion, they are still considerably marked by prejudice which closed them off to the area of silence and quietness. Consequently, researchers recognize the traces of negative sexual stereotypes of women as passive listeners, which is nowadays reflected in the understanding of the way the women are supposed to be delivering their public presentations. According to the research findings, such understanding is considerably marked by prejudices that women talk quietly, softly, mildly, timidly. As we already established, women were in the past faced with a particular pattern of true womanhood, which, among other things, commanded obedience; women being noticed or seen was regarded far better than women being heard. This revealed the role of women as an object of admiration. The ethical code of conduct for women in everyday life was to be seen rather than to talk.[24]

In these negative stereotype commandments, Robin Lakoff, for example, cited by Deborah Borisoff and Lisa Mersill, identifies the causes for the previous voicelessness of women. In his opinion, this has left the consequences even today. In their speech and public presenting women are supposed to be using speech fillers or adjectives that mitigate words. Thus, public speaking and discussing performed by women is still often seen as weak. Female expression of the will is assumed as different from male mode, which is considered to be rational and strictly focused on the goal, while the expression of the will performed by women was characterized as weak in terms of indirect communication of the target result, and this is understood as a reflection of uncertainty. Such behaviour reflects stereotypes or discriminatory traditional notions of sentimentality, indecision and non-aggression of women. On the other hand, men in Western culture were constantly faced with the

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[24]   Borisoff and Mersill, *The Power to Communicate*, 14.

imperative of competitiveness, combativeness, aggressiveness. While the men were brought up for winning the women were requested to be compromising, permissive and adaptive.

The hierarchy of values presupposed and set male logic and objectivity to be the norm. As opposed to female stereotypes that were stigmatized as sexually laden and determined, the male stereotype presumed and reflected neutrality rather than sexual denotation or conditionality. Since the femininity was marked and identified with limitations and definitness, masculinity was stretched beyond the borders of one gender only, it is more difficult for men to understand the limitations of gender definitions.[25] Stereotypes that define masculinity in the normative role for humanity are much less an obstacle and more in support of the preconceived stereotypes than the stereotypes that are related to femininity. A destructive impact of gender stereotypes and prejudice is present at all levels and areas of everyday life. Covert and overt forms of power posession on the basis of gender are evident in both verbal and non-verbal communication. The latter is reflected in the mime, posture … therefore, in the non-verbal expressions, which both genders are taught through sex education. Although many scientists, both male and female, were looking for an explanation of the phenomenon that men (usually) take up more space and women are often modestly satisfied with less space, and analysed biological conditionality, the social constructivism emphasizes the exclusive role of social stipulation and learning through culture. Thus, the assumption which was consolidated in the form of prejudice prevailed, namely, that men need more space by nature, while women are naturally prone to modesty about how much space they are to take.

Similarly, negative and unjustified generalizations with regard to women and their characteristics and capabilities often present obstacles which women face in everyday life. Therefore, women are supposed to be, for example, due to excessive sentimentality, unable to perform managerial and other important public functions. Attention to this problem is drawn in a study on vertical job segregation by gender, cited by

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[25] Ibid., 15.

Cynthia Fuchs Epstein already in 1970.[26] The survey shows that women are prevented from promotion to senior positions because of employers' belief that they would jeopardize the company's operations because of their excessive sentimentality, while employers were not interested in emotional behavior of men.[27] Besides their sentimentaility, there are also many other so-called female properties that do not meet the demands of women employment politics for influential jobs or vocations that are regarded as male. Qualities that are considered as female are in this context understood as weaknesses. The belief that "male" manner is the only right and effective manner, blocks the prosperity and perspicacity of women, as well as the enforcement of the characteristics that are considered typical of women or present femininity. Cynthia Fuchs Epstein also notes that women, if they want to succeed in the so-called male occupations or in leading positions, need to adopt the male manner of functioning. At the same time, women have to confront the stereotypes and prejudices that present an ambitious woman as a sinful image or the antithesis of a true religious-encoded traditional woman and femininity.[28] Gender stereotypes and prejudices are in this way a furtive manner of maintaining a hierarchy between the two genders, and thus, a destructive element from the perspective of egalitarian relationships.

The battle for power, therefore, marks the relations between the genders and their positions. While verbal communication today is often a distinct reflection of this battle, non-verbal communication reveals its origins.

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[26]   Unfortunately, the situation, as witnessed by modern findings, still has not changed significantly. This is also pointed out by Mirjana Ule, who, based on the research results, summarizes that they are "clearly supporting the hypothesis that sexual affiliation undoubtedly remains a central element of institutional life in Slovenian science, not in the lecture halls, but where there is power, influence, prestige, reputation, money, where the decisions are made." Mirjana Ule, "Gender Differences in Science Work and Career Conditions in Slovenia," *Theory and Practice* 49, no. 4 (2012): 626.

[27]   Cynthia Epstein Fuchs, *Woman's Place* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970), 23.

[28]   Ibid., 24.

Conclusion

Different religious feminist approaches and feminist theologies strive for both the establishment of an equivalent, positive evaluation of women and femininity as well as the admonition about the issue of power perception. Just as emphasizing only the negative gender stereotypes and prejudice patterns in its core reflects and supports the violence between genders, so does emphasizing or communicating through the use of negative religion-marked gender stereotypes and prejudices support and reinforce both gender and inter-religious intolerance and violence. The battle for power is the key drive of violence, which has strongly influenced all interpersonal relationships, the complete global gender structure.

The aim of deconstruction and surpassing negative stereotypical perceptions and being trapped in biased perception of all that is different is empowerment of individuals. Through raising awareness and surpassing the entrapment in the nets of biased and negative stereotyping (of women's body stigmatized with prejudice of carnal wickedness and seductive wilderness, and negative stereotype of women as passive listeners who merely decorate the public table, and further on, the missconceptions of women's vulnerability,) the contemporary men and women both contribute to the process of empowering individual men and women, the principle of gender equality integration, as well as the decentralization of *power over* within patriarchal societies.

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DECOLONIZING OUR WOMBS: GENDER JUSTICE AND PETRO-PHARMACULTURE [1]

Cara Judea Alhadeff

"All truth passes through three stages. First, it is ridiculed. Second, it is violently opposed. Third, it is accepted as being self-evident."

Arthur Schopenhauer

"Industry-funded studies are not science. Nor is it science when the final conclusion is already predetermined."

Tim Boyd

"Parents, by humoring (...) them when little, corrupt the principles of nature in their children, and wonder afterwards to taste the bitter waters, when they themselves have poisoned the fountain."

John Locke

Primum non nocere: Above all, do no harm

How we raise our children is critical to our agenda for radical social justice for women. Like Chaia Heller, who has witnessed mothers' struggle between being "for herself" or "for her child," I reject the "hierarchical structure of our society which organizes parenting in such an oppressive way for women."[2] Particularly in our Anthropocene Era, patriarchy seems impossible to capsize because motherhood has been systematically excluded from philosophical inquiry. Any sustainable, collective justice must challenge how we think about motherhood. When we recognize and assert the relationship among

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[1] This essay explores the intersection of numerous contentious issues (perinatal hospital procedures, the vaccination industry and mandatory vaccinations, antibacterial measures, public breastfeeding, infant formula, childhood nudity, women's psychiatry). For further discussion and resources please see the author's previous work *Viscous Expectations: Justice, Vulnerability, the Ob-scene* and the forthcoming one *The Insinuating Body*: *Confessions of an Eco-Obsessed Mother (and other lies)*.

[2] Chaia Heller, "For Ourselves and for Each Other: The Necessity of an Ecological Feminism," (unpublished article, last modified June 6, 1991), paper print, 6.

dynamic intersubjectivities – what Chandra Mohanty refers to as imbrication[3] – within the social construction of motherhood, we can begin to loosen neoliberalism's stranglehold on U.S. democracy. Like the metabolism of the human body and the earth's tendency towards homeostasis, the metabolism of our culture must be scrutinized as a relational organism. I examine how hypermedicalizing children and women, the stripping of our commons, and pathologizing of motherhood are intimately bound to reproductive justice. Exposing "constellations of power" while extricating the "processes of [maternal] subject-formation" my essay attempts to "reveal the complexity, contingency and violence of our 'regimes of truth'"[4] embedded within our conceptions of motherhood.

"Petroleum-parenting," what is identified as market-driven choices parents make that overwhelmingly contribute to both environmental destruction and body-phobic institutional practices, reifies the *status quo* and our myopic capacity to engage beyond our convenience-culture and accumulationist individualism. Petroleum-parenting includes how we give birth, how, or whether or not we vaccinate our babies and children, how we negotiate circumcision-decisions, breastfeeding, transportation, sleeping, bathing, screen-technology-as-surrogate-parent, and how we choose to feed, diaper, entertain, and educate our infants, toddlers, and children. These perhaps seemingly benign behaviors, in fact, maintain and inscribe the borders of our totalizing, reductive, designer-birth culture. Intricate systems of metropolitan capital dominance colonize both the human body and our earth body. When we allow our normal bodily processes to be homogenized through the lens of pathology, we relinquish our autonomy and deny both our interdependency and potential for hospitality. The concept of normal becomes violently distorted in the service of capitalist accretions.

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[3]   Chandra Talpade Mohanty, "On Race and Voice: Challenges for Liberal Education in the 1990s," *Cultural Critique* 14 (Winter 1989–1990): 182.

[4]   Judith Butler and Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, "What is Critique?" In conversation with Nikita Dhawan & María do Mar Castro Varela, programme description for the Dialogue held at Goethe-University Frankfurt, May 21, 2011, in *Normative Orders: Cluster of Excellence at Goethe University Frankfurt/Main*, accessed April 8, 2013. http://www.normativeorders.net/en/?option=com_content&view=article&id=1922.

Fig. 1: Convenience-Culture Parenting.[5]

Fig. 2: Debordering The Sanctity of Normalcy.[6]

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[5]   Cara Judea Alhadeff, *Zazu Dreams: Between the Scarab and the Dung Beetle; A Cautionary Fable for the Anthropocene Era* (Berlin and Lemont: Eifrig Publishing), 93. All figures are composites of the author unless otherwise indicated; published on www.carajudea.com.
[6]   Robert Kenner, *Merchants of Doubt*, documentary (Sony Pictures Classics, 2014).

J. Krishnamurti's warning, "It is no measure of health to be well-adjusted to a profoundly sick society,"[7] characterizes *both* our global crises *and* our potential as parents to intervene in convenience-culture. In our petroleum-pharmaceutical-addicted, inhospitable cyber-world, our collusion with corporate forms of domination is infinite. Interlocking mechanisms among such infrastructures enable both complicity (perpetuating apathy and its concomitant loss of agency) *and* emancipation (allowing creativity and connectivity to flourish). The refusal to acknowledge our interrelatedness heightens, what Michel Foucault identified as the fascism within:[8] an insidious collusion of misogyny and academic, institutional, and corporate coercion. Chela Sandoval analyzes this complicity:

This rhetorics constructs the most seemingly innocuous forms of personal and everyday life – of subjectivity, of citizenship itself (…) a structure, a rhetoric for being that orders and regulates Western social space and consciousness (…) that invite[s] citizen-subjects to faultlessly consume ideology, and to guilelessly reproduce 'depoliticized' and supremacist forms of speech, consciousness, morality, values, law, family life, and personal relations.[9]

This essay investigates neoliberal, de-historicized forms of consciousness in which women as citizen-subjects have failed to recognize how we relinquish our civil rights and socio-political agency by succumbing to corporate fear tactics. This failure is identified as the violence-of-the-everyday, including its corresponding sanctity of normalcy – a violence that perpetuates convenience-culture, by maintaining misogynist infrastructural practices.

Decolonizing Our Wombs

The ways in which society denaturalizes pregnancy and birth is a direct reflection of how it rejects difference, the unknown, civic respon-

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[7]   Jiddu Krishnamurti, *Freedom from the Known* (New York: Harpers Collins, 1969), 39.
[8]   Michel Foucault, Introduction to *Anti-Oedipus*, vol. 1, *Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, by Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari (London and New York: Continuum Books, (1972) 2004), xv.
[9]   Chela Sandoval, *Methodology of the Oppressed* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000), 21.

sibility, and informed consent – "vital expression[s] of health freedom and human rights."[10] In a patriarchal society, freedom of choice is illusory, operating through entanglements of institutional and symbolic state networks. Quotidian biological events are reconfigured as medical crises, ironically requiring generic, reductionist protocols. As a co-founder of Occupy (Decolonize) Pregnancy, Birth & Parenting, an Occupy Oakland Caucus, the author struggles to disentangle the roots of systemic corporal and social violence – recognizing how pregnancy, birth, and mothering in the US function as officially sanctioned forms of misogyny.

Giving birth is the primary reason women are hospitalized in the US. The medicalization of birth is a fifty billion-dollar a year industry. Medical interventions that were once only practiced on high-risk pregnancies are now automatically imposed on all pregnant women, frequently for the convenience of the medical practitioner. A prime example of the ways in which modern digital technology has subsumed our innate body-knowledge is the hyper-media saturated medicalization of pregnancy and birth, resulting in a transformation of women's psyches (Barbara Duden), and literally, dismemberment – an institutionalized sectioning – of our bodies. Heller shares:

> Ecofeminism points to the center of two of our society's most grueling conflicts: The conflict between culture and nature, and the conflict between self and other. Within western patriarchy, culture is seen as a triumph over nature, a cutting off from the body and the natural world. In the same way, the "self" is seen as a triumph over other; a cutting off from dependence on others and a protection of one's self-interest.[11]

Popular media educates the public to expect fear, pain, and disempowerment as inevitable conditions of pregnancy, labor and childbirth – ironically one of life's most natural experiences. Widespread disinformation assures us that "experts know more about our bodies than we do."[12] Midwife Ina May Gaskin confirms this perversity when she

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[10] Louise Habakus, "Every Last One: How to Force Total Vaccine Compliance by Controlling the Conversation and Eliminating Choice," *Wise Traditions in Food, Farming and The Healing Arts* 16, no. 2 (Summer 2015): 58.

[11] Heller, "For Ourselves and for Each Other," 4.

[12] Ina May Gaskin, *Ina May's Guide to Childbirth* (New York: Bantam Book, 2003), 315.

states that tragically "(…) most U.S. women remain convinced that their bodies are poorly made to give birth."[13] One in three women now give birth via cesarean section. C-sections can be detrimental to both mother and infant because the neonate's "skin and gut get colonized with the mother's microorganisms as [s]he goes through the birth canal. (…) [C-section results in] failure to have proper implantation of microorganisms at birth"[14] and can lead to an avalanche of physical disorders lasting well into adulthood: asthma, allergies, skin disorders, and susceptibility to a slew of infections, including heightened chronic negative reactions to vaccinations.[15]

The specificity of a woman's body is dematerialized when the petro-pharma-cultural arsenal is indiscriminately insinuated through assimilationist consumerism and "sanitary ideologies" (Paul Virilio). Virilio argues that the "progressive sterilization of all natural factors, the ever-greater repression exercised against physical [wo]man (…) radically transform[s] social activity."[16] Gary Cohen, the 2015 MacArthur Foundation recipient and the founder of Health Care Without Harm, labels hospitals as "cathedrals of chronic disease."[17] Hospitals are the bedrock of petro-pharma-culture; iatrogenics (healthcare-induced infections) are the third leading cause of death in the US.[18] Although they are clearly critical to help treat physical trauma and emergencies, hospitals represent one of the most egregious threats to our corporeal and environmental ecology. Ultra-sterile hospital environments breed many of the most virulent contagions.

Simultaneously, our culture's sanitary ideologies' obsessive germ-frenzy that requires antibacterial hand-sanitizers distributed through-

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[13]   Ibid.
[14]   Sally Fallon Morell and Thomas S. Cowan, *The Nourishing Traditions Book of Baby and Child Care* (Washington DC: The New Trends Publishing Co., 2013), 242.
[15]   Ibid., 54.
[16]   Paul Virilio, "Sanitary Ideology," in *crash: nostalgia for the absence of cyberspace*, ed. Thomas Zummer and Robert Reynolds (New York: Thread Waxing Space, 1994), 99, 100.
[17]   Gary Cohen, "MacArthur 'Genius' Cleans Up Polluting Health Sector*,*" an interview by Steve Curwood, in *Living on Earth, Public Radio International's Environmental News Magazine*, October 9, 2015, accessed April 6, 2015, http://loe.org/shows/segments.html?programID=15-P13-00041&segmentID=2.
[18]   Ronald Grisanti, "Iatrogenic Disease: The 3rd Most Fatal Disease in the USA," accessed April 9, 2015, http://www.yourmedicaldetective.com/public/335.cfm.

out our public space is creating an unprecedented chemical overload on women's and children's bodies. The high-volume chemical compounds triclosan and triclocarban (found in hand-sanitizers mouthwashes, toothpastes, deodorants, bedding, washcloths, towels, kitchen utensils, and toys) are known carcinogens. These pesticides disrupt hormone levels and are commonly found in breast-milk.[19] In daycares throughout the U.S., children are required to "clean" their hands before snack time – essentially eating triclosan. Like flame retardants and polychlorinated biphenyls (PCBs), its effects include impaired skeletal growth and muscle function that has led to cardiac arrest, lung damage, and an increased risk of allergies and immune-system dysfunction in children.[20] In 2013, the U.S. Food and Drug Administration (FDA) announced that "there appears to be little or no evidence that antibacterial soaps and household products help prevent us from being exposed to germs, and they may even pose significant health risks."[21] Although the American Medical Association stated that this chemical is creating superbugs,[22] it is still used in hospitals, which in turn sparks the consumer market. In 2012, Kline & Company antibacterial soaps comprised almost half of the $900 million liquid-soap market. Big Pharma has capitalized on germ-phobia – conveniently selling products that disable our natural immunity. The reality is:

"[m]odern research has discovered that only a very small number of microorganisms are pathogenic (…) able to make us sick. The vast majority of bacteria are beneficial (…) we can not live without them."[23]

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19   Environmental Working Group (EWG), "Pesticide in Soap, Toothpaste and Breast Milk – Is It Kid-Safe?," July 17, 2008, accessed June 4, 2011, http://www.ewg.org/research/pesticide-soap-toothpaste-and-breast-milk-it-kid-safe.

20   Environmental Protection Agency, "Biomonitoring Polychlorinated Biphenyls (PCBS)" in *America's Children and the Environment,* 3rd ed., 156; accessed April 9, 2015, https://www.epa.gov/sites/production/files/2015-05/documents/biomonitoring-pcbs.pdf.

21   Melanie Haiken, "Antibacterial Soaps May Pose Health Risks, FDA Says; Should They Be Banned?," *Forbes,* December 16, 2013, accessed April 6, 2015, http://www.forbes.com/sites/melaniehaiken/2013/12/16/antibacterial-soaps-may-pose-health-risk-fda-says/#364a3dab20d4.

22   Alexandra Zissu, "Harmful Ingredient Found In Anti-Bacterial Soaps," *Huffington Post,* September 3, 2013, accessed April 8, 2015, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2013/08/29/harmful-ingredient-found-in-hand-sanitizer-from-alexandra-zissu-from-marlo-thomas-mondays-with-marlo_n_3837011.html.

23   Fallon Morell and Cowan, *The Nourishing Traditions,* 242.

It is crucial to shift our focus from bacteria-phobia to environmental toxicities: about 45 chemical contaminants circulate throughout the average American pregnant woman's body. "American babies are born with the highest levels of flame-retardant chemicals of any place in the world."[24] And, the scientist whose studies were used by the tobacco industry to promote the necessity of such chemicals, "fireproofing the world around the cigarette," explicitly states his research was "distorted" – in fact these flame-retardants protect no one.[25]

Among women of all ethnicities and races, the U.S. has the highest hospital-born, first-day infant mortality rate of any industrialized country, and has one of the highest infant (beyond the first-day) and maternal mortality rates of all industrial and non-industrial countries. Amnesty International's recent study states that U.S. women risk dying of pregnancy-related complications more than women in 40 other countries.[26] Globally, the U.S.'s maternal health ranks 60th in the past 25 years, U.S. maternal mortality rates have more than doubled. Latinas are 50 % and black women are 500 % more likely to die in childbirth than white women. Black women are four times more likely to die of pregnancy-related complications than white women. Black babies die of complications at birth four times more than other ethnicities; they are twice as likely to die before their first birthday.[27]

[F]ewer Black women now receive prenatal-care, a fact that has fatal implications, because babies born to mothers receiving no prenatal care are three times more likely to die in infancy than those whose mothers do receive such care. (…) Standing at the intersection of racism, sexism, and economic injustice, black women have been compelled to bear the brunt of this complex oppressive process.[28]

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[24]   Patricia Callahan interviewed by Robert Kenner in Kenner, *Merchants of Doubt*.
[25]   Ibid.
[26]   "Maternal Health is a Human Right," *Amnesty International USA* (official webpage), accessed April 8, 2015, https://www.amnestyusa.org/our-work/issues/poverty-and-human-rights/maternal-health.
[27]   "The State of Black Children in America: A Portrait of Continuing Inequality," *Children's Defense* (official webpage), March 28, 2014, accessed April 22, 2015, http://www.childrensdefense.org/library/data/state-of-black-children-2014.pdf.
[28]   Susan L. Smith, *Sick and Tired of Being Sick and Tired: Black Womens' Health Activism in America, 1890–1950* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995), 58.

To clarify, the author argues against hyper-medicalized prenatal-care: extensive physical exams, high-tech screenings such as ultrasound, blood-work (testing for Rh status and anemia), Group B Strep (antibiotics for those who test positive undermine healthy bacteria in both mother and fetus), papsmear, chlamydia and gonorrhea tests that involve repeated pelvic examinations, glucose test, vaccinations, and other pharmaceutical drugs "foisted on pregnant women as though they have no choice."[29] In contrast, prenatal care that includes midwives and doulas relies on body awareness and education, thus is critical to both woman and fetus. The World Health Organization (WHO) reports that midwives save thousands of infant and mothers' lives during childbirth.[30]

Fig. 3: Petroleum-Parenting Revisited.[31]

Such biohazards are institutionally expected and accepted – hegemonic networks that set the stage for the everyday-violence against women. This axiomatic violence – frequently leading to infant and/or maternal mortality – includes "emergency" hospital procedures (pitocin – proven to have an impact for four generations,[32] epidurals, c-sections)

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[29]   Fallon Morell and Cowan, *The Nourishing Traditions*, 68.
[30]   Marie-Agnes Heine, "10 Facts on Midwifery," *World Health Organization, Fact File*, accessed June 24, 2012, http://www.who.int/features/factfiles/midwifery/facts/en/.
[31]   Photo credit for the image on the left: Freeimages.com/Tomasz Kobosz.
[32]   Conversation with Registered Nurse Midwife Heidi Loomis, State College, Pennsylvania, U.S.A., April 8, 2016.

and fear-based births with their profit-driven post-natal procedures (mother – infant separation, antiseptic washing of the Vernix caseosa, eye-drops (a state-by-state mandated antibiotic steroid erythromycin), sugar water administered for jaundice, circumcision, blood-work, formula-coercion, Vitamin K shots (completely unnecessary if there is a two-minute delayed cord-clamping),[33] and Hepatitis-B vaccination (the most irrational of all postnatal procedures) – frequently leading to brain inflammation, nausea, fever, immune and neurological disorders, and numerous other manifestations of vaccinosis[34] – an illness produced in an individual after receiving a vaccine. It is significant to note maternal, natural interventions, for example, breast-milk rich in immune factors can be used as a natural antibiotic for eye and ear infections and for treating flesh wounds, just as a few minutes everyday in the sunlight "cures" jaundice. Additionally, "[t]he umbilical cord's iron- and oxygen-rich blood, along with [the Vernix caseosa] coating to protect baby's immature skin, [serves as] natural immunity that makes various shots and antibacterial treatments unnecessary."[35] Newborns are initially inoculated as they travel through the birth canal. But this prevents pharma-profit. The scene in which the medical-expert hands over a squeaky-clean, freshly vaccinated baby to the passive mother lying on her back exemplifies and lays the foundation for a society built on violence against women. Antonella Gambotto-Burke decries:

In 2013, four times as many women died giving birth around the world than there were casualties in the Syrian conflict, yet there were no headlines, crisis bulletins, aid packages or expressions of public outrage. The 293,000 women who die in pregnancy and childbirth every year (and the seven to 10 million who suffer severe or chronic illnesses caused by pregnancy-related complications) do so without public recognition of any kind. Heads of state do not stand in silence for the mothers who have fallen.[36]

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[33]   Mark Sloan, "Common Objections to Delayed Cord Clamping – What's The Evidence Say?," *Science & Sensibility*, April 25, 2016, accessed June 9, 2016, https://www.scienceandsensibility.org/p/bl/et/blogid=2&blogaid=526.

[34]   Ines Kristensen, Peter Aaby and Henrik Jensen, "Routine vaccinations and child survival: follow up study in Guinea-Bissau, West Africa," *British Medical Journal* (2000): 1441.

[35]   Fallon Morell and Cowan, *Nourishing Traditions*, 97.

[36]   Antonella Gambotto-Burke, "Should Women Really Be Rushing Back to Work?," *The Guardian*, July 11, 2015, par. 5.

GLOBAL VACCINE MARKET
ANNUAL NET PROFIT

$60 BIL

$40 BIL

$20 BIL

$980 MIL

2005   2015

BIG PHARMA
ANNUAL NET PROFIT

$800 BIL

$711 BIL

$600 BIL
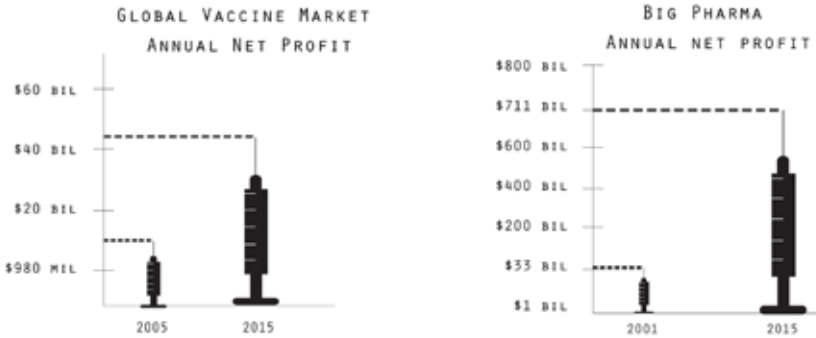
$400 BIL

$200 BIL

$33 BIL

$1 BIL

2001   2015

Fig. 4: The End of Hospitality Revisited.

Everyday-violence against women who suffer from an accumulation of chemical and biotoxins is inextricably bound to violence against children's minds and bodies. Just as we are overmedicating women, we are overmedicating children – misdiagnosing them with ADHD and numerous other behavioral labels, while feeding them processed food and screen technology that maintains the toxic soup in which they live. "Prescription drugs are the fifth leading cause of death in the United States (…) 80 % of prescription drugs sold and used for children in the US are not approved such use",[37] nor, does approval ensure safety. *The Greater Good* documentary[38] demonstrates how pharmaceuticals / vaccines like Gardasil are fast-tracked through the FDA's scientifically unwarranted and unethical approval system (the speed determined by politician / CEO's proceeding scheduled elections). In the case of Gardasil, only 1,000 young teen girls were tested, and only for a two-week period – most reactions occur after the second or third injection.[39]

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[37]   Aviva Jill Romm, *Vaccinations: A Thoughtful Parents' Guide* (Rochester, Vermont: Healing Arts Press, 2001), 184.

[38]   Leslie Manookian Bradshaw, *The Greater Good*, a movie directed by Kendall Nelson and Chris Pilaro (Hailey, Idaho: BNP Pictures, 2011), DVD.

[39]   In 2015, Dr. Bernard Dalbergue stated: "I predict that Gardasil will become the greatest medical scandal of all times because at some point, the evidence will add up to prove that this vaccine, technical and scientific feat that it may be, has absolutely no effect on cervical cancer and that all the very many adverse effects which destroy lives and even kill, serve no other purpose than to generate profit for manufacturers." See Sally Fallon Morell, "Caustic Commentary," *Wise Traditions in Food, Farming and The Healing Arts* 16, no. 2 (Summer 2015): 14.

Fig. 5: "Gardasil: The Greatest Medical Scandal."[40]

The primary "public-health alert" in the U.S. focuses on vaccinations. Because our corporatized citizenship is so intricately intertwined with institutional intimidations, we find ourselves ricocheting within a neoliberal boomerang of unaccountability, echoing the tobacco industry in the 1990s. Our public health system hinges on coercive misinformation. For example, by the time the measles vaccine was introduced in 1963, measles deaths in the U.S. had declined over 98 %, and in England almost 100 %. Yet, mass media propagates fallacious statistics regarding measles.[41] Moreover, an accurate history of the measles vaccine includes the pharmaceutical industry's unrestricted breech of ethics. The fact that the vaccine was tested on mentally retarded and disabled children throughout the 1950s and 60s[42] demonstrates offi-

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[41]   Alex Newman, "Over 100 Measles Vaccine Deaths, Zero Measles Deaths, Since '04," *The New American Magazine*, February 16, 2015, accessed April 13, 2015, http://www.the-newamerican.com/usnews/health-care/item/20132-over-100-measles-vaccine-deaths-zero-measles-deaths-since-04).
[42]   "Vaccine Testing and Vulnerable Human Subjects," *The History of Vaccines: An Educational Resource by The College of Physicians of Philadelphia*, last modified August 25, 2016, accessed

cially sanctioned violations of human rights. Reminiscent of the 2014 Centers for Disease Control (CDC), Dr. William Thompson, senior epidemiologist at the CDC, became a whistleblower revealing data concealed by the CDC linking the MMR vaccine to autism among African American males below three years of age. The history of medical imperialism proves yet again that our children, and specifically our children-of-difference (children of color), too often become collateral damage.

"The public good" implies witting and unwitting fear-induced complicity from mothers. Obstetric intervention buttresses pharmaceutical intervention, thereby supporting the $40 billion vaccination industry. For example, the U.S. national "Well-Child Program" penalizes pediatricians who do not fulfil their annual quota of vaccinated clients,[43] while the British government gives physicians financial incentives to maintain high vaccination administration, including monetary bonuses given for vaccine rates higher than 70 to 90 %.[44]

In addition to coercive tactics within the medical establishment, Big Pharma is the largest advertiser today, the number-one lobbyist in Washington D.C., donating twice what oil and gas give to our pocket-politicians – four times as much as defense and aeronautic contractors. Since 1986, pharmaceutical company revenues have risen over 300 %. Merck, Connaught Laboratories, and Wyeth-Lederle, producers of mandated vaccines, grotesquely profit from their officially sanctioned infringement of freedom. Manufacturers' profits exceeded $1 billion in 1996, an increase from $500 million six years earlier. Today, Big Pharma makes over $711 billion annual net profit, an increase from $33 billion a little over a decade earlier. The criminality of the pharmaceutical industry is well documented on the U.S. Justice Department's website: since 2001, criminal-civil pharma fines continue to increase – reaching as high as $3 billion. The global vaccine market total revenue reached $10 billion in 2005. In 2015, estimated at $41 billion.[45]

September 4, 2016, http://www.historyofvaccines.org/content/articles/vaccine-testing-and-vulnerable-human-subjects.

43   Conversation with Dr. Aaron Roselle, Oakland, California, U.S.A., March 22, 2012.

44   Ibid.

45   Romm, *Vaccinations*, 125.

The following (Tab. 1) is a time-line comparison of all "recommended" (*increasingly required*) vaccines and boosters following the CDC schedule.

	1983	2012
By infant's 1st birthday	11 doses of 4 vaccines	26 doses of 9 vaccines
By 6th birthday	22 doses of 7 vaccines	48 doses of 14 vaccines
By 18th birthday	23 doses of 8 vaccines	70 doses of 16 vaccines

Tab. 1: Big Pharma's Big Money[46]

In addition to poisonous additives and the aggressive increase in dosages, vaccinations today are unsafe because of the synergistic effect of all the other toxic chemicals that today's children are exposed to in air, water, and food.[47] Furthermore, *combined* vaccines are now enforced. For example, mercury and aluminum are *synergistically neurotoxic* which means that when they are injected together, for example in the MMR (measles, mumps, rubella) vaccination given to infants and children, their individual toxicity is far more hazardous.[48]

It is essential to recognize that a vaccinated individual is not necessarily immune, and a vaccinated individual is more likely to spread the disease for which they have been vaccinated. "Herd immunity," the primary rationale for statewide compulsory vaccinations, has been repeatedly debunked in scientific, peer-reviewed, non-pharmaceutical industry, longitudinal studies.[49] It is crucial to distinguish between

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[46]   Megan Pond, "Adjuvants in Vaccines: The Toxic Ingredients in Inoculations," *Wise Traditions in Food, Farming and The Healing Arts* 16, no. 2 (Summer 2015): 41.

[47]   Ibid., 40.

[48]   Ibid., 43.

[49]   Leslie Manookian, "Studies Show that Vaccinated Individuals Spread Disease: Should the Recently Vaccinated be Quarantined to Prevent Outbreaks?," *Wise Traditions in Food, Farming and The Healing Arts*, February 2, 2015, accessed April 6, 2015, http://www.westonaprice.org/press/studies-show-that-vaccinated-individuals-spread-disease/; Sherri Tenpenny, "A Doctor's View of Vaccines and the Public Health," in *Vaccine Epidemic: How Corporate Greed, Biased Science, and Coercive Government Threaten our Human Rights, Our Health, and Our Children*, eds. Louise Kuo Habakus and Mary Holland (New York: Skyhorse Publishing, 2011), 263; Annemarie Colbin, "A Holistic Health Perspective," in *Vaccine Epidemic: How Corporate Greed, Biased Science, and Coercive Government Threaten our Human Rights, Our Health, and Our Chil-*

different kinds of immunity. Lifelong naturally-acquired immunity is derived from, among other practices, natural childbirth and breastfeeding. Vaccinating infants before the age of two prevents the immune system from properly developing.[50] It is critical to delay vaccinations until at least age two, and even get blood tests to determine the maturity of the immune system, to be sure the Th1/Th2 cells of immunity are in healthy balance. Otherwise, vaccines are entering a more vulnerable system with higher risk for adverse effects (both at the time of injection and later in life) from inflammatory diseases – one of many critical factors leading to vaccine injuries and fatalities.[51] In contrast with natural immunity, vaccine immunogenicity (antigen-response from substances that produce antibodies when injected) does not necessarily guarantee lifelong protection from disease, but requires periodic vaccinations that are frequently more damaging to the child's body than the diseases for which vaccines are given. Poisonous additives such as mercury, formaldehyde and thimerosal exponentially heighten the danger of many vaccines.[52] These adjuvants are added to stimulate an immune response, which vaccinology claims is "immunity." These vaccinations can literally eviscerate the immune system – not only the individual body's immune system, but that of our social body.

All economic classes are subject to being ostracized by their peers who have internalized pharmaceutical fear-tactics. In spite of this, from January 2014 to mid-April 2015, there were 42,000 reports of adverse reactions to the Vaccine Adverse Events Reporting System (VAERS), 10,000 emergency room visits and 179 deaths.[53] The CDC admits

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dren, eds. Louise Kuo Habakus and Mary Holland (New York: Skyhorse Publishing, 2011), 277, 291; David Gutierrez, "Vaccine herd immunity debunked," *Natural News*, June 17, 2015, accessed January 9, 2016, http://www.naturalnews.com/050099_herd_immunity_vaccination_Russell_Blaylock.html.

[50] Stephanie Seneff, "GMOs and Vaccines," interview by Kelly Brogan, *Fearless Parent: Thinking … For a Change*, episode 48, October 29, 2014, accessed May 2, 2015, http://fearlessparent.org/radio-blog-gmos-and-vaccines-episode-48/.

[51] Conversation with Dr. Kara Waltz, Oakland, California, U.S.A., June 7, 2012.

[52] Robert F. Kennedy Jr., "Unchecked Power," *Pathways to Family Wellness*, no. 47 (Fall 2015): 12.

[53] Louise Kuo Habakus and Mary Holland, eds., *Vaccine Epidemic: How Corporate Greed, Biased Science, and Coercive Government Threaten our Human Rights, Our Health, and Our Children* (New York: Skyhorse Publishing, 2011), 12.

that underreporting is one of the main limitations of VAERS. Tens of thousands of parents do not report their children's injuries to VAERS because pediatricians disregard their experience as "anecdotal." This manufactured need is another example that demonstrates the perverse alliance between petro-culture and pharma-fascism.

The 1986 National Childhood Vaccine Injury Act *protects* pharmaceutical manufacturers and those who administer vaccines from financial or legal liability for vaccine injuries and death. Vaccine casualties consistently lead to damage of the nervous, respiratory, immune, and digestive systems. Neurological damage includes: motor function deficits, Autism Spectrum Disorder, learning disabilities, allergies, ADHD, impaired immune function, auto-immune disease, anaphylactic shock, and encephalopathy.[54] Offering no recourse, "[c]ompulsory vaccines and no manufacturer liability create (…) a captive audience for the vaccine market."[55] Government mandated vaccinations are an appalling example of manufactured "choice" and maternal degradation. Illuminating institutional mechanisms of medical imperialism, they defy international codes of ethics such as the Nuremberg Code that prohibits coercive medical procedures of any kind, including mandatory vaccination. The foundation of democracy is inquiry and debate. Mothers who question these industry tactics do not constitute a flight from the democratic process, but rather encourage educated decision-making. Yet, in our U.S. democracy, many misled liberal and conservative Americans, like Parul Sehgal (the editor of the *New York Times Book Review*), erroneously identify the symptom of a "very American distrust of the collective." Sehgal confuses mutual responsibility with a *decreed* erosion of informed consent – claiming that mothers who question the vaccination industry are among those raging individualists who fear difference: "We are locking our door and pulling our children out of public school and buying guns and ritually sanitizing our hands to allay a wide range of fears, most of which are essentially fears of other people."[56] Facts indicate the opposite. Mandatory vaccination laws (such as SB277 passed

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[54] Ibid., 9.
[55] Romm, *Vaccinations*, 193.
[56] Parul Sehgal, "Mothers of Invention," *Bookforum* 22, no. 2 (June//July/August 2015): 19.

in California in 2015) deny children the right to attend public school unless vaccinated. Parental rights are misconceived as an escape from civic responsibility, demonstrating what Virilio critiques as sanitary ideology in which "collective living seems intolerable."[57]

One way to embrace "collective living" and refuse collusion is to make *informed* choices that reflect how we all are interconnected. Creating and sustaining coalitional support systems undermine our epidemic-of-individuality – encouraging cooperation and enabling women, and mothers in particular, to relearn how to trust our self-knowledge. Epigeneticist author of "Conscious Parenting: Parents as Genetic Engineers," Dr. Bruce Lipton urges us to remember

you are personally responsible for everything in your life, *once you become aware* that you are personally responsible for everything in your life. One can not be 'guilty' or be 'blamed' for being a poor parent unless one was already aware of the above-described information and disregarded it. Once you become aware of this information, you can begin to apply it to reprogram your behavior.[58]

Fig. 6: Resisting the Nestlé-Monsanto Merger.

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57   Virilio, "Sanitary Ideology", 99.
58   Bruce H. Lipton, *The Biology of Belief: Unleashing the Power of Consciousness, Matter & Miracles* (New York: Hay House, 2005), 147.

Choices to defend our bodies and those of our children collectively disable the tyranny of isolation and self-reliance that reifies patriarchal paradigms. These include protesting FDA fast-tracking, GMOs / agrichemical lobbying, and electromagnetic-pollution while supporting natural, vaginal-births and breastfeeding – exponentially boosting children's natural immunity. Statistically proven, breastfeeding prevents long-term disorders (diabetes, obesity, respiratory illnesses, and breast cancer) for both baby and mother.[59] Formula-fed, vaccinated babies' risk of contracting a disease is exponentially higher than breastfed babies (whether or not they have been vaccinated).[60] Breastfeeding can save taxpayers up to $13 billion annually.[61] If we intend to halt the violence-of-the-everyday, we must support the mother as she chooses this proactive path. My discussion is by no means meant to stigmatize women who do not have the choice to breastfeed due to specific health or economic conditions (working mothers who can not pump).

Encouraging public breastfeeding is one form of support. Anecdotal evidence of censored mothers' bodies in public sites (including Facebook, airports, restaurants, stores) can attest to the ways in which breastfeeding is hyper-sexualized (shamed in public) and therefore hidden in our culture. The mother's body is systematically erased from the breastfeeding equation. Exponential benefits of breastfeeding can not be reduced to the chemical make-up of breast-milk, isolated as a scientific formula to be produced and sold by petro-pharmaceuticals. True to the tendency of reductionism in scientific research, it is the breast-milk that is studied and not the significance of the breastfeeding relationship. "It is well worth considering that while breast-milk is an

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59 WHO Technical Staff, "Exclusive breastfeeding to reduce the risk of childhood overweight and obesity: Biological, behavioral and contextual rationale," *World Health Organization*, September 2014, accessed April 6, 2015, http://www.who.int/elena/titles/bbc/breastfeeding_childhood_obesity/en/.
60 Romm, *Vaccinations*, 163.
61 Breastfeeding leads to better health for baby, fewer (if any) doctor's visits, which means less days off work, while avoiding long-term conditions for both baby and mother – such as diabetes, respiratory illnesses, and breast cancer. These are benefits that save money for individual families, employers, and even for the federal government. See "Support All Breastfeeding and Working Moms," *Momsrising.org*, accessed June 19, 2015, http://action.momsrising.org/sign/support-all-breastfeeding-working-moms/?t=9&akid=7407.2201648.4IsPfe.

independently effective agent against infectious diseases, it is likely that the full effects of a positive breastfeeding relationship can not be over-valued and could never be recreated in a formula designed to match the biochemical factors in breast-milk."[62]

Like Heller's analysis of hierarchies that undermine collaborative nurturing, Vandana Shiva explores the concept of "resource" rampant in proclamations from both the Left and the Right:

Resource implied an ancient idea about the relationship between humans and nature – that the earth bestows gifts on humans who, in turn, are well advised to show diligence in order not to suffocate her generosity. In early modern times, "resource" therefore suggested reciprocity along with regeneration. With the advent of industrialism and colonialism, however, a conceptual break occurred. 'Natural resources' became those parts of nature which were required as inputs for industrial production and colonial trade.[63]

Both ironically and predictably our bodies' "resources," milk and blood, are appropriated. Mothers who have hospital births are inundated with propaganda from formula companies and cord-blood banking. The cord-blood banking industry (one of the fastest growing industries across the world, is an example of mother-collusion-profits-over-people, a pernicious capitalist venture that undermines the initial relationship between a newborn and its mother – jeopardizing the newborn's health. The *manufactured* need for cord-blood banking, a procedure that costs at least $10,000 for storage, is legitimized as a life-saving device for future transfusion. Cord-blood companies claim that cord blood stems cells are used in the treatment of approximately 80 diseases that include genetic diseases, blood disorders, and a variety of cancers; yet, the necessity for this "insurance" would radically decrease if natural immunity was prioritized. What is not advertised is that the newborn *needs* that blood for essential antibodies and natural immunity and to prevent anemia that may impair brain development. Hospital protocol often unscrupulously *requires* that the cord be cut immediately after the infant is born (the cord-blood, rich, primitive, undifferentiated stem

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[62]   Romm, *Vaccinations,* 164.
[63]   Shiva, Vandana. "Resources," in *The Development Dictionary: A Guide to Knowledge and Power*, ed. Wolfgang Sachs (London: Zed, 1991), 206.

cells, is collected and frozen). Frequently, this procedure is followed by forced removal of the placenta that can be life-threatening to the mother. Following my unassisted home-birth, on my fortieth birthday (our "due-date"), I chose not to cut the umbilical cord for almost two hours after my son, Zazu, was born – until the cord stopped pulsating – so that he would not need Vitamin K shots and so we could continue to remain connected.

Fig. 7: Public Breast-Feeding Option.

Within my practice of thinking about motherhood, I continually remind myself of Foucault's following questions in his introduction to Deleuze and Guattari's *Anti-Oedipus*: "How do we rid our speech and our acts, our hearts and our pleasures of fascism? How do we ferret out the fascism that is ingrained in our behavior?"[64] Petroleum-parenting represents this embedded behavior. Internalized fascism (one of its many manifestations being the pathologizing of motherhood) is so integral to our cells and psyches we are often not cognizant of its constitutive and formative mechanisms. Fatimah Mernissi depicts this blurring: "Anxiety eats at me whenever I can not situate the geometric line organizing my powerlessness."[65] Neoliberal "choice-rhetoric" obfuscates how motherhood is manufactured. The individual is simultaneously valorized while being expunged of specificity.

"Choice" becomes an "appropriate" product of the marketplace – in the context of propriety, property, ownership, entitlement, and purity. The "proper" or "propriety" is inherent in the very concept of "property." These constructs all point to the illusory integrity of the individual, the contained and uncontaminated private, *le propre* (proper hygiene), thus stripping the fertility of hospitality. Virilio examines the homogenizing purification of the public:

It is in the name of safeguarding modesty and against suspect promiscuity that the isolation and subsequent rupture of social communication has been instituted in the city (…) the development of 'health and hygiene' (...) over and above the context of simple bodily precautions (...) now represents a veritable sanitary ideology.[66]

Congruent with Virilio's critique of compulsory bacterial elimination, George Bataille denounces a childrearing that is hygiene-directed, one that denies children's relationship to play, disorder, bodily curiosities, awareness, and discoveries. He no doubt would be disgusted by contemporary society's condemnation of parents who bathe with and sleep in the same bed with their children (euphemistically re-appropriated by the Attachment Parenting movement as "co-bathing" and

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[64]   Foucault, Introduction to *Anti-Oedipus*, xv.
[65]   Fatima Mernissi, *Dreams of Trespass: Tales of a Harem Girlhood* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Basic Books, 1995), 3.
[66]   Virilio, "Sanitary Ideology", 98, 99.

"co-sleeping" – as if the act of labeling renders these parenting choices less "indecent").

Fig. 8: Our Misinformed Culture of Fear.[67]

ABC television recently ran a story of an ad depicting two posters of a baby lying in bed next to a cleaver. In one, the baby is white; in the other, the baby is black. The caption declares in capital letters: "YOUR BABY SLEEPING NEXT TO YOU CAN BE JUST AS DANGEROUS." Once again, histrionic and inaccurate statistics are misused to reify the climate of fear prevalent in raising children in this country. Separation is valorized, while intimacy and connection are vilified. Stripped of a tangible community (mommy-blogs are the most popular form of shared experience), parents are entrenched in how-to techniques (such as "the cry-it-out method" or "sleep-training") for raising infants capable of self-soothing. In fact, numerous studies have shown that due to infant-mother separation such as women rushing back to work soon after giving birth and the phenomenally popular practice of "sleep-training" infants, 40 % of children in the US do not have what psychologists call "secure-attachment" to anyone in their lives. Because psychoneuroimmunology of babies is radically diminished, "lack [of] strong emotional bonds" is leading to a myriad of social and behavioral problems.[68] We even have a new diagnostic category for such behavior: RAD – reactive attachment disorder.

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[68]   Rose B. Huber, "Four in 10 infants lack strong parental attachments," *News at Princeton*, March 27, 2014, accessed April 6, 2015, http://www.princeton.edu/main/news/archive/S39/59/37A89/index.xml?section=topstories.

Fig. 9: Our Modern Children: Collateral Damage[69].

This Net-Generation is being initiated into the world as "self-reliant" infants and technologically literate babies – the neoliberal wet dream is our current reality. For instance, an alarming number of toddlers now have ready access to their caregiver's smartphone or iPad (used as a pacifier / surrogate baby-sitter). Rearing children alienated from their deepest needs (to be held, touched, comforted) leads to disciplined, "useful" corporate citizenry – a social and individual violence that sustains misogyny. Simultaneously, within the confines of patriarchy, we are rearing children who are alienated from and revile their own bodies. Bataille exhorted, we must

artificially deform [our children] in our image and, as our most precious possessions, instill in them the horror of that which is only natural. We tear them away from nature by washing them, then by dressing them. But we will not rest until they share the impulse that made us clean them and clothe them, until they share our horror of the life of the flesh, of life naked, undisguised.[70]

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[69]   Devra Davis, "The Truth about Mobile Phones and Wireless Radiation: What We Know, What We Need to Find Out and What You Can Do Now" (Dean's lecture, University of Melbourne, Australia, November 30, 2015). See also Davis' *Environmental Health Trust*, Official Web Page, ehtrust.org.
[70]   Georges Bataille, *The Accursed Share: An Essay on General Economy*, vol. 2 and 3, trans. Robert Hurley (New York: Zone Books, 1991), 63.

During Zazu's first two years, I was cited four times by California officials for public indecency – not because I was exposing my body, but because my baby was playing naked in a park. A violation of my own code of ethics, this sanctity of normalcy constitutes a hegemony of representation that colonizes our relationships with our bodies and our planet.

Occupying the Maternal: Hospitality in Action

As a single-mother raising my five-year-old son in the U.S., I have intimately experienced intra-cultural impacts of our market-obsessed mediacracy's erasure of corporeal, societal, and global interconnectedness. Everyday I make the conscious choice to deflect how this plutocrat-driven democracy, characterized by conformist laws-of-conduct, may impact my son. Mothering can be a rich territory for practicing one's ethical commitments – one that embraces an Arendtian *natality*. This *natality*-consciousness, where thinking becomes collaboration, potentially unfolds an embodied democracy in which we occupy the maternal – practicing individual and collective action toward gender justice. Audre Lorde evokes this decolonizing, liberatory practice of cultivating sustainable relationships: "For as we begin to recognize our deepest feelings, we begin to give up, of necessity, being satisfied with suffering and self-negation, and with the numbness which so often seems like their only alternative in our society."[71] Avital Ronell concurs. Her "feminine intensity" suggests a collaborative empathy that reconfigures how the private resides within and beyond the public – *how* we inhabit our bodies in our everyday lives. She demands:

Could there be a feminine intensity or force that would not be merely "subversive?" Because subversion is a problem – it implies a dependency on the program that is being critiqued – therefore it's a parasite of that program. Is there a way to produce a force or an intensity that isn't merely a reaction (…) to what is?[72]

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[71]   Audre Lorde, *Uses of the Erotic: The Erotic as Power* (The University of Virginia: Out & Out Books, 1978), 55, 58.
[72]   Avital Ronell, *Angry Women*, ed. Andrea Juno (San Francisco: Re/Search, 1991), 128.

Holding our standards to both the Nuremberg Code and the 2005 UNESCO Universal Declaration on Bioethics and Human Rights that declares *informed* consent as an international human right, we enliven Ronell's "feminine intensity" – a refusal to submit to biochemical warfare on our children's bodies (ranging from GMOs to pharmaceutical inundation and antibiotic-resistant pathogens to biohazardous chemical leaching into our food and water supplies). Embodying my ethics, a "feminine intensity," a symbiotic hospitality, includes my commitment to live communally and barter 98 % of services and goods – acquiring *everything* through swaps (I have never purchased anything new or used for my son; and for myself, no new or used clothing or accessories for over twenty-five years). Despite my "advanced" age, I chose no prenatal medical interventions (ultra-sounds, cervical examines, blood-tests) and no vaccinations-ever. I chose to sleep and bathe together, practice *elimination communication* (diaper-free as much as possible), never use disposable-diapers or menstruation products, never use a pacifier or stroller, but wear Zazu on my body, never own a credit card or a car (cycling / walking everywhere). I do not own a smart-phone. As I weaned Zazu at four years old, I taught him, and continue now to teach him how to creatively use "resources." We playfully disentangle *le propre*, propriety, and property (ownership, entitlement, individualism). We explore the implications of our Plasticene Age and Roland Barthes' prescient essays (*Plastics* and *Toys*) that illustrate the treacherous collision / collusion between property and impotency: "[T]he child can not constitute himself as anything but an owner, a user, never as a creator; he does not invent the world, he utilizes it."[73] I am not suggesting an idealist reaction devoid of realistic responsibilities and relationships. Rather, I encourage parents as citizen-activists to learn *how to be* informed decision-makers. One way is to educate ourselves *and our children* about the intelligence of the human immune system – specifically Th1/ Th2 cell-mediated innate natural immunity. We must remember that, "Health occurs in human beings as a multifaceted process. The WHO defines health as a 'state of complete physical mental and social well-being, not merely an absence of disease or infirmity, with an ability

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[73]   Roland Barthes, *Mythologies*, trans. Annette Lavers (New York: Hill and Wang, 1957), 60.

to lead a socially and economically productive life.'"[74] Together, Zazu and I learn how to shift the myth of individualism to an integrated recognition of interdependency and hospitality.

"The aim of totalitarian education has never been to instill conviction, but to destroy the capacity to form any."

<div align="right">Hannah Arendt</div>

"The world is not dangerous because of those who do harm, but because of those who look at it without doing anything."

<div align="right">Albert Einstein</div>

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Embrace as resistance.

Jacob Heiny

I cannot control
the images that wish
to tell me of their
lives. I have dreaded
the day when I was
no longer afraid and
accepted them as
friends. The feeling of
certainty that they are not
me helps me feel more
certain that I know
what I am.

I cannot c
the images.
to tell me
lives. I he
the day wh
no longer
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certainty th
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ng of
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more
know

Alana Hippensteele

I recall those first memories.
As each drawer opened, a new secret revealed.
My home is my sheltered nest.
Without this, I am vulnerable, dispersed, and without ground.
This house shelters my day-dreaming;
this house protects me, the dreamer.

I recall thos
As each dra   ew secret revealed.
My home is my sheltered nest.
Without this, I am vulnerable, dispersed, and without
          ground.
This house shelters my day-dreaming;
This house protects me, the dreamer.

Jennifer du Toit-Barrett

There is a joke about a man.
The man strapped to him asked,
"how long have you been a skydiving instructor?"
This is where philosophy begins.
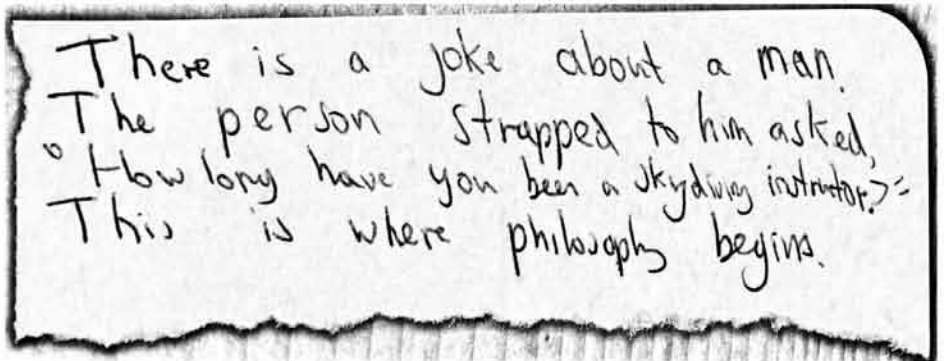
Andrew Woods

The increasing spatial segregation of its residents into
First world ghettos otherwise known as the Pearl District.
Informal settlements disallowing
The right to dream.
People are being spatially segregated
Along lines of race.

The increas

First World

Informal

The right,

People ar

Along lines

al segregation of its residents into

therwise known as the Pearl District.

dissallowing

patially segregated

Patrick Belin

We see ourselves as a point of view
immersed in
    illuminating marginality
        tangible intimacy
in veils of silence   —— lifted ——
as emancipatory gesture
surveillance is our new truth

omnipresent culture of the self-unfolding,
disappearance of the body
into the still

Chelsea Crossett

onscious of its insolubility
he languaging of thought
~~to see the sound~~
he waves fling themselves
o see the sound as language convulse
~~lank pages~~ and empty margins in
etween the li
am the suture   here
he edges overl
dwell in that   nkstain
can contain v
~~the suter thia~~
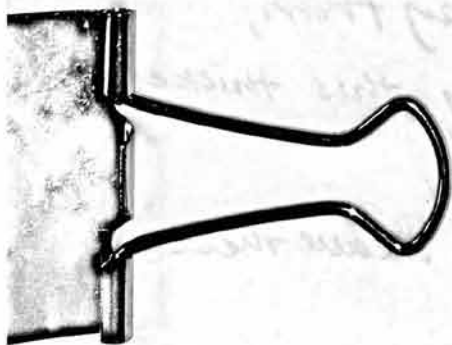
conscious of its insolubility
the languaging of thought
the waves fling themselves
to see the sound as language convulses
blank pages and empty margins
between the lines
I am the suture, my thoughts are where
the edges overlap
I dwell in that crawlspace, an inkstain
I can contain my formlessness

Jennifer Russell

I need to touch things to understand them
Distinct things
Lightning outside; reflected by mirrors inside
The unrealness of pain — disembodiment
Unable to die from the exposure
My insides free to explore the outsides.

I need to touch things to understand them
Distinct things
Lightning outside; reflected by mirrors inside
The unrealness of pain—disembodiment
Unable to die from the exposure
My insides free to explore the outsides.

Jordan A. Hamilton

Be the power of the storm
"Smash the symbols of the empire,"[1]
Then scan through the static —
"The drama of Alienation.
We live in the ecstasy of communication"[2]
"In civilizations without boats, dreams dry up."[3]

Madeline Hall

1. Hakim Bey, TAZ: *Temporary Autonomous Zone, Ontological Anarchy, Poetic Terrorism*, (New York: Autonomedia), 94.
2. Jean Baudrillard, "The Ecstasy of Communication," in *The Anti-Aesthetic: Essays on Postmodern Culture*, Ed. Hal Foster, (New York: The New York Press), 126-133.
3. Michel Foucault, "Of Other Spaces: Utopias and Heterotopias," in *Diacretic*, trans. Jay Miskowiec, 31.

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Your hand in mine,
The weight of it 500 pages long.
Rare sunshine,
With towers and turrets,
As glorious as the first one ever was,
Probably, even better from
The experience gained;
The beginning of a moat—
'Dissolving of the Fort.'
Every little bit as impermanent,
The tide will turn once again,
but of course it does.1

1. Excerpts from the Dirk Bogarde autobiography, *A Short Walk from Harrods*, published in 1993.

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Sarah O'Hare

Sisters whispering friendship

sisters whispering friendship
showering
un made beds
pine

Showering

un made beds

pine

sigrid hackenberg y almansa

escape the grasps of technology and

ore and

ess and

Be award

ura to

your presence

"More and more information and less and less meaning." 1
"Escape the grasps of technology." 2
"Beware of the work of art's aura for the aura is bound to your presence." 3
"Listen to art speech as it is the only truth." 4
"He'll tell you the lie you expect, which is partly your fault for expecting it." 5
"If it be art, he will tell you the truth of his day." 6
Just Google it.
"A great dodger."7

r's
not to

Mikayla Carpenter

isten to art speech as it is the only truth

e'll tell you the lie you expect, which is partly your fault for expecting it

1. Jean Baudrillard, "The Precession of Simulacra," in *Simulacra and Simulation* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1994), 1.
2. Jean Baudrillard, "The Precession of Simulacra," 2.
3. Walter Benjamin, "The Work of Art in the Age of Its Technological Reproducibility," in *The Work of Art in the Age of Its Technological Reproducibility and Other Writings on Media*, ed. by Michael W. Jennings, Brigid Doherty, and Thomas Y. Levin, trans. by Harry Zohn (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2008), 21.
4. D. H. Lawrence, "The Spirit of Place," in *Studies in Classic American Literature* (London: Penguin Books Ltd, 1977), 12.
5. D. H. Lawrence, "The Spirit of Place," 13.
6. Ibid., 15.
7. Ibid.

I tell you the

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LISION IS THE END PRODUCT OF OPPOSITION AND
ATTRACTION, OF FLIRTATION WITH UNIFICATION.
n THE SYSTEMATIC UNDOING OF THE UNCONSCIOUS
REPERCUSSIONS —FROM THE EMOTIONAL LIBER
ATION

√ RITUAL

Collision is the end product of opposition and attraction, of flirtation with
unification.
From the systematic undoing of the unconscious repercussions—from the
emotional liberation that it yields—
Can ritual evolve?

Sarah Wise

"THERE IS MORE WISDOM IN YOUR BODY
THAN IN YOUR DEEPEST PHILOSOPY. "

"There is more wisdom in your body than in your deepest philosophy."1

So I master my philosophy and I move my body to prove it.

AND I MOVE MY BODY TO   IT.

But
"The ego is not master in its own house."2

MASTER

So who is this "myself" but a ghost?

OUSE. "

What is this ghost—of?
Versions of "human" told like
fairy tales through the
apparatus of culture, of
robotics, of apprenticeship

SO WHO IS THIS "MYSELF" BUT A GHOST?

WHAT IS THIS GHOST—OF?

VERSIONS OF "HUMAN" TOLD LIKE

FAIRY TALES THROUGH THE

APPARATUS OF CULTURE, OF

ROBOTICS, OF APPRENTICESHIP

In a feedback loop with
apparatus, this body seems
held hostage by this ghost in
his house
left to whisper its truth in tics
hide its language in the carnival of dreams

IN A FEEDBACK LOOP WITH

APPARATUS, THE BODY SEEMS

HELD HOSTAGE BY THIS GHOST IN

HIS HOUSE

LEFT TO WHISPER ITS TRUTH IN TICS
HIDE ITS LANGUAGE IN THE CARNIVAL OF DREAMS

The ghost notices
schisms
echoes of the body
a flawed mortal house

Wendy Shanel Behrend

SCHISMS

ECHOES OF THE BODY

A FLAWED MORTAL HOUSE

1. Friedrich Nietzsche, "On the Despisers of the Body," *Thus Spake Zarathustra: A Book for All and None* (1883). See https://en.wikiquote.org/wiki/Thus_Spake_Zarathustra.
2. Sigmund Freud, *A Difficulty in the Path of Psycho-Analysis* (1917). See https: //en.wikiquote.org/wiki/Sigmund _Freud.

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A B S T R A C T S

Janko M. Lozar
Debordering the Borders of Time: Towards the Primordiality of Hospitality

Since philosophy's grand beginnings, time and again, time has been one of the richest, most promising as well as most enigmatic phenomena addressed by its most prominent figures. Be it Plato, Aristotle, Augustine, Kant, Hegel, Husserl, Nietzsche or Heidegger, to name but a few, the temporality of being has proved the primary impetus, and enigmatic rub, of coming to grips with the truth of la condition humaine.

Taking Husserl's enigmatic concept of the temporal field of now, and Heidegger's claim about the truth of being, most compellingly understood through the truth of time, as our starting point, we shall confine our attention to the futural aspect of time and attempt to show that a more proper understanding of the "not yet now" enables us to acquire a more proper understanding of the possibility of a radically open being with others. The fundamental question to be addressed here is whether we can, by uncovering the evidence of the primordiality of futurity, come up with a possibility of, at least philosophically, debordering the borders set up by the European (political, legal or intellectual) culture to ward off the seemingly perilous alterity of the other.

Key words: time, being, phenomenology, Heidegger, attunement.

Lana Pavić
Hospitality as a Virtue of The Place

Facing the contemporary refugee crisis in the European Union and following the theoretical path of Jacques Derrida, Paul Ricoeur, Richard Kearney and Brian Treanor, this paper examines the tension between the unconditional law of hospitality and laws that condition hospitality in actual practice. It underlines the notion of hospitality, i.e. a special form of interaction among individuals of different cultural, national, religious or political communities, as a virtue of the place, since only a displaced person seeks hospitality and only implaced person can be hospitable. The paper underlines the importance of understanding the meaning of displacement, without which it is impossible to understand one of the main

ethical and political problems of our time. It indicates, on the example of Croatian recent transition and war experience that displacement can happen on more than a territorial level. In case of Croatian town Slavonski Brod, displacement was experienced also on socio-economic and symbolical level. Such experience allows embracement of the ethics of hospitality for strangers in need, especially refugees, but at the same time, its uncritical rejection. This dichotomy, on a daily basis, threatens millions of refugees and asylum seekers who need European protection, simultaneously endangering the higher degree of the European integration.

Key words: hospitality, displacement, implacement, refugees, strangers, migrants, Croatia, Slavonski Brod.

Rok Svetlič
Debordering of the Border and Its Limit

In this paper, the notion of political border between the states will be discussed. As the general account of this phenomenon suggests, the development of democratic culture correlates with the abandonment of the borders. In fact, the totalitarian states have, among other characteristics, a very rigorous border-regime, in extreme cases even equipped with the minefields. The philosophical notion of border, however, is far more complex. Two aspects that concern the dissolution of the borders between states must be pointed out. Firstly, as noted by C. Schmitt, the abandonment of the borders as the beginning of equality between different citizens has, unavoidably, its pendant: the environment of inequality. The equality as such, or a borderless-state as such, has no (political) meaning and no relevance. Even worse, this unavoidably leads to emerging of new borders, hidden and pathological ones. Secondly, the existence of the borders coincides with the existence of the states. Consequently, debordering means "de-statisation" of the international affairs. This process has also a theoretical limit. Even Kant, who wrote about perpetual peace on the planetary level, saw the existence of the states (and borders) as necessary. Without this, the specific mechanism that is necessary for (perpetual) peace would not be activated.

Keywords: borders, migrations, G. W. F. Hegel, C. Schmitt.

Maja Zadel

The Meaning of National and Cultural Borders Among Inhabitants of Slovenian Istria: A Case Study of Italo-Slovenian Transculturality

In the time of European integration, increasing migration flows and global interconnection with virtual media and communications systems, we are witnessing an ever more present discourse of "borderlessness." But what is the reality of our everyday experiences?

The paper discusses the relationship between transcultural practices and self--identification in the national terms. The case study conducted in Slovenian Istria, a border area in Slovenia that borders Croatia to the south and Italy to the north west, consisted of a quantitative research (a telephone survey in October 2014, 715 respondents) and a qualitative research (life stories interviews collected from February to June 2015, 30 respondents) shows that ethnic and national identifications are persisting, even though the informants stress their transcultural practices and to some extent even their transcultural identifications. The inhabitants of Slovenian Istria predominantly acknowledge their own transcultural practices as well as others', like the fact of being "contaminated" by other cultures, but when asked to identify themselves, they would still do it in mononational / monolithical national terms.

Key words: transculturality, nationalism, national self-identifications, Slovenian Istria.

Dragan Potočnik

Maribor: In Search of The City's Identity after the First World War

After the fall of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy in 1918, the border between the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenians and the Republic of Austria had a great impact on the life of the people of Maribor and its surroundings. Maribor underwent major socio-political changes. It lost its former economic and traffic position in the new Kingdom of SHS. The ethnic structure of the population changed. Officials, who were mostly German, emigrated, which also changed the social structure of the urban population. New immigrants came into the town, mostly from the Slovenian region of Primorje. Through their activities and the collaboration with local people they strengthened the national consciousness of the citizens of Maribor. They were strongly Yugoslav-oriented. In addition to the Germans, other nationalities in the town, mostly Czechs, Russians, Croats, Serbs,

contributed to the true cosmopolitan cityscape with their culture. The ethnically diverse society gave the town a real charm and contributed to the new identity of Maribor.

Key words: relations between the Germans and the Slovenians, Maribor after 1918, Primorje Immigrants in Maribor, economy of Maribor after the First World War, cultural life of Maribor after the First World War.

Peter Jordan
The Border Between "Ours" and "Theirs" Drawn by Place Names

The endonym / exonym divide with place names symbolises the distinction between "ours" and "theirs" in geographical terms – between geographical features on a community's own territory and features on the territory of another community. Names for geographical features at the community's own territory are endonyms ("names from within"). Endonyms in this function are symbols of appropriation. Who owns a feature or has the responsibility for it, usually reserves the right to name it. This function is similar to that performed by flags, coats of arms or logos. For geographical features outside their own territory, a community will usually adopt the existing names, translating them into its own language or adapting them morphologically or phonetically. In contrast to the names for features on their own territory, i.e. endonyms, these are exonyms, needed by a community to mark features outside its own territory in such a way that their use is comfortable, i.e. pronounceable and easy to communicate. In contrast to endonyms, exonyms are not symbols of appropriation and do not express claims, instead, they indicate the importance of a feature for this community and the relations it has with it, i.e. its network of external relations. Exonyms help to integrate this foreign feature into the cultural sphere of a community and help avoid exclusion and alienation.

Key words: place names, endonyms, exonyms, human relations to space, mental borders, toponomastics, geography.

Angelos Evangelou
Peace-Making Within the Green and Liminal Border of Cyprus

This article aims to critically explore the concept of the border and its dynamic self-undermining quality through the medium of literature, which is the space in which the very process of debordering is already at work. Since 1974, Cyprus has borne the mark of division that physically manifested in a border, which extends from east to west and divides the island into South (Greek Cypriot) and North (Turkish Cypriot). What is special about this border is the fact that it consists not of one wall or fence but two, creating thus an uneven strip of land which allows for an experience of the border not from either side of it but from within it. This article explores the symbolic significance of working and thinking from within the border – from within the "dead zone" – a perspective whose significance is also acknowledged by contemporary Cypriot poets. Drawing from Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot literature (mainly poetry), I attempt to illustrate how the very space of the border acquires central stage and how – through the power of poetic representation – it turns from an apparatus of separation and division into a space of neutrality and liminality which prompts reflection, communication and life.

Key words: Cyprus, border, debordering, "within the border", poetry, nature, Derrida.

Shiva Hemmati
Debordering the Borders of Self and Other, and Matter and Spirit in Mysticism

This paper aims to concentrate on debordering the borders of self and other, and spirit and matter by examining love in Sufi mysticism in the works of a famous Persian Sufi poet, Jalāl ad-Dīn Muhammad Rūmī, and of a well-known Islamic mystic, Shaykh Al Akbar Ibn Arabi, in engagement with Qurān verses. We would like to take a special look at the Universal Reality and the actual existence of the cosmos. In fact, the nature of ultimate Divine Reality is essentially within all human beings. For Rūmī and Ibn Arabi, the world and everything within it are the locus of theophany for the Divine Reality. The reality of love which Rūmī and Ibn Arabi discuss is the absolute reality of the Divine Essence Itself. Love appears in many different forms; sometimes in the form of love for the Essence or for the Attributes. Indeed, there is a spark of divinity at the core and in the inner essence of every man and woman. This study shows how a shared love of reality and divi-

nity allows human beings to deborder the borders of self and other, and spirit and matter, and to reach oneness of existence.

Key words: debordering the borders, self and other, spirit and matter, divine love, mysticism, Divine Reality, unity of being.

Nadja Furlan Štante
Women's Voices and Vulnerability: Invisible and Visible Obstacles

The paper brings together perceptions and concerns about the practical consequences of the concept of women's vulnerability and the question of negative gender stereotype of women as passive listeners. Through the body, we are exposed, opened onto the world and to others, even as for others we are the ones to whom they are exposed and vulnerable. In this sense, vulnerability is universal, an inevitable part of embodiment. Social bonds condition my existence. From this standpoint, the main focus of the paper would be the question about the gendering of perceived or marked vulnerabilities and how they function, in order to expand or justify those structures of power that seek to achieve ethnic, economic or cultural-religious dominance in specific social contexts. Further on, the perception of gendered voice in the light of phenomenon of women's passivity as implied by the negation of their speech and voice is emphasised.

Key words: women's bodies, female sexuality, vulnerability, female silence.

Cara Judea Alhadeff
Decolonizing Our Wombs: Gender Justice and Petro-Pharmaculture

How we raise our children is critical to radical, collaborative social justice for women. In a patriarchal society, freedom of choice is illusory, operating through entanglements of institutional and symbolic state borders and networks. Biological events are reconfigured as medical crises, involving generic, reductionist protocols. The specificity of a woman's body is dematerialized when petro-pharmacultural practices are indiscriminately insinuated through hetero-normativity – assimilationist consumerism, sanitary ideologies. The struggle to disentangle the roots of systemic corporeal and social violence is focused on recognizing how pregnancy, birth, and mothering in the US function as officially sanctioned misogyny. The es-

say investigates neoliberal, de-historicized forms of consciousness, including their epistemological and existential borders, in which women as citizen-subjects fail to recognize how we relinquish our civil rights and socio-political agency by succumbing to corporate fear-tactics. This failure is identified as the violence-of-the--everyday and its corresponding sanctity of normalcy – a violence that perpetuates convenience-culture, maintaining misogynist infrastructural practices. Petroleum--parenting, what is identified as the decisions parents make that overwhelmingly contribute to both environmental destruction and body-phobic institutional practices, reifies the status-quo and our myopic capacity to engage beyond our shame--based, accumulationist individualism. In our petroleum-pharmaceutical-addicted cyber-world, our collusion with corporate forms of domination is infinite. Interlocking mechanisms among such infrastructures enable both complicity (perpetuating apathy and its concomitant loss of agency) and emancipation (allowing creativity and connectivity to flourish). Krishnamurti's warning, "It is no measure of health to be well adjusted to a profoundly sick society," characterizes both our global crisis and our potential as parents to intervene in convenience-culture. Upon close scrutiny, the confluence of the violence-of-the-everyday in relation to petroleum-parenting demonstrates sites in which we can occupy the maternal – practicing individual and collective ethical action toward gender justice, the hospitality of a social ecology of empathy. Audre Lorde's erotic politics embodies this decolonizing, liberatory practice of cultivating sustainable relationships.

Keywords: pharmaceutical industry, petroculture, corporatocracy, parenting, manufactured consent, empathy, ecology.

underliningscollective (uC)
together writing   :   fragments

together writing   : presents a series of textual *fragments* gleaned from the underliningscollective (uC) inaugural project – in a provocative rethinking of philosophy as artistic practice – inspired by avant-garde interventions, radical pedagogic models, and chance encounters. Introducing narrative elements such as choreography, installation, performance, and poetic actions into philosophy as a daily and *living* practice, the collective fosters a philosophy on the move that is nomadic and transient, emphasizing process in contrast to final outcomes. Modelled after the freedom and liberation schools of the American Civil Rights Movement and the Black Radical Tradition, Joseph Beuys' concept of "social sculpture," feminist consciousness-raising techniques, happenings, Vanguard Theater, and contempo-

rary dance, the collective offers a rare opportunity to develop "philosophical practices" as "freedom practices" engaging texts as social and communal encounters – transgressing differences between theory and practice. The presented pages attest to this unusual combination where the collective harbours the individual and the individual in turn harbours the collective. Considering the act of reading and writing as an aesthetic practice, these pages offer a glimpse into what can be described as the construction of hybrid philosophic discourses (in the plural), personal, political, private and public. In a series of remarkable intimations, offering moments of singular insight, intense beauty, intimacy, and audacity of thought, philosophy therein finds itself promising the very futures of art.

Cultivating experimental pedagogical models wherein participants play decisive roles in designing their own creative learning environments, *together writing : presents a series of *fragments* following the underliningscollective (uC) inaugural project which culminated in a series of presentations, readings, performances, and the development of a collaborative reading and writing practice.

Key words: radical pedagogy, poetics, performance philosophy, happenings, literary theory.

P O V Z E T K I

Janko M. Lozar
Odmejitev meja časa: Na poti k prvobitnosti gostoljubja

Čas je že od samega velikega začetka filozofije najbogatejši, najobetavnejši in najbolj enigmatičen fenomen, ki je doživel obravnavo pri vseh velikih figurah filozofije. Naj so bili to Platon, Aristotel, Avguštin, Kant, Hegel, Husserl, Nietzsche ali Heidegger, če naštejemo le nekaj najključnejših mislecev časa, se je pri vseh njih v soočanju z resnico *la condition humaine* časovnost biti izkazala za prvi vzgib ali enigmatično zagato njihovega filozofiranja.

Kot izhodišče obravnave smo vzeli Husserlov enigmatičen pojem časovnega polja zdaj in Heideggrovo tezo o resnici biti, ki jo je treba misliti skozi resnico časa. Na tej osnovi bomo pozornost zamejili na prihodnostni vidik časa in skušali pokazati, da nam lahko ustreznejše razumevanje "ne-še-zdaja" omogoča boljše razumevanje možnosti radikalne odprtosti biti z drugimi. Temeljno vprašanje, ki ga velja nagovoriti je, ali se lahko z razkritjem evidence prvobitnosti prihodnosti dokopljemo do možnosti vsaj filozofske odmejitve meja, ki jih postavlja evropska (politična, pravna ali duhovna) kultura, s tem ko se hoče izogniti navidez ogrožujoči drugosti drugega.

Ključne besede: čas, bit, fenomenologija, Heidegger, razpoloženje.

Lana Pavić
Gostoljubje kot krepost prostora

Ob soočanju s sodobno begunsko krizo v Evropski uniji in po teoretskih sledeh Jacquesa Derridaja, Paula Ricouerja, Richarda Kearneyja ter Briana Treanorja, pričujoči prispevek preučuje tenzijo med brezpogojnim zakonom gostoljubja in zakoni, ki gostoljubje pogojujejo v praksi. Prispevek predstavlja pojem gostoljubja, t. j. posebne vrste interakcije med posamezniki različnih kulturnih, narodnih, religijskih ali političnih skupnosti, kot vrlino/krepost prostora, saj le razmeščena oseba išče gostoljubje in zgolj umeščena oseba je lahko gostoljubna. Članek poudarja pomembnost razumevanja pomena razmestitve, brez katerega ne bi bilo mogoče razumevati enega glavnih etičnih in političnih problemov sodobnosti. Na primeru nedavnega hrvaškega izkustva prehoda in vojne članek pokaže, da se odvzem

prostora lahko odvija na več nivojih, ne samo teritorialnem. V primeru hrvaškega mesta Slavonski Brod se je ta proces odvijal tudi na družbeno-ekonomski in simbolični ravni. Tovrstno izkustvo spodbuja tako privzemanje etike gostoljubja do tujcev, posebno beguncev, kot nekritično zavračanje slednjega. Ta dihotomija vsakodnevno spravlja v nevarnost milijone beguncev in prosilcev za azil, ki potrebujejo evropsko zaščito, in hkrati ogroža visoko stopnjo integracije v evropski prostor.

Ključne besede: gostoljubje, razmestitev, umestitev, begunci, tujci, migranti, Hrvaška, Slavonski brod.

Rok Svetlič
Mehčanje meja in njegova meja

V prispevku bomo analizirali pojem politične meje med državami. Zdi se, da razvoj demokratične kulture sovpada z opuščanjem meja. Dejansko, totalitarne države imajo, poleg drugih obeležij, mejni režim zelo rigorozen, v izjemnih primerih celo zavarovan z minskimi polji. Toda filozofski pojem meje je kompleksen. Izpostaviti je potrebno dva vidika, ki zadevata razpustitev meja. Prvič, opuščanje meja kot vpeljave enakosti med različnimi državljani ima, kot pokaže C. Schmitt, neizogibno svoj pendant: okolje neenakosti. Enakost kot taka, stanje brez-mejnosti, nima političnega pomena in relevance. Še več, neizogibno vodi v pojavljanje novih meja, skritih in patoloških. Drugič, obstoj meja sovpada z obstojem držav. Odpravljanje meja pomeni raz-državljanje notranjih zadev neke države. Toda ta proces ima teoretsko omejitev. Celo Kant, pisec razprave o večnem miru, vidi obstoj držav (in meja) kot nekaj nujnega. Brez tega se ne bi sprožil specifičen mehanizem, ki vodi naproti večnemu miru.

Ključne besede: meja, migracije, G. W. F. Hegel, C. Schmitt.

Maja Zadel
Pomen nacionalnih in kulturnih meja med prebivalci slovenske Istre: Študija primera italijansko-slovenske transkulturacije

V času evropskega povezovanja, povečanje migracijskih tokov in medsebojnega globalnega povezovanja z virtualnimi mediji in komunikacijski sistemi, smo priča vedno bolj prisotnemu diskurzu o »brezmejnosti«. Kakšna pa je realnost naših vsakdanjih izkušenj?

Članek predstavlja odnos med transkulturnimi praksami in samoopredeljevanjem v nacionalnih okvirih. Študija primera je potekala v slovenski Istri, na obmejnem območju v Sloveniji, ki je meji Hrvaško na jugu in Italijo na severozahodu. Predstavljeni so izsledki kvantitativne raziskave (telefonska anketa je bila izvedena v oktobru 2014; 715 anketirancev) in kvalitativne raziskave (intervjuji življenjskih zgodb so bili opravljeni med februarjem do junijem 2015; 30 anketirancev). Opaziti je, da se informanti identificirajo v etničnih in nacionalnih okvirih, čeprav poudarjajo svoje transkulturne prakse, nekateri pa tudi transkulturno identifikacijo. Prebivalci slovenske Istre pretežno priznavajo svoje transkulturne prakse (recimo »kontaminacijo« z »drugimi kulturami«), te pa prepoznavajo tudi pri drugih. Vendar pa se še vedno samopredeljujejo v okviru mononacionalnih oziroma enoznačnih nacionalnih okvirih.

Ključne besede: transkulturnost, nacionalizem, nacionalna samoopredelitev, slovenska Istra.

Dragan Potočnik
Maribor: Iskanje identitete mesta po prvi svetovni vojni

Novo nastala meja med Kraljevino Srbov Hrvatov in Slovencev in Republiko Avstrijo je po razpadu Avstro-Ogrske leta 1918 močno posegla v življenje ljudi v Mariboru in okolici. Maribor je doživel velike družbenopolitične spremembe. V novi državi je izgubil svoj prejšnji gospodarsko-prometni položaj. Spremenila se je narodnostna struktura prebivalstva. Spremenila se je tudi družbena struktura mestnega prebivalstva, saj se je predvsem nemško uradništvo izselilo. V mesto so prišli novi priseljenci, največ s Primorske. S svojim delovanjem so ob domačinih odločilno prispevali k slovenski podobi mesta, hkrati pa so krepili narodno zavest Mariborčanov, saj so bili v glavnem močno jugoslovansko orientirani. H kulturni razpoznavnosti mesta pa so prispevali tudi Nemci, Čehi, Rusi, Hrvati, Srbi in dru-

gi s svojim kulturnim deležem pomagali k pravi svetovljanski podobi mesta. Narodno mešana družba je dajala mestu pravi čar in prispevala k novi identiteti mesta.

Ključne besede: Odnosi med Nemci in Slovenci, Maribor po letu 1918, Priseljenci s Primorja v Mariboru, Gospodarstvo v Mariboru po prvi svetovni vojni, Kulturno življenje v Mariboru po prvi svetovni vojni.

Peter Jordan
Razmejevanje med »našim« in »njihovim« s krajevnimi imeni

Delitev krajevnih imen na endonime in eksonime v geografskem smislu simbolizira razlikovanje med »našim« in »njihovim« – med geografskimi značilnostmi ozemlja neke skupnosti in značilnostmi ozemlja neke druge skupnosti. Imena geografskih značilnosti ozemlja skupnosti so endonimi (»imena od znotraj«) in so kot taki simboli prilaščanja. Kdor ima nekaj v lasti ali je za to odgovoren, ima navadno pravico to tudi poimenovati. Gre za funkcijo, podobno tisti, ki jo imajo zastave, grbi ali logotipi. Za geografske značilnosti izven lastnega teritorija pa skupnost navadno prevzema že obstoječa imena po postopku prevoda ali morfološke oziroma fonemske prilagoditve. Gre za eksonime, ki jih skupnost uporablja za udobno, izgovorljivo, enostavno označevanje lastnosti izven njenega ozemlja. V nasprotju z endonimi, eksonimi niso simboli prilaščanja, temveč kažejo na pomembnost neke lastnosti za to skupnost in odnos do nje, torej mrežo zunanjih odnosov. Eksonimi pripomorejo k integraciji tuje lastnosti v kulturno sfero domače skupnosti in prispevajo k izogibanju izključevanja in odtujevanja.

Ključne besede: krajevna imena, endonimi, eksonimi, človeški odnosi do prostora, umske meje, toponomatika, geografija.

Angelos Evangelou
Ustvarjanje miru znotraj Zelene in Robne meje Cipra

Privzemajoč širšo Derridajevsko perspektivo članek stremi h kritični raziskavi koncepta meje in dinamičnih samouničujočih značilnosti slednjega preko medija literature, ki je prostor, v katerem je sam proces odmejitve že na delu. Od leta 1974 se je na Cipru vzpostavila delitev, ki se je fizično manifestirala v meji, ki se razteza od vzhoda proti zahodu in deli otok na jug (grški Ciper) in sever (turški Ciper).

Posebnost te meje je ta, da ne gre le za en zid oziroma ograjo, temveč za dvodelno pregrado, kar ustvarja neenakomerni pas ozemlja, ki dovoljuje izkustvo meje ne samo iz ene ali druge njene strani, pač pa tudi znotraj obeh. Ta prispevek preiskuje simbolni pomen delovanja in mišljenja znotraj meje – znotraj »mrtve cone«, – ki so ga tudi ciprski pesniki privzeli za svojega. Na podlagi grško-ciprske in turško--ciprske literature (v glavnem poezije) poskušam prikazati, kako je prostor meje postal središče izkustva in kako se ta prostor – z močjo pesniške reprezentacije – spremeni iz sredstva ločevanja in razdeljevanja v prostor nevtralnosti in robnosti, ki spodbuja razmislek, komunikacijo in življenje.

Ključne besede: Ciper, meja, odmejitev, »znotraj meje«, poezija, narava, Derrida.

Shiva Hemmati
Odmejitev meja sebstva in drugega ter materije in duha v misticizmu

Članek se osredotoča na odmejitev meja sebstva in drugega ter duha in materije s proučevanjem ljubezni v sufijskem misticizmu v delih slovitega perzijskega sufijskega pesnika Jalāla ad-Dīna Muhammada Rūmīja in priznanega islamskega mistika Shaykha Ala Akbara Ibna Arabija, v povezavi z verzi iz Korana. Posebna pozornost bo namenjena Univerzalni Realnosti in dejanskemu obstoju kozmosa. Namreč, narava vrhovne Božje Realnosti se v bistvu nahaja znotraj vseh človeških bitij. Za Rūmīja in Ibn Arabija je svet in vse, kar se nahaja v njem, prostor razodevanja Božje Realnosti. Realnost ljubezni, o kateri govorita Rūmī in Ibn Arabi, je absolutna resnica samega Božjega bistva. Ljubezen se prikazuje v mnogih različnih oblikah, tako kot ljubezen za bistvo ali ljubezen do atributov. V jedru, notranjem bistvu vsakega moškega in ženske, gre vedno za »iskro božanskosti«. Prispevek pokaže, kako skupna ljubezen realnosti in božanskosti dovoljuje človeškim bitjem odmejitev meja sebstva in drugega, duha in materije, ter tako doseganje enotnosti obstoja.

Ključne besede: odmejitev meja, sebstvo in drugi, duh in materija, božanska ljubezen, misticizem, Božja Realnost, enotnost bivanja.

Nadja Furlan Štante
Glasovi žensk in ranljivost: Nevidne in vidne ovire

Prispevek združuje kritično razumevanje in zaskrbljenost zaradi praktičnih posledic negativnega stereotipiziranja koncepta ranljivosti žensk in vprašanje negativnega stereotipa žensk kot pasivnih poslušalk. Skozi telo, smo izpostavljeni, odprti svetu in drugim, enako so tudi drugi v svoji telesni ranljivosti izpostavljeni in ranljivi. V tem smislu, je ranljivost univerzalen, neizogiben del utelešenja. Socialne vezi pogojujejo naš obstoj. S tega stališča je glavni poudarek prispevka vprašanje ospoljenja zaznavnih in zaznamovanih ranljivosti spolov in kako se le-te vzpostavljajo oziroma reproducirajo ter posledično utemeljujejo in vzpostavljajo spolno, ekonomsko ali kulturno-versko prevlado v specifičnih družbenih kontekstih. Nadalje je v luči negativnega stereotipa ženske pasivnosti, ki je zaznavna tudi v govoru in glasu, kot metafori moči, tematizirano vprašanje ospoljenega glasu in govora žensk.

Ključne besede: ženska telesa, ženska spolnost, ranljivost, tišina žensk.

Cara Judea Alhadeff
Dekolonizacija naših maternic: pravičnost med sploma in nafto-farmakultura

Način, kako vzgajamo naše otroke, je kritičen do radikalne, kolaborativne socialne pravičnosti za ženske. V patriarhalni družbi je svobodna izbira le iluzorna, saj je prepletena z institucionalnimi in simbolnimi državnimi mejami in omrežji. Biološki dogodki so preoblikovani v zdravstvene krize, vključujoč posplošujoče, redukcionistične protokole. Ob vsesplošnem podtikanju naftno-farmakulturnih praks in heteronormativnostjo – asimilacijski konsumerizem, sanitarne ideologije – je specifičnost ženskega telesa dematerializirana. Zavzemam se za razkrivanje korenin sistemskega telesnega in družbenega nasilja s prepoznavanjem, kako nosečnost, rojstvo in materinstvo v ZDA delujejo kot uradno odobrena mizoginija. Prispevek proučuje neoliberalne, dehistorizirane oblike zavesti z njihovimi epistemološkimi in eksistencialnimi mejami vred, v katerih ženske kot državljanke-subjekti ne uspemo uvideti, kako se s podleganjem korporativnim taktikam ustrahovanja odrekamo našim državljanskim pravicam in družbeno-političnemu delovanju. To zmoto identificiram kot nasilje vsakdana in sovpadajočo svetost normalnosti – nasilje, ki ohranja kulturo udobja, vzdržujoč mizoginistične infrastrukturne prakse. Nafto-starševstvo, kakor imenujem odločitve staršev, ki neizmerno prispevajo k uničevanju okolja, in telesno-fobične institucionalne prakse,

udejanjajo status quo in našo kratkovidno sposobnost udejstvovanja, ki bi seglo onkraj našega na sramu utemeljenega, akumulacijskega individualizma. V našem naftno-farmacevtsko odvisnem kiber-svetu je prikrito sodelovanje s korporativnimi oblikami dominacije neizmerno. Prepletajoči mehanizmi takih infrastruktur dovoljujejo tako sokrivdo (ohranjanje apatije in sočasno izgubo delovanja) kot emancipacijo (dovoljujoč razcvet kreativnosti in povezovanja). Krishnamurtijevo opozorilo, da »dobra prilagojenost na globoko bolno družbo ni nikakršno merilo zdravja«, označuje tako našo globalno krizo kot naš starševski potencial intervencije v kulturo udobja. Temeljit pregled sovpadanja nasilja vsakdana z nafto-starševstvom razkrije področja, na katerih lahko zasedemo materinsko – s prakticiranjem individualnih in kolektivnih etičnih dejanj do pravičnosti med spoloma, gostoljubjem družbene ekologije empatije. Erotična politika Audre Lorde uteleša tovrstno dekolonizirajočo, osvobajajočo prakso kultiviranja trajnostnih razmerij.

Ključne besede: farmacevtska industrija, nafto-kultura, korporatokracija, starševstvo, proizvodnja konsenza, empatija, ekologija.

underliningscollective (uC)
skupno pisanje : fragmenti

skupno pisanje : predstavlja serijo besedilnih *fragmentov*, zbranih iz uvodnega projekta skupine *underliningscollective (uC)*, pri katerem gre za provokativno premišljenje filozofije kot umetniške prakse, navdihujejo pa ga avantgardne intervencije, radikalni pedagoški modeli ter naključna srečanja. Kolektiv uC v filozofijo kot vsakodnevno in živo prakso uvaja pripovedne elemente, na primer koreografijo, inštalacijo, performans ter poetična dejanja, ter tako vzgaja filozofijo v gibu, filozofijo, ki je nomadska in prehodna, ter poudarja proces namesto končnih izsledkov. Skupina je bila oblikovana po zgledu šol svobode in osvoboditve ameriškega gibanja za državljanske pravice ter črnske radikalne tradicije, koncepta "družbene skulpture" Josepha Beuysa, feminističnih tehnik dvigovanja zavesti, gledališča Vanguard in sodobnega plesa, ter kot taka ponuja redko priložnost razvijanja »filozofskih praks« kot »svobodnih praks«, ki angažirajo besedila kot družbena in skupnostna srečanja – in tako kršijo striktno ločevanje na teorijo in prakso. V tukajšnji številki predstavljene strani pričajo o opisani neobičajni kombinaciji, v kateri kolektiv ščiti posameznika in posameznik v zameno ščiti kolektiv. Upoštevajoč branje in pisanje kot estetski praksi te strani nudijo vpogled v gradnjo hibridnih filozofskih diskurzov, osebnih, političnih, zasebnih in javnih. V seriji izjemnih

znamenj, ki ponujajo trenutke edinstvenega uvida, intenzivne lepote, intimnosti in drznosti misli, se filozofija obljublja prihodnostim umetnosti.

Na podlagi kultiviranja eksperimentalnih pedagoških modelov, v katerih udeleženci odigrajo odločilno vlogo pri oblikovanju njihovih lastnih ustvarjalnih in učnih okolij, projekt *skupno pisanje :* predstavlja serijo *fragmentov* uvodnega projekta underliningscollective (uC), ki je kulminiral v seriji predstavitev, branj, performansov in razvoju kolaborativne prakse branja in pisanja.

Ključne besede: radikalna predagogika, poetika, performativna filozofija, dogodki, literarna teorija.

ABOUT THE AUTHORS /
O AVTORICAH IN AVTORJIH

JANKO M. LOZAR

Janko M. Lozar, born in 1973 in Črnomelj, is Associate Professor of Philosophy, working at the Department of Philosophy, Faculty of Arts, Ljubljana, lecturing on Phenomenology and Philosophy of Religion. He has actively attended several international conferences (Prague, Dubrovnik, Minsk, Warsaw, Zagreb). His scientific-research work covers the field of phenomenology, stemming primarily from the reflections on nihilism, crisis of European rationality and history of being, as advocated by Nietzsche, Husserl and Heidegger. He has published three philosophical monographs: *Vedrenje vedrine* (*Lingering Joviality*, 2011), *Fenomenologija razpoloženja* (*Phenomenology of Attunement*, 2012) and *Nietzsche skozi nihilizem* (*Nietzsche through Nihilism*, 2014).

Janko M. Lozar, rojen leta 1973 v Črnomlju, je izredni profesor za filozofijo na Oddelku za filozofijo Filozofske fakultete v Ljubljani, kjer predava predmete Zgodovina fenomenologije, Sodobna fenomenologija in Filozofija religije. Kot predavatelj je sodeloval na več domačih in mednarodnih filozofskih srečanjih (Praga, Dubrovnik, Minsk, Varšava, Zagreb). Njegovo znanstveno-raziskovalno delo se umešča v fenomenološko polje in izhaja predvsem iz razmislekov o nihilizmu, krizi evropske umnosti in zgodovini biti, kot so jih razvijali Nietzsche, Husserl in Heidegger. Doslej je objavil tri knjige: *Vedrenje vedrine* (2011), *Fenomenologija razpoloženja* (2012) in *Nietzsche skozi nihilizem* (2014).

LANA PAVIĆ

Lana Pavić is a Ph.D. candidate at the Faculty of Political Science, University of Zagreb, Croatia. She examines the concept of stranger / alien, from antiquity to the present from the perspective of moral philosophy, as conceived by the contemporary normative political theory and ethics of discourse. The core of her dissertation is the debate between absolute and conditional hospitality, as well as different theoretical directions concerning problems of strangers migrants and their (un)acceptance within (cosmopolitan) Europe / EU.

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Lana Pavić je doktorska študentka na Fakulteti za politične vede Univerze v Zagrebu na Hrvaškem. Raziskuje pojem neznanega/tujega vse od antike do sodobnosti z gledišča moralne filozofije, kakor jo snujeta sodobna normativna politična teorija in etika diskurza. Jedro njene disertacije je razprava med absolutnim in pogojenim gostoljubjem, obenem pa obravnava tudi različne teoretske smernice problematike tujih migrantov ter (ne)sprejemanje slednjih znotraj (kozmopolitske) Evrope/Evropske unije.

ROK SVETLIČ

Rok Svetlič began his studies at the Faculty of Law in 1992. In 1994, he undertook a parallel study of philosophy at the Faculty of Arts in Ljubljana. He completed the studies at both faculties. Currently, he works as a researcher at Science and Research Centre Koper. Since 2013, he has been the president of National Philosophical Association. He is also a member of the Editorial Boards of Goga Publishing House and Poligrafi Scientific Magazine. He is a member of Quality Assurance Agency for Higher Education (NAKVIS). He was a guest professor at European Law Faculty in Nova Gorica, Slovenia. Some publications: *Dve vprašanji sodobne etike* (*Two Questions of Contemporary Ethics,* 2003), *Filozofija prava Ronalda Dworkina* (*Ronald Dworkin's Philosophy of Law,* 2008), *Filozofija človekovih pravic* (*The Philosophy of Human Rights,* 2008), *Izbrana poglavja iz politične morale* (*Selected chapters from political morality,* 2010), *Prenašati bit sveta – Ontologija prava in države* (*To Endure the being of the World – Ontology of Law and state,* 2015).

Rok Svetlič je začel študij na pravni fakulteti leta 1992. Če z dve leti je vpisal še študij filozofije na Filozofski fakulteti v Ljubljani. Trenutno je zaposlen kot raziskovalec na Znanstveno-raziskovalnem središču v Kopru. Od leta 2013 je predsednik Slovenskega filozofskega društva. Bil je gostujoči profesor na Evropski pravni fakulteti, Nova Gorica, Slovenija. Je član uredniškega odbora založbe Goga in revije Poligrafi in podpredsednik Akademije za demokracijo, društva za promocijo demokratične kulture. Je evalvator Nacionalne agencije za kakovost v visokem šolstvu (NAKVIS). Objavljene monografije: *Dve vprašanji sodobne etike* (2003), *Filozofija prava Ronalda Dworkina* (2008), *Filozofija človekovih pravic* (2008), *Izbrana poglavja iz politične morale* (2010), *Prenašati bit sveta – Ontologija prava in države* (2015).

MAJA ZADEL

Maja Zadel graduated from the field of Media studies at the Faculty of Social Sciences with the thesis "Documentary Film and the Interpretation of History: War for Slovenian Independence" in 2010. During her studies, she became involved with research work at the Science and Research Centre at the University of Primorska. In November 2011, she received the status of an Early Stage Researcher for the field of nationality questions under the mentorship of Mateja Sedmak, Ph.D. In her doctoral studies, she dealt with media and popular culture in reference to transculturality, with a special emphasis on Italian media. She was awarded her Ph.D. in May 2016 with the dissertation titled *The role of Italian Media Contents in Forming Transcultural Identities in the Area of Slovenian Istria*.

Maja Zadel je leta 2010 diplomirala na Fakulteti za družboslovne vede (smer komunikologija) z nalogo »Dokumentarni film in interpretacija zgodovine: vojna za osamosvojitev Slovenije«. V času dodiplomskega študija se je vključila v raziskovalno delo na Znanstveno-raziskovalnem središču Univerze na Primorskem. Novembra 2011 pa je pridobila status mlade raziskovalke na področju narodnega vprašanja pod mentorstvom dr. Mateje Sedmak. V svoji doktorski nalogi se je ukvarjala z (italijansko) medijsko in popularno kulturo v povezavi s transkulturnostjo. Disertacijo z naslovom *Vloga italijanskih medijskih vsebin pri oblikovanju transkulturnih identitet na območju slovenske Istre* je zagovarjala maja 2016.

DRAGAN POTOČNIK

Dragan Potočnik is an Associate Professor at the History Department, Faculty of Arts of the University of Maribor, where he teaches history and the didactics of history. His research is focused on three areas: the history of non-European nations, the cultural history of the Slovenians from the middle of the 19th century to 1941, and the didactics of history.

He has participated in numerous domestic and international conferences and has published his research findings in numerous scientific articles. He is also the author of several scientific monographs: *Kulturno dogajanje v Mariboru v letih 1918–1941* (*Cultural Life in Maribor in the Period from 1918 to 1941*); *Azija med preteklostjo in sedanjostjo* (*Asia between the Past and the Present*); *Zgodovinske okoliščine delovanja generala Rudolfa Maistra na Štajerskem, Koroškem in v Prekmurju* (*The Historical Context of Rudolf Maister's Activities in Styria, Carinthia and Prekmurje*); *Zgodovina, učiteljica življenja* (*History, the Teacher of Life*); *Zgodovinski viri in pouk zgodovine* (*Historical Sources and the Teaching of History*); *Dijaki s Primorske na Klasični gimnaziji v Mariboru* (*Students from Primorska at the Classical Gram-*

mar School in Maribor); and Iran, dežela med Perzijo in islamom (Iran: A Country between Persia and Islam).

Dragan Potočnik predava zgodovino in didaktiko zgodovine kot izredni profesor na Oddelku za zgodovino na Filozofski fakulteti v Mariboru. Raziskovalno deluje na treh področjih: zgodovina neevropskih narodov, kulturna zgodovina Slovencev od sredine 19. stoletja do leta 1941 in didaktika zgodovine.

Svoja znanstvena spoznanja je predstavil na domačih in mednarodnih konferencah ter v znanstvenih člankih. Je avtor več znanstvenih monografij: Kulturno dogajanje v Mariboru v letih 1918–1941; Azija med preteklostjo in sedanjostjo; Zgodovinske okoliščine delovanja generala Rudolfa Maistra na Štajerskem, Koroškem in v Prekmurju; Zgodovina, učiteljica življenja; Zgodovinski viri in pouk zgodovine; Dijaki s Primorske na Klasični gimnaziji v Mariboru; ter Iran, dežela med Perzijo in islamom.

PETER JORDAN

Cultural and tourism geographer, atlas editor and toponymist with a regional focus on Southeast Europe and the Adriatic space; teaching at the universities of Vienna, Klagenfurt and Cluj-Napoca. Former director of the Austrian Institute of East and Southeast European Studies in Vienna, edited the Atlas of Eastern and Southeastern Europe (1989–2014), is co-editor of the toponymic book series Name & Place, Managing Editor of the Communications of the Austrian Geographical Society, Chair of the Austrian Board on Geographical Names, convenor of the UNGEGN Working Group on Exonyms, Vice-Chair of the Joint ICA / IGU Commission on Toponymy and vice-chair of the Permanent Committee on Geographical Names (StAGN).

Peter Jordan je kulturni in turistični geograf, urednik atlasov in toponimist, ki se osredotoča na regije jugovzhodne Evrope in mediteranski prostor; poučuje na univerzah na Dunaju, v Celovcu in Cluj-Napoci. Kot nekdanji direktor Avstrijskega inštituta za vzhodne in jugovzhodne evropske študije je bil urednik Atlasa vzhodne in jugovzhodne Evrope (1989–2014); je sourednik knjižne serije s področja toponimije Name & Place, urednik revije Mitteilungen der Österreichischen Geographischen Gesellschaft, predsednik Avstrijskega odbora za geografska imena, nosilec UNGEGN delovne skupine za eksonime, podpredsednik Komisije za toponimijo ICA/IGU ter podpredsednik Stalnega komiteja geografskih imen (StAGN).

ANGELOS EVANGELOU

Angelos Evangelou, Ph.D., Associate Lecturer in Comparative Literature, University of Kent, UK, has an interdisciplinary background in Continental Philosophy and English and Comparative Literature (BA, University of Cyprus; MA, University of Essex; PhD, University of Kent). His research interests include Continental Philosophy, the crosscurrents between philosophy and literature, madness studies (in philosophy and in literature), modern Greek and Cypriot literature, Postcolonial theory, border studies and border theory.

Dr. Angelos Evangelou, predavatelj primerjalne književnosti na Univerzi v Kentu (Velika Britanija), ima interdisciplinarno izobrazbo iz kontinentalne filozofije in angleškega jezika ter primerjalne književnosti (diploma na Univerzi v Cipru, magisterij na Univerzi v Essexu in doktorat na Univerzi v Kentu). Njegovi raziskovalni interesi vključujejo kontinentalno filozofijo, filozofijo in literaturo, študije norosti (v filozofiji in literaturi), sodobno grško in ciprsko literaturo, postkolonialistično teorijo in študije meja.

SHIVA HEMMATI

Shiva Hemmati's main interests lay in the study of gender and religious traditions, Islamic mysticism and Sufism as well as Tantrism for examining the feminine divinity, the divine love, and union within dualities. She is teaching women and religious studies at Azad University of Ahar, Iran. Contact: hemati2003@yahoo.com.

Temeljni interesi Shive Hemmati so v študijah spola in religijskih tradicij, islamskem misticizmu in sufizmu, prav tako pa tudi v tantrizmu, kjer raziskuje žensko božanskost in božansko ljubezen. Poučuje ženske in religijske študije na Azad Univerzi v Aharju, Iranu.

NADJA FURLAN ŠTANTE

Nadja Furlan Štante, Ph.D., is Senior Research Associate and Associate Professor of Religious Studies at Science and Research Centre, University of Primorska. Her current research interests are women's religious studies and ecofeminism.

Dr. Nadja Furlan Štante je višja znanstvena sodelavka in izredna profesorica religijskih znanosti na Znanstveno-raziskovalnem središču Univerze na Primorskem. Fokus njenega znanstveno-raziskovalnega dela je osredinjen na ženske religijske študije in ekofeminizem.

CARA JUDEA ALHADEFF

Professor Cara Judea Alhadeff, Ph.D. (The Global Center for Advanced Studies, University of Santa Cruz) engages theory as action. Alhadeff's transdisciplinary book, *Viscous Expectations: Justice, Vulnerability, the Ob-scene* (Penn State University Press, 2013) explores embodied democracy and the problematic of equality. She has published essays in philosophy, art, gender, ethnic, and cultural studies' journals and anthologies. Alhadeff has exhibited her photographs and performance videos internationally. Her work is in public and private collections, including MoMA Salzburg and SFMoMA, and is the subject of several documentaries for international public television. She earned her Ph.D. summa cum laude from the European Graduate School. Alhadeff's new book, *Zazu Dreams: Between the Scarab and the Dung Beetle, A Cautionary Fable for the Anthropocene Era* (Eifrig Publishing, 2016), addresses symbiotic hospitality and the intersections between the extinction of ethnic minorities and global ecological extinction. Alhadeff's collaboration with Dr. Stephanie Seneff (MIT) on the science behind "petroleum-parenting" will be published in 2017.

Prof. dr. Cara Judea Alhadeff (The Global Center for Advanced Studies, University of Santa Cruz) se ukvarja s teorijo kot udejstvovanjem. Njena transdisciplinarna knjiga *Viscous Expectations: Justice, Vulnerability, The Ob-scene* (Penn State University Press, 2013) raziskuje utelešeno demokracijo in problematiko enakosti. Objavlja eseje v revijah in antologijah s področja filozofije, umetnosti, študij spola ter etničnih in kulturnih študij. Avtorica je svoje fotografije in performativne videe razstavljala v mednarodnem okolju. Njeno delo je del javnih in zasebnih zbirk, vključujoč MoMA Salzburg in SFMoMA, poleg tega pa predstavlja snov mnogih dokumentarnih filmov mednarodne javne televizije. Doktorski naziv je z oceno *summa cum laude* dosegla na ustanovi European Graduate School. Njena nova knjiga *Zazu Dreams: Between the Scarab and the Dung Beetle, A Cautionary Fable for the Anthropocene Era* (Eifrig Publishing, 2016) naslavlja simbiotsko gostoljubje in povezave med izginjanjem etničnih manjšin ter globalnega ekološkega izumiranja. Alhadeffino sodelovanje z dr. Stephanie Senef (MIT) na področju znanosti v ozadju »nafto-starševstva« bo objavljeno v letu 2017.

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