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## Editorial office

Premier Publishing Praha 8  
– Karlín, Lyčkovo nám. 508/7, PSČ 18600

## E-mail:

pub@ppublishing.org

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## Section 1. Journalism

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*Lisachenko O. V.,  
Institute of Chemical Technologies and Engineering  
of the Federal State Budgetary Educational Institution  
of Higher Education "Ufa State Petroleum Technical University"  
(branch in Sterlitamak)*

### THE THEME OF SPORTS IN THE ART OF MODERN HISTORY

**Abstract.** The article examines the mutual connection of two directions of the intangible culture of mankind, which enrich the spiritual need of the society of modern history – sports and fine arts.

**Keywords:** sports, fine arts, culture, aesthetics, plastic, artistic image, Olympic Games.

*Лисаченко О. В.,  
Институт химических технологий и инжиниринга  
федерального государственного бюджетного образовательного учреждения  
высшего образования «Уфимский государственный  
нефтяной технический университет» (филиал в г. Стерлитамаке)*

### ТЕМА СПОРТА В ИСКУССТВЕ НОВЕЙШЕЙ ИСТОРИИ

**Аннотация.** В статье рассматривается взаимная связь двух направлений нематериальной культуры человечества, которые обогащают духовную потребность общества новейшей истории – спорт и изобразительное искусство.

**Ключевые слова:** спорт, изобразительное искусство, культура, эстетика, пластика, художественный образ, Олимпийские игры.

*Спорт всегда был излюбленной темой всех видов пластического искусства, особенно скульптуры. В своих произведениях художник не только воплощает красоту тренированного человеческого тела, динамизм спортивной схватки, но и творчески раскрывает внутренний облик человека в момент высочайшей его собранности, волевого напряжения, спортивного подвига.*

*И. Чайков, скульптор*

Спорт и изобразительное искусство, на первый взгляд, являются двумя совершенно разными видами деятельности человека. На самом деле природа искусство и спорта едина по своей сути.

В их основе – вдохновение, стремление к освоению нового, к покорению новых вершин человеческих возможностей.

Тема спорта, появившаяся в русском искусстве в середине XIX века и ставшая особенно популярной в 1920–1930 годы, нашла отражение в живописи и графике, в произведениях скульптуры и декоративно-прикладного искусства, в портрете и большой картине. Лыжники и конькобежцы, бегуны и метатели копья, дискоболы, борцы, баскетболисты, легкоатлеты, теннисисты, боксеры и, конечно, футболисты вдохновляли и продолжают вдохновлять художников крепкими, физически совершенными телами, напряженной пластикой своих движений, сильным духом и готовностью бороться и побеждать во славу отечественного спорта [1, с. 25–27].

Через плавное проникновение практически во все сферы жизни и отношения людей спорт неизбежно обогащается пестротой мира. Поэтому благодаря спорту можно понять приоритеты в обществе и пути его развития. Международный спорт помогает судить о состоянии социально-культурной системы, о здоровье нации в целом. Естественно, спорт влияет на общественную жизнь и культуру.

Искусство тоже многогранно и трудно поддается абсолютно четкой градации. Искусство – это мастерство, требующее большого умения и вкуса. Датский физик, лауреат Нобелевской премии мира Нильс Бор говорил о способности искусства вызывать в памяти гармонию, неподвластную никакому анализу, объясняя это чудо свободой игры и фантазии, способствующей развитию личности.

Художественный образ несет в себе эстетическое удовольствие. В эстетически законченном предмете явно просматривается содержание, выражаясь в его качестве, функциях. Таким образом, вещь или явление должны соответствовать не только многогранности своей системы координат, но и быть в ладу с человеком. Восприятие искусства не подвластно возрасту, роду занятий и любым факторам идентификации человека. Каждый склоняется к варианту, нашедшему отголосок в его душе.

Искусство во все времена отражает самые яркие образ, события и явления человеческой жизни, а художники находятся в постоянном поиске наиболее выразительных пластических форм. Были периоды в истории человечества, когда заказчиками произведений искусства выступали цари, фараоны, императоры, то есть те, кто в своих руках держал всю полноту власти, а были моменты, когда заказ исходил от народа, являясь выражением воли античного полиса или городской коммуны. Однако в каждом времени был востребован мотив спорта, состязания, борьбы. И цари, и общество восхищались победителями, чествовали самых сильных и ловких, воспевали красоту человеческой природы.

В последние годы все чаще высказывается мнение о том, что спорт не только может быть разновидностью искусства, но что он уже является искусством, одной из форм искусства.

Известный балетмейстер К. Я. Голейзовский на страницах журнала «Театр» прямо утверждал, что спорт, без всякого сомнения, является искусством.

Французский ученый Н. Поурет в докладе на 4-й сессии Международной Олимпийской академии обосновывал положение о том, что «искусство – спорт, а спорт – искусство; между ними нет никаких границ или отличий. Оба они являются выражением универсального языка».

В предисловии к книге «Человек, спорт и бытие» Слухер Е. Фриденденж высказывает мысль о том, что «спорт – это род прикладного искусства». По его мнению, из специфических искусств спорт ближе всего к балету, где средством художественной выразительности также служит человеческое тело. В то же время он считает спорт самым «сухим» из исполнительских искусств, поскольку он якобы более всего регламентирован. Паул Фрауссинет считает спорт таким же искусством, как музыка, поэзия или танец.

Американский ученый Б. Лоу в своей книге «Красота спорта» подробно обсуждает вопрос

о том, можно ли рассматривать спорт как искусство, а спортсмена считать артистом: «является ли бейсболист, спринтер, футболист или боксер артистом так же, как скрипач, балетный танцовщик, дирижер? Он дает положительный ответ на этот вопрос и, в частности, пишет: «...как живописцу краски и холст, так спортсмену для демонстрации искусства служит его собственное тело. И его искусство может существовать как ради самого процесса исключительно (процесс самовыражения), так и результата ради (включая общественное признание и материальное вознаграждение). А это значит, что оно ничем не отличается от художественной деятельности любого другого артиста. Разумеется, конечные результаты (произведения искусства) разнятся – живопись и скульптура остаются потомкам, а танец живет только пока исполняется, – и в этом спектре «различий» есть место и для спорта, точнее, он должен располагаться в этом спектре ближе к танцу»

Член МОК, президент Международной Олимпийской Академии Николаос Ниссиотис посвятил свой доклад на 26-й сессии МОА подробному обоснованию положения о том, что «спорт является искусством», а «атлет – артистом».

Известный ученый из Канады Фернагд Ландру подводя итоги дискуссии на 26-й сессии МОА о взаимоотношении спорта и искусства, в заключительном слове отметил, что «в ходе дискуссии все группы пришли к согласию о том, что хотя «искусство» – не «спорт», но «спорт» (спорт высших достижений) может рассматриваться как определенная форма художественной деятельности или как «искусство» Ландру [3, с. 57].

Аналогичные взгляды высказывают и многие другие исследователи.

Если вспомнить античную скульптуру, то тема спорта занимает в ней едва ли не центральное место. Особенно современного зрителя восторгает экспрессивная пластика, выверенные пропорции и безупречность линий, проявленные в скульптуре зрелой классики: «Дискобол», «Дорифор»,

«Диадумен». Каждая из этих скульптур рассказывает о разных моментах проживания спортивного состязания. Где-то скульптор выбирает ту абсолютную точку максимального напряжения, после которой будет сделан бросок, когда каждая мышца напряжена, а тело находится на пике своей формы. Где-то мастер решает показать момент полного расслабления после победы, когда победитель венчает свою голову победной лентой. Но каждый раз мы видим ликование и радость от возможностей человеческого тела, его безупречную красоту.

С ходом истории появлялись новые и новые виды спорта, а старые трансформировались. Сегодня существует около 200000 видов, среди которых знакомые нам футбол или бег с препятствиями и достаточно экзотические как подводный хоккей или стрельба по кеглям. Олимпийскими видами спорта признаны 45 летних и 16 зимних видов спорта. Каждая Олимпиада становится источником вдохновения для художников со всего мира, по мотивам историй спортсменов снимают фильмы, а фотографии, сделанные на играх, входят в золотой фонд спортивной фотографии.

В Российской империи художники редко замечали спорт и это было продолжением общественных настроений. Пожалуй, единственный вид спорта, который вызывал в обществе уважение – это шахматы. Примером такой картины можно назвать автопортрет Григория Мясоедова «Сам с собою, или Игра в шахматы» [5].

Произведение написано в 1907 году, незадолго до кончины художника. Одиноким старик, замерший над шахматной доской – как далек этот образ от темы ликования и спортивных побед. Здесь нет никакого противостояния, лишь признание, что в финале жизни человек оказался наедине сам с собой. Интеллектуальное и эмоциональное одиночество творца так точно и ясно показано через шахматы.

Если же говорить о живописи, то тема спорта начинает ярко доминировать именно в советском искусстве XX века. Этот феномен объясняется тем, что в СССР появился культ здоровья,



героического труда и высоких достижений. Победы в спорте были так же важны для молодого государства, как и в политике, и в экономике. Мощь советских спортсменов доказывала всему миру, что социализм и система спортивного воспитания в СССР могут творить чудеса. Школьные уроки физкультуры, введение норм ГТО и проведение спартакиад как среди студентов, так и на крупных предприятиях дали свои плоды: СССР лидировал по количеству людей, вовлеченных в массовый спорт, и по золотым медалям на Олимпиадах.

Спортсмены и спортсменки были для художников идеалом красоты, силы и воли. Для Александра Самохвалова «Девушка с ядром» символизирует истинную грацию. Толкать ядро или поднимать гири – все это стало частью в том числе и женского спорта. Роль женщины в социуме очень выросла уже во время Первой Мировой войны, и с тех пор эмансипация только набирала обороты. Женщины вставали в один ряд с мужчинами, получив доступ и к высшему образованию, и к руководящим должностям, и, конечно, они показали невероятные результаты в спорте [2, с. 32].

Но ни один вид спорта так не любим художниками как футбол – игра № 1. В этой игре заворачивает все: противоборство команд, одиночество и трагическая ответственность вратаря, нервное состояние болельщиков и само пространство стадиона, где на ярко зеленом поле мелькают яркие пятна игроков. С точки зрения живописи именно футбол можно назвать самым экспрессивным и пластически разнообразным видом спорта. Именно по этой причине русские художники от авангардистов до соцреалистов с огромной радостью обращаются к этой теме. Кроме ставших классическими работ Малевича «Супрематизм. Живописный реализм футболиста» или Дейнеки «Вратарь» живописная вселенная наполнена вариациями не только на тему самой игры, но и портретами известных футболистов и тренеров. Современные художники соревнуются между собой в изображении Зенеддина Зидана или Фабио Капелло.

Интересно, что существуют виды спорта, в которых художников вдохновляют не спортсмены, а спортивный инвентарь. Именно так случилось с дартс. Этот самый молодой из самых древних видов спорта заменил традиционную для Олимпиады стрельбу из лука. Постепенно вид спорта, который ранее ассоциировался скорее с развлечением в барах или с детской игрой, стал одним из самых востребованных в молодежном спорте. Художники обратили внимание на красоту поля для дартс, и сегодня в рамках направления гиперреализм существуют сотни подобных произведений [5].

Мир эстетических явлений спорта необычайно богат. Этот мир создает огромные возможности для эстетического развития личности. Наблюдение за спортивным зрелищем, обладающим эстетическими качествами, занятия спортом и связанное с этим не только созерцание его эстетических ценностей, но и активное, творческое участие в разнообразных формах деятельности по их созданию – все это создает богатые возможности для приобщения человека к миру прекрасного, для развития у него эстетических способностей во всем многообразии их проявлений: от способности чувствовать и переживать красоту, наслаждаться ею и правильно оценивать прекрасное до способности творить и действовать по законам красоты и высокой нравственности.

Спорт, как и искусство, сближает людей разных стран, позволяет преодолевать национальные, политические и религиозные границы и барьеры. Потому сама идея спорта, его высшее выражение связаны с понятием мира не только в планетарном смысле, но и с точки зрения сохранения целостности нашей Земли. Гуманистическая миссия спорта актуальна и сейчас, представляя, по словам поэта и спортсмена Роберта Рождественского, „великолепный сюжет для искусства“. Она является формой воплощения единства людей, своего рода командного духа, в котором проявляются индивидуальные усилия каждого.

Можно с уверенностью сказать, что появление новых видов спорта и их распространение окажут еще свое влияние живопись, скульптуру и музыку. А образы людей, которые преодолевают силу притяжения, бегут быстрее всех, покоряют океан-

ские волны, состязаются в силе и ловкости будут и дальше вдохновлять творцов по всему миру. Человеческое тело на пике своих возможностей – это неисчерпаемый и беспримысленный сюжет на все времена [4, с. 164].

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## Section 2. Study of art

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Saviano Carmela,  
PhD student in Architecture,  
Industrial Design and Cultural Heritage  
University of Campania “Luigi Vanvitelli”

### CULTURAL HERITAGE AND PUBLIC OPINION IN NAPLES AT THE END OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY: AN INVESTIGATION THROUGH “L’ILLUSTRAZIONE ITALIANA”

**Abstract.** The essay focuses on the image and role of Neapolitan cultural heritage communicated at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century by one of the longest-lived national magazines in the history of Italian publishing: “L’Illustrazione Italiana”, founded by Emilio Treves in 1873.

**Keywords:** museums, art, cultural Heritage, magazines.

Distributed in all Italian regions and also abroad, *L’Illustrazione Italiana* was for many years the great illustrated magazine aimed at the Italian middle class. On 14 December 1873, in Milan, under the title *Nuova Illustrazione Universale*, the Trieste publisher Emilio Treves decided to launch a new illustrated magazine. After a brief presence on the market as *L’Illustrazione Universale*, the weekly magazine acquired its definitive name, *L’Illustrazione Italiana*, on 1 November 1875 and remained on the newsstands until 1962, when the magazine, already owned by Garzanti since 1938, ceased publication [1, 13–19; 2, 308–319; 3, 97–137; 4, 77–80; 5, 129–131; 6, 35–37; 7, 179–180].

Since its first appearance, the wide and diverse museum offerings made available to the public occupied an increasingly prominent place in the magazine. Both texts and images were dedicated to the multiplicity of forms and contents that the museum institution gradually acquired from the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century onwards. In the columns of

*L’Illustrazione Italiana*, no predilection for specific types of museums emerges: spaces reserved for history, art, science, nature, industry and schools are equally contemplated as custodians of memory and instruments of community education. This consideration is also recognisable in the speeches of Treves, who was always very sensitive to the initiatives undertaken, around the 1870s, by Ruggiero Bonghi (at the Ministry of Education from 1874 to 1876) [8; 9; 10; 11]. His side in favor to the collection of the entrance fee in all museums and galleries of Italy, introduced by the minister with the law n. 2554 of 27 May 1875, because “per le cose che si ha tutto il comodo di fare o di vedere, si dice sempre: domani” [12], reveals a great deal not only about the support that the magazine gave to the start of the process of ministerial centralisation of conservation functions, but also about the change of course that the ruling class was beginning to chart, compared to the past, with its growing need to have museum institutions designed with the visitor in mind, equipped with lay-



outs and reading tools suitable for interpreting them [13, 23–24].

The contributions that, in the early years of the magazine, were addressed to Neapolitan heritage and were often signed by Nicola Lazzaro should therefore be placed in this context [14, 251–252; 15, 141; 16]. The journalist, or rather "articolista viaggiante" [17, 113], worked for *L'Illustrazione Italiana* from 1876 to 1901 as a war correspondent and was in charge of the *Corriere di Napoli* column. His visit to the necropolis of Suessula, published in the periodical in two parts in 1879 [18; 19], allows us to add valuable details to the history of Italian collecting and to understand how private initiative was perceived by a bourgeois public in the context of conservation action. Together with Giuseppe Cosenza [20], "artista speciale dell'*Illustrazione*", the journalist went to the Calabritto estate, near the Acerra forest, where the owner, Marcello Spinelli, baron of Barra and prince of Scalea, had recently begun excavations, with a regular licence, to bring to light the city and necropolis of ancient Suessula [21; 22]. Among the large number of Italian and foreign researchers, who in those years followed the work on the site and promptly published the results, Lazzaro's voice could be defined as "out of the choir". Archaeology had always seemed to him "una specie di scienza arcaica, piena di nebulosità", so his is nothing more than the gaze of the typical observer who in the presence of antiquity "ci trovano quello che vogliono" [18, 42]. Welcomed by the baron, the two envoys were accompanied to the area of the ancient necropolis. The first chance discoveries, the organisation of the excavation, the sarcophagi found and the way the dead were buried, reported in detail by Spinelli, are the themes around which the first part of the visit revolves [18, 42]. The second, on the other hand, is rich in food for thought and offers a singular report, enriched by Cosenza's lucid illustrations of the initial location of the Spinelli collection. This was placed on the upper floor of the Vanvitellian villa, next to the ancient Suessula Tower [23, 277]:

Sono appena due stanze, una piccola, l'altra vastissima, ed in queste si veggono oggetti a profusione gettati alla rinfusa. Classificati, ordinati, posti in adatti scaffali, riempirebbero per lo meno dieci stanze. Il comm. Marcello Spinelli si è dato già a tanto noioso e lungo lavoro, ma per l'abbondanza non può andar per le spicce. Se un giorno ne classifica dieci, ecco giungerne altri venti dagli scavi. Ciò non pertanto, la prima stanza è già quasi in ordine, essa è destinata ai vetri, agli ori, agli argenti, ed ai bronzi; questi molti, gli altri pochini. I vetri son rinchiusi in un cassettino ricoverto di lastra; appartengono alla civiltà greca. Collane e bottoni di varii colori a disparate forme, non manca uno odorino a mosaico smaltato, rassomigliante molto ai rarissimi delle antiche fabbriche venete. Accanto a questo cassettino, avvenne altro simile in cui stanno i pochi oggetti d'oro e d'argento, e i varii in bronzo (...). A rompere la monotonia, ecco delle testine di terra cotta ed un'ampolla rarissima raffigurante la testa di un moro. Tutto ciò è nei cassettini posti nel mezzo della stanza. Lateralmente alle pareti veggonsi armadietti di legno e cristalli. Uno è ripieno di ricca raccolta di bracciali in bronzo, ve ne sono di tutte le forme e grandezze (...). In altro armadio è una raccolta di oggetti varii, utensili domestici anche in bronzo e poi dello stesso metallo vien dopo una raccolta di fibbie o fibule piccole e grandi da fare, da sé sola, la delizia di un archeologo. Poche volte ho visto tante fibbie riunite e di così variolate forme e grandezze. Terminati i bronzi, quasi a distrarre l'occhio si presenta una raccolta di anfore di grandezze ed epoche differenti (...) [19, 52].

Instead of the "solite anticaglie" scattered along the entrance staircase, the journalist prefers the layout of the collection. He dwells on each showcase to give a key to its interpretation and thus break the monotony of a museum that, following the "ingenua e amabile esposizione che poteva essere dettata dal gusto e dalla passione di un gran patrizio napoletano dell'Ottocento" [23, 278], received visitors without any indication. The desire, recurring in the articles that the journal has dedicated to museums in these

years, to search for the links between the objects preserved and make them readable not only for “tutti gli scienziati del mondo”, he only ones who regularly visited the site, was also dictated by the fact that Lazzaro’s writing was intended, first and foremost, as an invitation. He recommended the readers of a non-specialist periodical not to limit themselves, when visiting Naples, to the classic visit of Pompeii, Herculaneum, Baia and Pesto, and to include a stop at the excavations of Suessula in their itineraries [19, 52]. On the other hand, the journalist had been the author of *Napoli. A zonzo per il golfo* [24], a guide to the city and its coastal beauties publicised by the magazine for “la facilità e la chiarezza delle sue descrizioni” [25], and with the same practicality he also provided all the useful coordinates for reaching Acerra. A location that is certainly peripheral, but rich in landscape potential, historical resources and, above all, archaeological memories saved from dispersion thanks to the “opera patriottica e degna” of the Spinelli household [19, 54].

Faced with the rampant “moda pericolosa” of auction sales of important private collector nuclei and the indifference of a government that, in order to consolidate the state budget, was allocating a minimal part of public finances to the least productive sectors, the magazine took to the field on several occasions, emphasising the opportunity for cooperation between the worthy citizens and public institutions in the field of heritage conservation. In this sense, the “Filangieri case” is also emblematic, which, moreover, well sums up one of the many anomalies of Italian legislation in those years. The projects launched by the prince for the Neapolitan context were often the subject of analysis and discussion within the journal: his report forwarded to the Ministry of Education for the foundation in Naples of the Museo Artistico Industriale (Industrial Artistic Museum) and workshop schools was received with such enthusiasm that the government was urged to seriously consider it not only for Naples, but also for the main industrially developed centres of the penin-

sula [26]. Once the institution was born, the review did not fail to record its progress and the “powerful impulse” its production gave to Neapolitan industry [27]. With the same admiration, all the measures established by Filangieri to ensure the existence and prestige of the civic museum donated to the city, as well as the excellence of its *Documenti per la storia, le arti e le industrie delle provincie napoletane* [28], were presented as examples to be followed in every region of the peninsula. The editorial staff of *L’Illustrazione Italiana* even went so far as to openly speak out, on behalf of all journalism, against the “strana imposta messa sulla generosità cittadina”, or rather the paradoxical demand by the tax authorities that the prince pay 300.000 lire as donation tax [29].

The idea of an exhibition space as a structured shelter, the protagonist of a predominantly museological protection and of a collection as more than just art history, emerges fully in another passage published in Lazzaro’s weekly, concerning *Il Presepe al Museo di San Martino* [30]. A quick glance at the presentation of the complex, placed at the beginning of the article, allows us to grasp the close relationship that San Martino has had with its city for centuries, a relationship that has been evident since the dawn of the guidebook dedicated purely to the Charterhouse [31, V–VII; 32, 397]. Here too, the image of a treasure chest of rare Neapolitan artistic treasures and a privileged observatory overlooking the city’s exceptional scenic beauty without encroaching recurs [33, 303–304]. In the then crowded museum, where the materials, arriving at different times, had been gradually placed by Giuseppe Fiorelli following the organisation by materials and techniques imposed as an exhibition criterion by positivism [34, 7–14], the journalist tries to convey to the reader the plot of a city history that, despite the absence of a unitary project, could nevertheless be read in filigree:

- Fra di esse mi piace annoverare – you read about the collections – una collezione epigrafica e di stemmi delle famiglie dal cominciare del Regno di Sicilia, cioè dal normanno

Ruggiero, al passato secolo, cioè fino al Regno di Carlo III di Borbone. Questa raccolta che fa parte integrante della storia di Napoli, è sita sotto i portici dell'atrio principale del chiostro. Ed oltre di essa veggonsi suppellettili, autografi, immagini delle nostre grandi individualità storiche ed artistiche, la collezione donata dal marchese Del Vasto di dipinti dei principali artisti napoletani ( ... ) [30, 62].

The desire to unveil the common thread that united the heterogeneity of those objects, placed in a space dominated by the logic of accumulation, is the same that can be found in the considerations that, a few years earlier, Riccardo Armandi had published in the magazine about the Chariot of the Elect, the first gift to become part of the museum's heritage.

- Quando questo carrozzone della città – wrote Armandi –, le cui decorazioni artistiche erano del Sanfelice, pittore, architetto e scultore, quando a lento passo l'arca municipale dorata e piumata in alto, veniva portata per la città, i Napoletani si rallegravano e anche il popolino, beandosi della foggia antica, dicea a sé stesso *Simmo o non simmo?* – Siamo qualche cosa al mondo o non siamo nulla? – La gioia si spandeva ne' volti ( ... ). Il carrozzone della città di Napoli, monumento di grazia nel suo barocchismo, è la vera espressione de' gaudii di una città che non temeva la guerra e faceva le lodi de' suoi amministratori ( ... ) [35].

An interesting fact emerges from the excerpt: apart from the artistic importance of the artefact, the sumptuous carriage featured in the museum as a reminder of a history that affected all citizens indiscriminately. Along these lines, Lazzaro too, speaking of the museum, at one point dwells on an important gift, a presence that played an essential role in the popular interest of this institution: Michele Cuciniello's artistic Presepe opened to the public on 28 December 1879 [36; 37]. The author had been invited to the inauguration together with the artist Eduardo Matania, who produced a drawing for the magazine

that, besides being among the first iconographic representations of the admirable exhibition, depicts the curious crowd typical of the depictions of museum interiors in the 1880s.

"Tutta questa finzione religiosa, essendo cosa popolare, dovè soddisfare i gusti, l'intelligenza del popolo" [30, 62], observes the guest at the event. Even when he was sent by the weekly's editorial staff to the 1877 Esposizione Artistica Nazionale – a decisive circumstance for the arrival of the Presepe at San Martino – he journalist welcomed the committee's decision to organise a Presepe in a hall under the supervision of Filippo Palizzi, because in this way Sammartino's masterpieces would also be admired and known by the people, who would flock to the exhibition in large numbers "non fosse altro, per vedere il presepe" [38, 142].

The problems of public order faced by the management of San Martino on that occasion, and later over the Christmas period, due to the large influx of Neapolitans who, before then, would never have climbed the hill to visit the museum, are well known [37]. It was therefore evident to the eyes of his contemporaries the component that Vittorio Spinazzola then leveraged to create a museum machine within everyone's reach, namely the museum's wide public enjoyment due to the Presepe, its genuinely popular character and the empathetic relationship, based on familiarity with a deep-rooted tradition, that was created between the Neapolitans and the colourful crowd arranged along the picturesque rocky landscape. An attraction had entered the museum that could allow anyone to cross the threshold of a place that positivism had ended up limiting to a small circle of privileged people and thus gradually move from the Presepe to the museum. Initially, the boundless potential inherent in the Presepe was not fully understood. In fact, Cuciniello's gift was not part of the exhibition proper [39, 123–124] and its extraneousness to the museum remained unchanged until 1898 [40, 12]. Even from the writings analysed, the need to project the museum towards a broader public is not



evident: the various municipal histories, told in local museums, contributed strongly to the formation of the national history that the ruling class, at different levels, was preparing to tell [41]. This was opening up in public opinion that museums, as founding institutions of the national educational system, should also fulfil their function through an empathic transmission of the sense of history and tradition.

Thus, all the programmatic excavation activity conducted in the last twenty years of the century in the archaeological area of Pompeii by Michele Ruggiero and Antonio Sogliano, which animated debates among antiquities enthusiasts, was followed and subjected by Lazzaro to a process of “democratisation”. Indeed, through a language that is immediate and simplified in content, he presents the image of a Pompeii that is alive and close in time.

- Quasi quasi – began the journalist – a parlar di Pompei, par sia cosa stanza. Al nome solo della sotterrata ed in parte scoperta città si crede a un non so che di vecchio, d’antico, di passato, di cui son piene guide e giornali, opuscoli e libri, amene descrizioni letterarie e profonde disquisizioni archeologiche. Allorché metto i piedi in quella terra che superando i secoli arriva a noi direttamente dall’era pagana, io resto compreso di meraviglia. Piccino, mi rialzo superbo dalla vastità del passato. Pompei è una scuola, un ricordo, una memoria, una storia. È un passato ed un futuro; un tutto ed un nulla; la vita e la morte [42, 358].

With this in mind, the author describes his walk through the silent streets of the city observing “tutta la storia dell’arte antica farsi strada” up to the present. In the face of the fountain and the newly discovered paintings in the *IX Regio*, theoretical questions give way to the narration of the myth, the description of the customs represented [42, 358–359]. Similarly, the mosaics, the objects found in the house in the *V Regio* [43] and the paintings found in the house of the Master of the Olympic Games [44], repre-

sent for the journalist a mine of information about a reality far away in time but teeming with life. It is evident that a transformation is taking place, a different perception of antiquity than in the past. We were a long way from the romantic rediscovery of ancient vestiges and a completely new way of understanding and using the site. Since Thomas Cook had introduced the first organised trip to Italy in 1864, including the resorts along the Gulf of Naples, Campania – thanks also to the development of connections – had become the favourite destination of a predominantly bourgeois tourism [45, 72]. In this context, the evocative power of Pompeii, based on the contrast between its serenity and the human drama of destruction, was increasingly accentuated. *Una festa a Pompei nel 1877*, the piece published on the *L’Illustrazione Italiana* by Cesira Pozzolini Siciliani, brings us close to the climate in the archaeological area at the time: Neapolitan good society, in the wake of past experiences, organised evenings in Pompeii. During these festivities, the large number of guests witnessed, against the backdrop of the terrible catastrophe, a whole series of historical re-enactments with a strong emotional impact, thanks also to the rather early use of coloured beams of electric light that highlighted certain symbolic places among the ruins [46].

L’idea era bella. Una festa, secondo costumi antichi in mezzo ai ruderi di Pompei colpiva l’immaginazione. Soccorrere coi proventi di quella festa pompeiana un’isola che ebbe a soffrire i capricci tellurici come Pompei mille ottocento anni or sono ebbe a patire quelli del Vesuvio, era un pensiero pio e gentile. Gli antichi avevano abbandonata Pompei nella sua tomba: la carità moderna accorreva, invece un’altra volta in aiuto di una bella infelice: Ischia, che quasi fa un anno fu convertita in rovine. Quale effetto offriva, durante le feste pompeiane, tutta quella folla elegante! Una società moderna in una città antica; una popolazione viva in una città di morti! Durante i tre giorni delle feste, si ebbero momenti di perfetta illusione. Scene interessanti, pittoresche, si offrivano

alla vista di chi, facendo tacere per un istante proprio spirito critico e distruttore, si lasciava andare alla spontanea ammirazione di alcuni tratti della vita romana riprodotti con erudizione, con cura [47].

These are the impressions published in the *L'Illustrazione Italiana* about the "feste pompeiane", set up in May 1884 to support the reconstruction of Casamicciola affected by the earthquake the previous year. The theatricalisation of the ruins, reproduced in Eduardo Dalbono's splendid drawings accompanying the text, projected the audience into different moments in the life of the ancient city, and sensory involvement was also guaranteed by the tasting of typical dishes of the period and music played by reproductions of ancient instruments [48]. The paper written by Michele Uda on the occasion of the 18th centenary of the eruption of 79 BC, entitled *Pompei nel suo XVIII centenario* [49] and the event of *Il centenario di Pompei* [50] described by Domenico Ciampoli, leave no doubt as to the kind of spirit with which the bourgeoisie in these years approached the ruins of the ancient city: these pages portray a public particularly attracted to the literary construction of the myth of Pompeii. The excavations themselves said little or nothing and often risked boring the visitors. On the other hand, these occasions provided an opportunity to experience an atmosphere in which "non c'è la musoneria del mortorio: c'è invece la festa della vita" [50, 256].

Also fuelling the "consacrazione estetica" of Pompeii was, without doubt, the new climate introduced into the management of the great site by Giuseppe Fiorelli [51]. The bodies of the Pompeians reconstructed on site with the plaster cast system devised by the archaeologist staged a "morte ambientata"; a spectacle that left the visitor with the most vivid and moving memory of the tragic event [52, 97–100].

In 1882, in fact, it was "bastato il semplice annunzio della scoperta – in the *VIII Regio* – di due nuovi cadaveri per richiamare l'attenzione del pubblico intelligente" [53]. The two skeletons did not have "per la storia e per la scienza eguale importanza

di altre scoperte fatte quasi contemporaneamente" [53], but Lazzaro was nevertheless sent to Pompeii by the magazine's editorial office to report on what happened. After a long narrative sequence, almost as if to dilate the reader's horizon of expectation, the author dwells on the recovery of the two bodies, one of a woman and the other of a child, held by the hand. An aura of mystery seems to surround them: "Erano madre e figlio? Perché si decisero a fuggire quando già la ignea pioggia copriva per quattro metri il terreno? Perché uscirono dalla finestra?" [53]. These and many others were the questions that readers, potential users of the site, would ask themselves when faced with what had by then become one of Pompeii's greatest attractions: the casts, the pulsating life just moments before the harrowing moment.

*L'Illustrazione Italiana* intercepted everything that was in line with the tastes of its public, became the interpreter of its models, its mental schemes and the spokesman of its various demands. The magazine also represented a significant space for debate on the political and technical choices made in the field of urban transformations that affected the main Italian cities in the last two decades of the century. The periodical addressed the contradictions of the present in critical terms, supporting those projects that lived up to the exceptional value of the historical fabric of the country's various centres and blaming, in the name of art "nelle sue svariatissime forme, nelle sue insuperabili testimonianze secolari", those projects justified only by the "nessun sacrificio di opere d'arte, di antichità propriamente detta" [54].

As is well known, Naples, which had a population of around half a million inhabitants and for the most part crammed into dreary "bassi", had been hit by the so-called "febbre napoletana", in the summer of 1884, the cholera epidemic that severely affected the districts of San Giuseppe, Vicaria, Porto, Pendino and Mercato. Minister Depretis' consequent decision – dictated by purely electoral interests – to "sventrare" those neighborhoods, those neighbourhoods, through the introduction of the *Legge per il*



*risanamento della città di Napoli* (Law no. 2892 of 15 January 1885) [55], was welcomed by the mayor Nicola Amore, first and foremost, for the advantages of the new large spaces that would have allowed a faster transport of goods [56; 57]. The radical demolition and reclamation work, inaugurated in 1889 by the Società per il Risanamento, took place in the oldest heart of the city, where historical and economic events had thickened memories and populations. The interest in implementing a redevelopment plan was so pronounced that it overshadowed the protection of monumental buildings and representative elements of the city's urban design. The indiscriminate slaughter of monuments, artistic testimonies and symbolic spaces of Neapolitan culture increased the work of the Commissione per la Conservazione dei Monumenti [58] and the need to fix the face of the city, to study its stones, buildings and monuments with love, and even with a certain melancholy. *Napoli che muore e Napoli che risorge* [59] is in fact the title of the column that Treves, between 1891 and 1892, created for "lasciare coll'incisione e colla penna, nell' *Illustrazione Italiana*, un ricordo possibilmente compiuto di quella Napoli che muore e che si trasforma" [59]. The textual part and the illustrative apparatus were entrusted to the journalist, photographer, illustrator and collector Gennaro Amato [60; 61; 62; 63; 64; 65], who availed himself of a rich photographic documentation that, in 1930, he collected in the album *Raccolta di fotografie di Napoli del 1800* and donated to the National Library of Naples. and donated to the National Library of Naples. In presenting the column to his audience, the editor listed, in the interest of the country, the strengths of the epoch-making land reclamation project and his intention to leave a document useful to scholars, dealing with it, we read:

- (...) anche le opere d'arte ignorate o neglette che incontrerà il piccone demolitore; messe in luce, varranno a dimostrare che in mezzo all'abbattimento morale di Napoli, si mantenne desta la scintilla dell'arte e del genio

che Dio le concesse, quasi in compenso del resto [59].

The articles dedicated to the Risanamento of Naples are interspersed with continuous clarifications by the editors. From reading these interludes, one gets the impression that in that tumultuous period the weekly wanted to change the negative image that was spreading about Naples. *L'Illustrazione Italiana* had always given its territory a strong tourist vocation and ennobling its image also meant safeguarding the economic interests of the country itself. Amato's illustrations, which accompany the texts, portray the most cheerful and pleasant perspectives of the city and are often populated by elegant and bourgeois characters, regular visitors to those places. At the same time, the same combative tones echo among the columns of the column that would shortly afterwards animate the denunciations, both of the looting taking place and of the government's failings, hosted in *Napoli Nobilissima*, founded in 1892.

It was during this period of inexorable desire for change that Salvatore Di Giacomo began writing for *L'Illustrazione Italiana*. The poet had already entered the world of local erudition: between the end of 1885 and the early months of 1886 he had become a member of the Società Napoletana di Storia Patria and later a promoting member. Frequenting those halls, he had been struck from the start by Bartolomeo Capasso's sensitivity and, influenced by his speeches, had approached the study of the city's historical sources [66]. He had achieved considerable fame with his stories, his judicial chronicles and, above all, with his songs presented at the annual Piedigrotta song festival. In 1896, he began a long collaboration: Treves's magazine published his first essay dedicated to the discovery of the Greek hypogeum in Via dei Cristallini in Naples [67]. The extraordinary discovery had been made in 1889 by Baron Giovanni Di Donato in the garden of his palace, but it took Gennaro Aspremo Galante eight years to complete the first study on the burial ground [68] and had little circulation, in any case limited to the

academic circle [67; 60]. The irony with which the poet addressed the issue is very subtle, but illuminating on his need to use a medium that would allow for a broader reflection on local heritage.

Bisogna proprio dire – he wrote – che il frutto dell'intelligenza e del sapere non è assaggiato in Napoli. Se non a decadi addirittura e dagli accademici soltanto. (...) Qualcuno di noi tenta ancor sempre ne' giornali quotidiani d'iniziare alla conoscenza delle cose patrie quanti – e son parecchi – chiedono a certe rubriche il diletto non pure l'insegnamento facile e breve. Ma spesso, per l'enorme modestia accademica che veglia alla incarcerazione de' suoi stampati negli scaffali polverosi, il compito riesce difficile: nessuno dunque saprà mai che nuove forme vada svelando questa nostra Partenope, a mano a mano spogliata dei suoi setti veli azzurrini. Oppur lo saprà otto anni dopo che un fatto novello è seguito. (...) L'indagine fredda degli archeologi – i quali piuttosto che per sé stessi scrivono per gli altri – continuerà dunque a disseppellirci tutta una zona partenopea che assieme a quelle pietose memorie de' primi tempi di Napoli, ricondotti alla luce, potrebbe resuscitar la storia del costume e della religione antichi, e quella – degna di osservazione più pittorica e più poetica – offrir, confortata dalle forme seducenti dell'arte, a ogni amico delle cose nostre, a ogni studioso del nostro paese. Un tal libro non si è ancora composto: ma quanto se ne vantaggerebbe la cultura generale! La fortuna è dei volgarizzatori [67, 60–61].

After years of Neapolitan journalism, Di Giacomo had developed a pessimistic and melancholic idea of Naples; the city appeared to him to be at the mercy of a corrupt ruling class incapable of looking at real problems. Knowing its history, its urban and social structure was also a way to exorcise his own pain [69, 319]. His intense passion for ancient papers, as well as his desire to protect the archival, bibliographical and monumental heritage of the city of Naples, were the reasons that led him to propose the creation of *Napoli Nobilissima* [70, 325–343], to “tentar qualcosa a vantaggio dei monumenti storici

ed artistici napoletani che erano assai negletti, e al fine di accrescere e divulgare la conoscenza dell'arte antica meridionale, in grandissima parte inesplorata” [71]. For Di Giacomo *L'Illustrazione Italiana* was not only an instrument through which he could give wide publicity to his poetic production, local news and curiosities, and the difficulties of the weaker social strata, but also a way to liberate – in a language suitable for the frivolous readers of a worldly newspaper – the history of the city from the narrow confines of local erudition and to raise awareness of the defence of the city's artistic heritage. For the salvation of the monuments, the same nationwide struggle was thus launched that the young editors of *Napoli Nobilissima* were waging against a municipal administration all bent on speculative activities and less and less interested in historical memories [72].

The editorial staff of *L'Illustrazione Italiana* also participated in the strenuous battle, expressing their positions on the inevitable process of modernising the country from time to time. If for the “sventramento” of Milano the periodical welcomed the right balance that the “piccone demolitore” managed to find between conservative and “affaristiche” needs [73], it was not the same for the redevelopment works carried out in Florence's historic centre that seriously compromised its “atmosfera estetica speciale”.

The Florentine case is very interesting in that the arguments of the journalist Matteo Pierrotti, in favour of public hygiene [74; 75], did not find support from Treves, who intervened personally on behalf of the entire editorial staff. The small paragraph that accompanies the article by deputy Serristori, supporter of the Società per la difesa di Firenze antica, not only demonstrates the editor's ability to bring out, without prejudice, the strengths and weaknesses of each side, but is also indicative of the point of view expressed by the periodical in the face of modern urban upheavals:

- Questo articolo – wrote the director – del marchese Serristori, deputato, non contraddice del tutto a quelli del Pierotti, per quanto

anche in qualche parte venga a rettificarli; ma chiudendo gli occhi su ciò che s'è fatto ed è irreparabile, richiama l'attenzione su ciò che altri minacciano di fare per l'avvenire, più o meno prossimo: e qui crediamo ch'egli abbia perfettamente ragione, e che giovi richiamare tutta l'attenzione degli Italiani sul pericolo che l'arte e il buon gusto corrono nella più artistica città della Penisola. Poiché gli impresari di fabbriche che guadagnano nel continuo fare e disfare, danno ai loro interessi particolari il nome di interesse pubblico, di igiene, di comodità; aggiungeremo anche noi a tutti gli argomenti artistici, uno pratico e materiale. A che giova fare tanti appelli e promuovere Società per il richiamo dei forestieri in Italia se poi li allontaniamo col togliere la maggiore attrattiva delle città italiane, che consiste nell'essere così caratteristiche, così differenti dalle altre città europee ed americane, fatte tutte sul medesimo stampo? Non solo per le ragioni storiche ed artistiche, ma anche per l'interesse materiale del nostro paese, L'ILLUSTRAZIONE ITALIANA manda la sua adesione alla Società di difesa di Firenze antica [76, 302].

The situation in Florence was rather alarming and the debate that ensued was decisive for the vast development of attention to the subject of the management of things of artistic and historical interest that led, between 1902 and 1909, to the approval of the first important laws on the subject. The journal shared that general vision of protection characterised by «uno sguardo del tutto volto all'indietro, al "sentimento" della grandezza passata» understood both in terms of local identity and in the sense of national and tourist promotion and enhancement of the local space [77, 15–16].

Towards the end of the century, among the latest issues of the periodical, in addition to the call for a reorganisation of the protection system that no longer meets the needs of the times, there are some

contributions that point to the widespread diffusion in Italy of some of the most avant-garde international experiences. The authors perceived a sense of backwardness in the institutions in our country and tried, at the same time, to assess their limits and needs, starting with the libraries. While in Italian libraries there was a "sublime non curanza" for the physiological needs of the user, that of the British Museum [78], organised by the Italian Antonio Panizzi, was able to meet the needs of the community of reference with an exclusive focus on the reader: the institution offered well-lit rooms, comfortable seating and even a restaurant. Here we read: "la scienza e l'arte sono come un grande albergo, aperto a gente di tutte le qualità e condizioni" [78, 166]. The British environment is still mentioned in an article about the Sunday opening of museums in London [79], which was established with some delay, unlike in other European countries, only because Sunday in the English tradition was a weekly interval of absolute rest. However, the British government considered it necessary to allow the working class (who were busy on weekdays) access to museums, so that the opening "dal punto di vista morale e religioso, invece che una profanazione sarebbe stata un progresso" [79, 270].

The layout of the Metropolitan Museum in New York, designed by the Italian Luigi Palma di Cesnola [80], an archaeological museum very different from those in Europe, which were mostly state or municipal museums, was also highly appreciated. The institution was self-managed and subsidised by the state through donations. What was most striking in its halls was the massive presence of plaster reproductions of the most representative monuments of antiquity, symbols of a culture that America does not possess and that it can only evoke: "in quell'aula – it's written in the editorial – si spira un'aria di puro classicismo che per un istante trasporta lo spirito nei paesi ellenici e latini" [80, 11]. But it is in the gallery of sculptures excavated in Cyprus by Luigi Palma that the visitor witnesses the admirable vision of "lunghe sfilate di sacerdoti e sacerdotesse, coperti di gioie e acconciati



con cura minuziosa ed eleganza affettata che popolavano i recinti e i templi di Cibele, d'Apollo, d'Afrodite e di Eracle" narrating the history of those places of which they were an expression [80, 11].

In conclusion, the museums communicated through *L'Illustrazione Italiana* at the end of the 19th century represented, first and foremost, the only bulwark against the dispersion of the national artistic heritage, caused by the flourishing antiquarian market of those years and the absence of a national protection law. At the same time, museums were part of the so-called "pedagogie nazionali", i.e. the whole series of different tools, practices and languages (including publishing) that were intended to promote a true civil religion of the homeland. For this reason, the acute description of museum displays is a constant

in the writings published in the journal, especially in the writings dedicated to newly founded museums. Places of culture, still reserved for the middle class, the same class that followed the magazine, begin to be presented to the public as living places and no longer as places for the accumulation of a past to be preserved. The magazine fought for a protection law and also did so because it looked at cultural heritage in terms of the country's tourist development. Towards the end of the century, awareness of the extent of the change in museum communication and information styles on a global level began to circulate through its articles. The assiduous comparison with other international museum realities would then be decisive for the development of the form and functions of Italian museums in the first decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

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## Section 3. History and archaeology

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*Aghayev Yusif Shukur,  
military historian from Azerbaijan*

### STRATEGY OF THE NOMADIC WORLD OF THE EURASIAN PLAINS (FROM ANTIC TIMES TO THE LATE MIDDLE AGES AND EARLY MODERN TIMES)

**Abstract.** The article is devoted to the study of the strategy of nomads inhabiting the Eurasian plains for millennia, namely, raids and invasions carried out by nomads against neighboring tribes and people. Mainly, the offensive and defensive strategies of nomads are studied.

**Keywords:** strategy, offense, defense, raids, invasions, nomads, tribes, clashes, skirmishes, conflicts, Eurasian plains, Great Steppe, steppes.

*Агаев Юсиф Шукур оглы,  
военный историк из Азербайджана*

### СТРАТЕГИЯ КОЧЕВОГО МИРА ЕВРАЗИЙСКОЙ СТЕПИ (С АНТИЧНЫХ ВРЕМЕН ДО ПОЗДНЕГО СРЕДНЕВЕКОВЬЯ И РАННЕГО НОВОГО ВРЕМЕНИ)

**Аннотация.** Статья посвящается исследованию стратегии кочевников, населяющих Евразийскую степь на протяжении тысячелетий, а именно, набегам и нашествиям, совершаемыми кочевниками в отношении соседних племен и народом. Исследуются основные виды стратегических действий номадов – наступление и оборона кочевников.

**Ключевые слова:** стратегия, наступление, оборона, набеги, нашествия, кочевники-номады, Евразийская степь, Великая степь, степи.

(Начало статьи в предыдущем номере журнала)

Другим видом стратегических действий кочевников была оборона. Впервые об оборонительной стратегии кочевников мы сталкиваемся в работах древнегреческого историка V века до н.э. Геродота, где подробно описаны военные походы персидских царей Кира и Дария против массагетов и скифов. По свидетельству Геродота: «Среди всех известных

нам народов только скифы обладают одним, но зато самым важным для человеческой жизни искусством. Оно состоит в том, что ни одному врагу, напавшему на их страну, они не дают спастись; и никто не может их настичь, если только сами они не допустят этого. Ведь у скифов нет ни городов, ни укреплений, и свои жилища они возят с собой. Все они конные лучники и промышляют не земледелием, а скотовод-

ством; их жилища – в кибитках. Как же такому народу не быть неодолимым и неприступным?» [19, 250]. Кочевники, точно следуя своему военному замыслу, весьма успешно использовали тактику заманивания армии врага в глубь своей территории силами многочисленных мобильных конных отрядов, рассредоточенных по всей степи, задача которых была постоянно тревожить противника, совершая молниеносные и внезапные нападения на их отряды, направляемые на поиски фуража и пропитания. Предварительно номады отправляли стойбища с семьями в глубь степи, а в районах наступления врага уничтожали природные ресурсы, а именно, сжигали траву, засыпали или отравляли колодца. Не принимая генерального сражения и отступая перед превосходящими силами противника, кочевники нападали на растянутые коммуникации и тыл врага: «Скифы решили не вступать в открытое сражение с персами. Скифы стали медленно отступать, угоняя скот, засыпая колодцы и источники и уничтожая траву на земле. Своё войско они разделили на два отряда... Кибитки с женщинами и детьми, а также весь остальной скот, кроме необходимого для пропитания количества голов, они отправили вперед с приказанием все время двигаться на север... Скифы подстерегали воинов Дария, когда те добывали себе пищу. Скифская конница постоянно обращала в бегство вражескую конницу... Скифы же поступали следующим образом, стараясь как можно дольше удержать персов в своей стране и терзая их нуждой и лишением всего необходимого» – писал Геродот [19, 274, 277]. Целью кочевников была ослабить противника и в подходящий момент перейти в наступление на врага. Обессиленные от бескормицы, голода и болезней, и подвергаясь неожиданным атакам кочевников, персы несли невосполнимые потери, в результате которых царь Дарий был вынужден покинуть земли кочевников и бесславно вернуться домой. Персидский царь Дарий до конца своих дней более не предпринимал попыток вновь вторгнуться в страну номадов. В случае с царем Киром, который, не-

смотря на потери в войсках, не хотел отступать от своих замыслов, произошло все наоборот. Царица массагетов Томрис, выждав подходящий момент, дала генеральное сражение обессиленной армии Кира, уничтожив персов и их царя [19, 93].

С точки зрения стратегии обороны на театре военных действий, кочевники применили «эластичную оборону» в сочетании со стратегией глубокой защиты. «Эластичная оборона, при которой не обороняют ни одного отдельно взятого участка территории, чтобы лучше защитить её всю благодаря тому, что войска освобождаются от своих обязанностей по непосредственной защите тех или иных участков. Проистекающая из этого свобода действий, позволяющая уклониться от главных ударов врага, передвигаться по собственной воле и полностью сосредоточиваться, дает обороняющим все преимущества перед нападающими. При этом они ещё сохраняют изначально присущее им преимущество: сражаться в знакомом и, как можно полагать, дружественном по отношению к ним окружении... Использование глубокой защиты создает для наступающих ещё большую угрозу, если у обороняющихся есть средства и моральная готовность высылать рейды против колонн снабжения, служебных подразделений и малочисленных отрядов, которые само наступление противника приводит в поле досягаемости», – считает Эдвард Люттвак [12, 190–191].

Такой же оборонительной стратегии придерживались и сарматы. При этом у сарматов, согласно древнегреческому писателю Полиэну, войско делилось на три отряда. Один отряд отступал перед врагом, завлекая его в глубь страны, две другие же нападали на его тыл и растянувшиеся коммуникации. По мнению А. К. Нефедкина, сарматы ожидали пока противник ослабеет или же разделит свои силы, и только после этого кочевники переходили в наступление на врага [4, 96].

Аналогичную оборонительную стратегию применял и на другом конце Евразийской степи – на востоке народ хунну. Широко применялась хунну



древняя тактика кочевников по изматыванию сил противника, вторгшегося в пределы степи. Используя мобильность своей конницы и превосходное знание местности, хунну завлекали силы противника глубоко в степи и пустыни, где отсутствие или недостаточность воды и подножного корма влекли гибель тягловой силы: коней и волов, а также распространение болезней в стане врага. При этом хунну изматывали китайские войска своими беспрерывными наскоками и набегам: *«Чжао Синь научил шаньюя отойти далее на север через пустыню и, заманивая, изматывать ханьские (т.е. китайские) войска, а затем, когда усталость ханьских войск дойдет до предела, нападать на них, но самому не приближаться к укрепленной границе»* [3, 53]. В одной только военной экспедиции против хунну, предпринятой китайцами в 119 году до н.э., в результате применения кочевниками тактики по изматыванию врага в пустыне, по признанию китайского летописца, ханьцы потеряли только коней свыше 100 тысяч, умолчав при этом о потерях личного состава, и по этой причине долгое время не могли воевать с кочевниками [3, 55]. Военные действия, предпринятые китайцами против хунну в 90 году до н.э., привели к катастрофическим последствиям для империи Хань. Так, сформированные по приказу ханьского императора У-ди китайские войска выступили в тот год против хунну, вторгнувшись в степи. Главная армия под командованием прославленного китайского полководца Ли Гуан-ли Эршиского выступила из округа Шофан в составе 60 тысяч всадников и 100 тысяч пехотинцев [3, 61]. К нему присоединились в походе воевода стрелков, вооруженных тугими стрелами, Лу Бо-дэ во главе более 10 тысяч всадников, военачальник летучих войск Хань Юэ во главе 30 тысяч всадников и пехотинцев выступил из округа Уюань, иньюйский военачальник Гунсунь Ао во главе 30 тысяч всадников и пехотинцев выступил из округа Яньмынь [3, 61]. *«Услышав об этом, сюнну (хунну) отправили свои семьи и имущество далеко на север от реки Юйюшуй, а сам шаньюй стал ожидать противни-*

*ка во главе ста тысяч всадников к югу от реки, где вступил в сражение с Эршиским военачальником»*, пишет китайский летописец [3, 61]. Согласно бытовавшей в Древнем Китае военной доктрине древнекитайского полководца Сунь-цзы: *«Правило ведения войны гласит: если у тебя сил в десять раз больше, чем у противника, окружи его со всех сторон; если у тебя сил в пять раз больше, нападай на него; если у тебя сил вдвое больше, раздели его на части; если сил меньше, сумей оборониться от него; если у тебя вообще что-либо хуже, сумей уклониться от него. Поэтому упорствующее с малыми силами делаются пленниками сильного противника»* [27, 41]. Полководцы Древнего Китая, придерживаясь этой военной доктрины и полагаясь на свое численное превосходство, думали навязать хуннам сражение, где бы окончательно разгромили последних. Однако, хунны во главе со своим шаньюем Хулугу навязали китайцам свою тактику по изматыванию сил противника, вторгнувшись в степи. Китайская армия углубилась в степи и горы, и продвигалась вперед, не видя противника. Припасы к тому времени закончились, воины измучились и китайские войска пошли в обратный путь [28, 155]. Хуннские всадники стали совершать непрерывные набег и наскоки на отстающих воинов, на арьергард и авангард китайских войск. Тут полководец Ли Гуан-ли совершил тактическую ошибку, разделив отступающие войска: *«Эршинский военачальник разделил войска и стал отходить, ведя непрерывные бои с шаньюем, продолжающиеся более десяти дней»* [3, 61], пока измотанные и обескровленные китайские войска не достигли подножья гор Яньжань в Хангае. Здесь хуннам во главе с шаньюем Хулугу удалось окружить китайские войска [28, 156]. Ночью хунну вырыли глубокий ров перед фронтом китайских войск, а утром атаковали китайцев с тыла. В возникшей среди китайцев панике командующий армией Ли Гуан-ли Эршиский вместе с остатками войск сдался хуннам в плен [28, 156]. *«На родину удалось вернуться только одному-двум воинам из тысячи»*, пишет в своей летописи Сыма Цянь [3,



61]. Остальные китайские военачальники также не достигли желаемых результатов. «Военачальник летучих войск Хань Юэ не добыл никаких трофеев. Инъюйский военачальник Гунсунь Ао вступил в сражение левым сянь-ваном, которое сложилось для него неудачно, и он отвел свои войска обратно», пишет китайский летописец [3, 62]. Разгром китайской армии, вошедший в историю Древнего Китая как Яньжаньское побоище, оставил глубокий след в памяти китайского народа [28, 156]. В результате этой войны империя Хань была так обескровлена и обессилена, что до самой смерти императора У-ди не предпринимала никаких военных действий против хунну.

Вот как описывали в своих стихах китайские поэты VIII века поход китайских войск в степи против кочевников:

«Песня о древнем походе» Ли Ци (690–751 гг.н.э.)

*«Вот опять нам говорят,  
Что дорога на Китай –  
Путь через Юймыньгуань –  
Перерезана врагом!  
И туда мы гнать должны,  
Наших жизней не щадя,  
Столько легких колесниц?!  
Столько лет – из года в год –  
Столько воинов родных  
Погребает прах пустынь, –  
Неродная нам земля!» [29, 67]*

«В военном походе» Ван Чан-Лин (693–765 гг.н.э.)

*«Над озером Цинхай сгустились тучи  
И мглой на горы снежные легли.  
Из башни одинокого кордона  
Юймыньгуань виднеется вдали.  
Там путь на родину. Я дрался храбро,  
Прошел песками много тысяч ли,  
Но враг не сдался. До победы полной  
Не видеть мне родной моей земли.*

*В степи огромной, закрывая солнце,  
Клубится пыль от ветра, словно дым.  
Отряды воинов из лагеря выходит  
За знаменем, развернутым своим.  
Узнали мы, что ночью дать сраженье  
У Таохэ пришлось передовым  
И князя Тугухуня в этой схватке  
Им удалось в плен живым.*

*Застава пограничная Минюэ  
Стоит здесь с незапамятных времен.  
Конца нет войнам. Шлют сюда, как прежде,  
Людей навечно из родных сторон.  
Вот если б появился полководец,  
Как Ли-гуан, бесстрашен и силен,  
Тогда через Иньшань не перешли бы  
Лихие орды кочевых племен» [29, 73]*

В этих строках поэты изображали безысходность китайских воинов, находящихся в военном походе в степи, и их тоску по Родине. Показана гибель китайского войска и бессмысленность этих походов, цель которых предотвратить набеги номадов. При этом спустя восемь столетий поэты все ещё помнят китайского полководца Ли Гуан-ли Эршиского, которого хунну разгромили в Яньжаньском побоище.

Такой результат оборонительной стратегии кочевников кроется в ответе царя скифов Иданфирса царю персов Дарию: «У нас ведь нет ни городов, ни обработанной земли. Мы не боимся их разорения и опустошения, и поэтому не вступили в бой с вами немедленно. Если же вы желаете во чтобы то ни стало сражаться с нами, то вот у нас есть отеческие могилы. Найдите их и попробуйте разрушить, и тогда узнаете, станем ли мы сражаться за эти могилы или нет. Но до тех пор, пока нам не заблагодарится, мы не вступим в бой с вами» [19, 276]. Это объясняет причину использования кочевниками тактики ложного отступления и заманивания врага в экстремальные для их жизни территории. Но при этом объясняет какое значение для кочевников имеют их родовые могилы, находящиеся, по

мнению И. В. Ерофеевой, на родовых зимовках [25, 94]. Обычно на отдаленных кочевьях находились родовые кладбища кочевников.

Единственной ценностью кочевников были их семья и скот, и если враг доходил до кочевий, куда отходило всё стойбище с семьями номадов, то кочевники принимали бой. В качестве средства обороны номады использовали табор из построенных по кругу кибиток. Внутри табора находились воины со своими семьями и все их имущество, в том числе и скот. Древнегреческий целитель Гиппократ, описывая природу Скифии, писал: «Здесь-то и живут скифы, называются они кочевниками, потому что у них нет дома, а живут они в кибитках» [10, 30]. «Питаются они мясом и молоком, живут в кибитках... Дойдя до богатой травой местности, они ставят кибитки в круг и кормятся» – писал Аммиан Марцеллин о сарматах [5, 541]. По мнению А. К. Нефёдкина, как средство обороны сарматы могли использовать табор из построенных по кругу кибиток. Внутри табора находились семьи воинов, их имущество и скот. Если враг приближался к табору, то воины выходили вперед и принимали бой [4, 97].

Согласно Аммиану Марцеллину: «(гунны) без определенного места жительства, без дома, без закона или устойчивого образа жизни кочуют они, словно вечные беглецы, с кибитками, в которых проводят жизнь». (5,539). Приск упоминает о повозках гуннов, на которых перевозились плоты или средства для переправы через болотистые места. Повозки в армии Аттилы должны были быть легкими, возможно, двухколесными, считает американский исследователь Отто Менхен-Хельфен. Как писал Вегеций: «Все варвары располагали свои телеги вокруг себя и проводили ночи в безопасности от возможных неожиданностей» [18, 242].

При расположении на месте печенег устраивали лагерь из связанных и поставленных в круг повозок. В кругу оставались проходы, представлявшие собой ломаные линии, которые вели к центру круга. По мнению Е. А. Разина, атакующие

лагерь, устремляясь в эти проходы, раздробляли свои силы, и это позволяло печенегам уничтожать противника по частям. В случае необходимости конница кочевников контратаковала противника через эти проходы [23, 65]. Аналогичная тактика обороны наблюдается у монгольских воинов. В ходе столкновений с противником повозки обоза, стреноженные кони и верблюды служили для создания «вагенбурга», за которым укрывались ойратские стрелки. Взять такую «верблюжью крепость» штурмом было очень непросто, считают Л. А. Бобров и Ю. С. Худяков [30, 540].

В великой битве на Каталаунских полях в 451 году, где войско под командованием римлянина Аэция сражалось против гуннов храбро, однако, потери с обеих сторон были огромны, союзник римлян – король вестготов Теодорих был убит, и Аттила отступил в свой лагерь, огороженный повозками. В рассказе готского историка VI века Иордана о сражении на Каталаунских полях: «Вечером первого дня Аттила отступил и укрылся вместе со своими товарищами в лагере, который укрепил барьером из кибиток» [18, 242]. Но общего готско-римского натиска на лагерь Аттилы не последовало. Аттила свободно отступил, считает Эдвард Люттвак [15, 73]. Думается, что Аэций, проживший среди гуннов долгие годы и прекрасно знавший их военное искусство и мастерство, понимал, что если потрепанные в битве войска под его началом начнут штурм лагеря Аттилы, то могут быть разгромлены гуннами, так как кочевники сильны в битве у своих повозок. Одно то, что Аттила оставил поле боя и отступил в лагерь, посчитали победой.

Пробиться сквозь подобный частокол повозок и животных было сложно для воинов оседлых народов, они несли невосполнимые потери. Так описывала Анна Комнина подобное сражение своего отца у повозок кочевников: «Разразилась битва, длившаяся с утра до вечера; произошла большая резня, в результате которой с той и с другой стороны пало немало воинов. Пал в тот же день и получивший

смертельную рану сын Диогена Лев, ибо, налетев на скифов (печенегов и огузов), он дальше, чем следует, позволил себя увлечь к их повозкам. Брат императора Адриан, которому было доверено командование латинянами, увидев, сколь неудержим скифский натиск, во весь опор бросился к скифским повозкам и после мужественной схватки вернулся назад в сопровождении лишь семи воинов, остальные были либо убиты, либо взяты в плен скифами» [11, 209].

Даже победа императора Византийской империи Алексея Комнина 29 апреля 1091 года над печенегами была достигнута благодаря участию в битве на его стороне 40 тыс. половцев, которые прекрасно владели тактикой кочевников, в том числе и тактикой обороны у повозок. До этой битвы император терпел поражения в сражениях у повозок кочевников [11, 236].

Во время джунгаро-цинской войны 1690–1697 гг. войска джунгарского хана Галдан-Бошокту в одном из боев были вынуждены обороняться. Воины-ойраты создали «живую крепость» из верблюдов, соорудив на их спинах амбразуры, и успешно оборонялись от китайцев [26, 118].

Как видим в оборонительной стратегии кочевников тактика заманивания врага на своей территории успешно применялась на протяжении тысячелетий против войск народов оседлых государств, вторгнувшихся в степи. Чего не скажешь о войне кочевников между собой. Применение данной тактики по отношению к противнику из числа кочевников по сути бессмысленно и безрезультативно, ввиду того, что противная сторона также превосходно владела этой тактикой и, прекрасно зная степь, применяла контрмеры против обороняющихся.

По мнению А. К. Нефедкина, в зависимости от количества участников стратегию наступления кочевников можно подразделить на набег, где участвует до несколько тысяч воинов, вторжение, где участвует несколько тысяч воинов, и нашествие, где участвует не один десяток тысяч вторгнувшихся [4, 98].

Набег так же, как и нашествие, предполагал вторжение на вражескую территорию. И потому в тюркском языке, согласно огузскому эпосу «*Китаби Деде Горгуд*», набег обозначен словом «*aqın*», а нашествие – «*ıruş*» [14, 93, 109]. В то время как, согласно «Диван Лугат ат-Турк» Махмуда ал-Кашгари, слово «*akin*» означает «ночную атаку», а «*ıruş*» – «драку, битву» [31, 96, 110]. Как было сказано выше, в классический набег с целью овладеть добычей и скотом кочевники ходили как в несколько тысяч воинов, так и целой армией в несколько десятков, а порой и сотен тысяч воинов. Нашествие же предполагало захват новых пастбищных территорий, что приводило в движение весь кочевой мир. И тогда в Евразийской степи приходило всё в движение, и одни номады сменяли других на тех же территориях, на которых до них кочевали другие. И если кочевники Великой степи одинаково владели искусством войны степняков, то чем же брали вверх одни номады над другими? Надо полагать, либо своей многочисленностью, либо новой тактикой ведения боя, либо новым, более совершенным, оружием, либо лучшей организацией войск, либо более жесткой дисциплиной в войсках, либо талантом своего полководца. Побежденные в этой войне кочевники либо откочевывали на новые земли, либо входили в состав племен победителей, где со временем ассимилировались.

В ходе бесконечных войн, которые вели кочевники, создавались племенные союзы кочевых племен. А впоследствии эти племенные союзы преобразовывались в государства кочевников. Мир кочевых народов отличался от мира оседлых народов. Последние называли кочевников варварами, те же, в свою очередь, презирали земледельцев. Обычай и культура кочевых народов формировались в Великой степи и это нашло отражение в их философии жизни и государственном устройстве, а также в формировании военного искусства кочевников, в том числе и их стратегии.



Попробуем рассмотреть данный вопрос, исследуя устройство государства кочевников и строительство ими вооруженных сил. Так каково же было устройство государства кочевников и их армии? Начнем с государства народа Хунну. Устройство государства кочевников Центральной Азии отличалось от классических форм устройства государств, как на Западе, так и на Востоке. Армия в классическом государстве была одним из столпов государственности, наряду с чиновничьим аппаратом управления, судебными и фискальными органами власти, господствующими над народом, которых народ же своим непосильным трудом и содержал. Если армия в Древнем Китае формировалась за счет воинской повинности, а именно, один из восьми дворов общины давал рекрута в армию, остальные семь дворов поставляли провиант для войска [27, 104]. То у кочевников Центральной Азии все мужчины-скотоводы, достигшие совершеннолетия, а порой и женщины, были частью вооруженных сил государства. В мирное время кочевники занимались скотоводством, кочуя с места на место, и охотились, при этом в свободное время тренировались в стрельбе из лука и прочих воинских упражнениях, а в случае военного похода все как один мобилизовались и участвовали в боевых действиях [3, 34]. «Все возмужавшие, которые способны натянуть лук, становятся конными латниками», пишет о хунну в своей работе древнекитайский летописец Сыма Цянь [3, 34]. Воинами у хунну становились юноши, достигшие совершеннолетия, т.е. сумевшие натянуть боевой лук. Выражение «народ и армия – едины» целиком соотносится с философией кочевого народа. Даже слово «*orda*» («орда») в тюркско-монгольском языке имеет несколько значений: «армия», «народ», «ставка», «стойбище» [32, 370]. И управление в таком государстве «подобно управлению своим телом». Так определил управление в государстве кочевников посол кочевого народа жунов Ююй, отвечая на вопрос правителя государства Цинь Му-гуна в 626 году до н.э.: «Высшие сохраня-

ют простоту в обращении с низшими, а низшие служат высшим, руководствуясь искренностью и преданностью. Управление целым государством подобно управлению своим телом, когда незаметно, с помощью чего оно управляется. Это действительно правление мудрых» [3, 123]. Таким было и государство Хунну в период своего становления и наивысшего расцвета, а именно в период правления шаньюя Моде (Маодунь) с 209 по 174 года до н.э., ставшего прообразом легендарного тюркского правителя Огуз-Хана. Став во главе племенного объединения народа Хунну, шаньюй Моде (Маодунь) провел реформу власти, разделив страну и народ на 24 части и назначив родственников и сподвижников правителями над этими частями. По утверждению древнетюркского эпоса, так же поступил и легендарный тюркский правитель Огуз-Хан, поделивший между сыновьями весь свой народ и свою орду на 24 племени согласно «их рангу, занятию, имени и прозвищу, со своим знаком и тамгой... для устойчивости государства» [33, 63]. Самыми высшими титулами в государстве Хунну считались левый и правый сян-ваны, левый и правый лули-ваны, которые назывались четырьмя «рогами». Затем шли левый и правый князя жичжу, левый и правый князя вэньюйти, левый и правый князя чжаньцзян, которые назывались шестью «рогами» [34, 204]. Далее следовали левый и правый дувей, левый и правый данху, левый и правый гудухоу и так остальные титулы – всего двадцать четыре титула [3, 40]. Все они были одновременно и правителями, и военачальниками в отведенных им частях и за ними было установлено звание «вань-ци» (букв. «десять тысяч всадников») [3, 40], что означает «темник», т.е. командующий десятитысячным войском. Однако, это не значило, что все войско Хунну состояло из 24 десятитысячных отрядов, как утверждает историк Ю. С. Худяков [35, 23]. Так, согласно древнекитайской рукописи «Ши цзы» историка Сыма Цянь, только в подчинении от левых и правых сян-ванов и до левых и правых данху находились войсковые подразделения в количестве



10 тысяч всадников, в подчинении остальных же – до нескольких тысяч всадников [3, 40]. За каждым из них были закреплены определенные территории для кочевья его части племени, и каждый из них мог сам назначать своих *«тысячников, сотников, десятников»* [3, 40]. Здесь мы наблюдаем сосредоточение в одних руках административной и военной власти и десятичную систему деления народа и войска. На тюркском языке десяти тысячное войсковое подразделение называется *«tümən»* (*«тумен»*) [32, 596], а между прочим отца шаньюя Моде (Маодунь) звали Тумень [3, 37]. Таким образом, деление и управление страны было подобно делению и управлению войском. Когда левым краем страны управлял, как и левым флангом войска командовал, старший сын, наследник шаньюя – левый сян-ван или же туци-ван [3, 40], то правым краем страны, так же, как и правым флангом войска – соответственно младший сын или брат шаньюя – правый сян-ван, а центральной ставкой, так же, как и центром войска, управлял и командовал сам шаньюй. В то же время он осуществлял общее управление страной и общее командование войском. Таковым был и порядок построения войск хунну перед битвой, т.е. при наличии классического триального боевого порядка: центра войска, где находилась ставка шаньюя, левого крыла войска под командованием левого сян-вана и правого крыла войска под командованием правого сян-вана, мы впервые наблюдаем по отрядное построение войска, которое впоследствии назовут тюркским боевым порядком [36, 204], т.е. каждый обладатель титула со своим войсковым подразделением занимал свое строго установленное место в боевых порядках в войсках.

Стратегия государства Хунну была направлена на покорение всех кочевых племен под своей властью. Так как образ жизни и культура кочевых народов Центральной Азии была идентична образу жизни и культуре народов Хунну. Как выразился в своем письме шаньюй Моде (Маодунь) китайскому императору династии Хань Сяо-вень в 176 году до н.э. *«все народы, натягивающие лук, оказались*

*объединенными в одну семью... и стали принадлежать хунну (сюнну)»* [3, 43]. Большинство кочевых племен Центральной Азии покорились и вошли в состав государства Хунну, они платили дань и участвовали в военных походах шаньюя. Не покорившиеся кочевые племена либо покидали свои стойбища и откочевывали в другие регионы, либо переходили Великую Китайскую стену под защиту империи Хань. В отношении оседлых государств, в частности китайской империи Хань, стратегия государства Хунну была направлена на получение всевозможной дани с китайцев под угрозой непрекращающихся военных набегов на империю. И даже наличие договора о мире и родстве между этими государствами, по которому династия Хань фактически выплачивала шаньюю дань под видом всевозможных подарков последнему и его окружению, в действительности не спасало империю от непрекращающихся военных набегов хунну.

Государство кок-тюрков (552–744 гг.) называлось как *«каганатом»*, так и *«ордой»*. Каган был верховным главнокомандующим, а его братья и сыновья – командующими армиями. Государство, как и армия, делилось на правое и левое крыло, как у хунну. Правое или же восточное крыло называлось *«толос»*, левое или же западное крыло – *«тардуш»*. Рядовой состав орды назывался *«будун»*, командный – *«беги»* [37, 61]. Китайские источники сообщают о наличии в государстве кок-тюрков 28 классов чиновников [38, 11]. Надо полагать, они участвовали как в управлении государством, так и командованием приданных им войсковых частей. Войско кок-тюрков подразделялось на десятки, сотни, тысячи. Так, согласно средневековым китайским летописям, боевой и административной единицей в орде жужаней, которая впоследствии вошла в состав государства кок-тюрков, считался полк численностью в тысячу воинов. Командовал полком, назначенный ханом, предводитель. Полк состоял из десяти сотен, каждая из которых имела свое знамя и своего командира [37, 12]. В Орхонских тюркских рунических

надписях на каменной стеле, воздвигнутой в честь Кюль-Тегина в 732 году, где тюрки Западнотюркского каганата названы *«он ог бодун»*, что означает *«народ десяти стрел»* или же *«народ союза десяти племен»* – что одно и то же, а также в надписях на каменной стеле, воздвигнутой в честь Тоньюкука, где войско западных тюрков названо *«он ог сю»*, что значит *«войско десяти стрел»* [39, 156, 178]. Кроме того, в древнекитайском трактате *«Цзю Тан Шу»*, китайские летописцы показали деление тюрков Западнотюркского каганата на десять племен: *«ши син»* – *«десять родов»* или же *«ши цзянь»* – *«десять стрел»* [34, 168]. Причиной этому послужила реформа власти, проведенная Ышбара Хилаш-Каганом (634–639 гг.), который разделил Западнотюркский каганат-государство на десять племен. Во главе каждого племени поставил по вождю-шаду и каждому из них жаловал по одной стреле как символ власти. Отсюда и название *«десять племен»* – *«десять стрел»*. А верховного правителя звали *«каганом десяти племен»* или же *«каганом народа десяти стрел»* [34, 175]. Во время походов каждая *«стрела-племя»* выставяла по одному тумену, т.е. 10-тысячному конному войску во главе с вождем-шадом и своим боевым тугом-знаменем [34, 403]. Так формировалось *«войско десяти стрел»* западных тюрков.

Аналогичная ситуация в строительстве вооруженных сил наблюдается в государстве Чингисхана. Основой организации монгольского войска была десятичная система, т.е. войско подразделялось на десятки, сотни, тысячи. Крупной войсковой единицей считался тумен, насчитывающий, как правило, десять тысяч воинов. *«О разделении войск скажем таким образом: Чингисхан приказал, чтобы во главе десяти человек был поставлен один (и он по-нашему называется десятником), а во главе десяти десятников был поставлен один который называется сотником, а во главе десяти сотников был поставлен один, который называется тысячником, а во главе десяти тысячников был поставлен один, и это у них называется тьма»* – пишет Пла-

но Карпини о монгольском войске [13, 43–44] Утверждение С. А. Нефедова о том, что деление монгольского войска на десятки, сотни, тысячи было заимствовано монголами у киданей и империи Цзинь, не выдерживает критики [40, 122]. Как было показано на примере войск хунну и кок-тюрков, десятичное деление войск существовало в Великой степи издревле.

*«Монгольские войска – все государственные»* – сказано в летописи *«Юань ши»* [17, 169]. Изначально армия монголов состояла целиком из конницы, куда мобилизовались все монгольские мужчины от 15 до 70 лет. Огромное значение придавалось скорости мобилизации: *«Каждый из эмиров тумана, тысячи и сотни должен содержать в полном порядке и держать наготове свое войско, с тем чтобы выступить в поход в любое время, когда прибудет фирман и приказ, безразлично ночью или днем»* – сказано в *«Великой Ясе»* [17, 165]. У командиров монгольской армии имелись знаки различия – пайцзы соответствующих видов, выдаваемые согласно их рангу. И. П. Храпачевский считает, что знаки различия монгольских командиров – это заимствование киданьской традиции [17, 165–166]. Однако, и деление, и ответственность командования в монгольской армии аналогичны делению и ответственности командования в армиях хунну и кок-тюрков.

Военному походу монголов предшествовал курултай (*«общее собрание»*) принцев крови и главных военачальников, на котором решались вопросы формирования армии, её обеспечения, маршруты движения, время и место сбора войсковых частей [41, 189].

Охота, в особенности облавная, играла большую роль в военном деле кочевников, так как проведение такой охоты с участием большого количества воинов было по сути дела проведением военных маневров, а именно: подготовка к боевым действиям, отработка тактических приемов. Как писали древнекитайские летописцы: *«они (т.е. хунну) в несколько тысяч конницы занимались*

охотой» [26, 19]. Методы облавной охоты составляли основу военной тактики номадов. Схожесть института облавной охоты с военной системой хунну проявляется в триальной организации как облавной охоты, так и сражения: центр, левое крыло, правое крыло [26; 27]. Впоследствии триальная структура деления войска так же, как и триальная организация и методы облавной охоты наблюдаются и в других государствах тюрко-монгольских кочевников Центральной Азии.

Об охоте в государстве кок-тюрок сказано в древнетюркской рукописи VIII–IX вв. «Книге гаданий»: «Войско хана вышло на охоту. В облаву попали косули. Хан захватил их. Все его войско радуется, говорят. Так знайте: это хорошо» [38, 77].

Так, киданьский император Тай-цзуна (926–947 гг.) говорил: «Мои облавные охоты – не забава, а обучение военному делу» [26, 40]. А в «Великой Ясе» Чингисхана (1206–1227 гг.) сказано: «Старшие беки, которые будут начальствовать, и все воины должны, подобно тому, как, занимаясь охотой, отличать имена свои, означать имя и славу свою, когда занимаются войной... Чтобы поддерживать боевую подготовку армии, каждую зиму надлежит устраивать большую охоту» [26, 40].

Отличие боевой подготовки кочевников от оседлых народов лучше всех прокомментировал советник шаньюя Чжунхан Юэ ханьскому послу: «Хунну (сюнну) открыто считают войну своим занятием... Поэтому в тревожное время каждый упражняется в верховой езде и стрельбе из лука, а в спокойное время каждый наслаждается бездельем... Вследствие усиленного увлечения земледелием и разведением шелковицы для получения одежды и пищи, постройкой городов, обнесенных внутренними и внешними стенами для самозащиты, население (в Срединном государстве) в тревожное время не упражняется в военном искусстве, а в спокойное время устает от работ» [3, 46]. И как писал об этом Сыма Цянь: «(В мирное время) шаньюй откармливал лошадей, давал отдых воинам и упражнялся в охоте» [3, 56].

Поэтому в своей политике против кочевников государства оседлых народов реформировали свои армии, перенимая у номадов не только тактику ведения боя, но и искусство верховой езды и владения оружием, в особенности луком. Кроме того, для успешной борьбы против кочевников государства оседлых народов старались привлечь всевозможными дарами и подношениями на свою сторону кочевников, чтобы в дальнейшем использовать их друг против друга. Для успешной борьбы против опустошительных набегов кочевников древнекитайские правители наряду со строительством оборонительных сооружений и возведением стен, перенимали их вооружения, боевую тактику и манеру ведения войны, что само по себе говорило если и не о превосходстве над военным искусством Древнего Китая, то как минимум о своеобразии и значимости военного искусства кочевников. Так, согласно древнекитайской летописи: «правитель царства Чжао Улин-ван, изменив существовавшие обычаи, стал носить одежду хусцев (т.е. кочевников) и обучаться верховой езде и стрельбе из лука, разбил на севере линьху и лоуфаней» [3, 37]. Именно правитель древнекитайского царства Чжао Улин-ван, правивший в 325–299 годах до н.э., (а не ханьский император У-ди, как утверждает историк Л. Н. Гумилев [28, 118]) впервые завел в китайских войсках легкую конницу по образцу кочевников и применил новую для китайцев тактику ведения войны и боя кочевников, благодаря чему стал побеждать последних [3, 125]. Как показали последующие события, без такой конницы одной пехотой победить кочевников трудно, практически невозможно. До этого времени ударной силой в войсках древних китайцев, согласно военной доктрине древнекитайского полководца Сунь-цзы, считались запряженные конями боевые колесницы [27, 38].

В 594–599 гг. пограничный офицер китайской армии Ли Юань, будущий основатель китайской династии Тан, приучал своих солдат к боевому строю тюрок, солдаты жили в юртах, питались мясом и молоком, ездили верхом как кочевники и участвовали в облавных охотах. Он добился того, что его солдаты



по боевым качествам не уступали тюркам [37, 139]. Десятичную систему деления войска мы наблюдаем впоследствии не только у тюрко-монгольских кочевников, но и у оседлых народов, как Востока, так и Запада. Так, согласно уголовному уложению китайского государства табгачской династии Тан «Тан люй шу и» (618–907 гг.), в разделе «Самовластные мобилизационные действия» («шань син») установлено наказание за самовластное приведение войск в движение (цзюань 16), где перечисляются войсковые подразделения в количестве 10, 100 и 1000 воинов [42, 240]. Полагаем, что десятичную систему деления войска китайцы переняли у тюрков.

Аналогичные шаги предпринимала и Византийская империя, реформируя свою армию и перенимая военное искусство кочевников, с которыми ей приходилось бесконечно воевать. В начале это были сарматы, затем гунны, авары, кок-тюрки, печенеги, огузы, половцы. Тому свидетельством могут быть многочисленные труды византийских императоров по стратегии и тактике ведения войны: будь то «Стратегикон» Маврикия либо «Тактика» Льва

Мудрого, либо «Об управлении империей» Константина Багрянородного, где наряду с описанием кочевников и их способностью воевать, предлагается перенимать их военное искусство.

Как показывает проведенное исследование, военное искусство кочевников, а в данном случае стратегия кочевого мира Евразийской степи, до сих пор малоизученный объект. Все научные труды по военному искусству кочевых народов, населяющих Великую степь, исследовались в отдельности по каждому кочевому народу через призму взглядов оседлых народов далеко не дружелюбных кномадам. И не исследовалось формирование этого искусства под воздействием их образа жизни в Степи и преемственности военных навыков, которые переходили от одних кочевых народов к другим. Здесь и военная организация, и вооружение, и тактика, и стратегия, и военное право кочевых народов, т.е. то, что мы называем военным искусством номадов, отличающимся от классических форм военных доктрин, бытовавших как на Востоке, так и на Западе, и требующим дальнейшего своего исследования.

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Wang Sien,  
The Masters School

## CONTENTIOUS ARTIFACTS: THE HISTORY AND LEGALITY OF THE ELGIN MARBLES

**Abstract.** In the early nineteenth century, Lord Elgin of Britain removed a number of pieces from the monumental complex of the Parthenon in Athens. Since that time, these pieces of the famous temple of Athena have not been returned to Greece but instead remain in a museum in London. Over the course of the past two hundred years, the artifacts have come to be known as the Elgin Marbles and due to questions surrounding their provenance, they form one of the most controversial subjects in the study of the classical world. The present paper reviews the historical background and circumstances surrounding their removal by Lord Elgin during the Ottoman period. Emphasis is given to the role that the Ottoman firman has played in the legal and ethical debates over whether the artifacts should be returned to their original setting in Athens. Rather than arguing for a specific conclusion over their provenance, the following presents both sides of the conflict in order to allow the reader to appreciate the tension between the question of cultural heritage and international law.

**Keywords:** Parthenon Marbles, Lord Elgin, Firman, Cultural Heritage, Legality.

*“... the Parthenon Sculptures raise some of the biggest questions of cultural property, ownership and where works of art ‘belong’” [15].*

– Dr. Mary Beard

### Introduction

Between 1801 and 1805, pieces of the Parthenon frieze, metopes, and pedimental figures, located around 34 to 45 feet high on the most lavishly decorated Greek temple on the Acropolis in Athens, were removed by the agents of Thomas Bruce, the seventh Earl of Elgin, also known as Lord Elgin (Neils [18]; St. Clair 1998; Hamilakis [10]; Jenkins 2016) [29; 30; 31]. By claiming that the Ottoman Sultan who controlled Athens had issued him a *firman*, Lord Elgin arranged for the pieces to be transported from Athens all the way to Britain. While Lord Elgin had hoped for the marbles to decorate his Broomhall House in Scotland, a pricey divorce forced him to place the marbles in the hands of the British Government for a fee less than half of his expenditure (“The Parthenon Sculptures”) [24]. The marbles came to be known as the “Elgin Marbles” after Lord Elgin

removed them from the Acropolis. They are now located in the Duveen Gallery of the British Museum, where they showcase some of the most important accounts of Athenian history and tales of Greek mythology.

The legacy of this event can still be felt two hundred years later. As recently as 2014, the *BBC News* commented on the arrival of the Elgin Marbles in London, stating that it “transformed Europe’s understanding of ancient Greek Art” (“How Did the Elgin Marbles Get There?”) [13]. While the BBC’s commentary may be accurate, it is also the case that the marbles continue to form one of the most heated debates in international diplomacy and cultural affairs in the modern world (“What is the Controversy Surrounding the Elgin Marbles?”) [26].

One of the most pressing controversies about the Elgin Marbles revolves around whether the artifacts

should be returned to Greece. Formal requests for a permanent restoration of the Elgin Marbles were made by the Greek Government in 1983, followed by presentation of historical data from the Ottoman Era revealing that the current possession of the marbles under the British Museum is illegal (2009) [9]. Meanwhile, Lord Elgin's family and close associates insist that the Elgin Marbles should stay in the British Museum "as one of its highlights." ("As Europe Returns Artifacts, Britain stays Silent") [16]. With the construction of a new museum at the Acropolis in Athens, 36 panels of the 94 existing pieces of the frieze and 39 of the original 92 metopes are now displayed for the public (Beresford [32]). Plaster casts of the marbles housed in the British Museum are displayed together with the original pieces that were left behind by Lord Elgin presenting a contrast through the difference between the white plaster color and the "ancient honey-colored stone" [25]. ("What are the Parthenon Marbles?") The vacant spaces in the Acropolis museum linger and pose an important question for visitors: should the marbles be returned to the Acropolis?

While the Greeks' emotional plea for the Parthenon marbles appeared convincing and coherent due to the importance of the artifacts to Greek cultural heritage, the British appeals present more solid legal arguments along with contentions about the ripple effects that the potential repatriation of the marbles could bring. Moreover, the inability of both sides to develop a clear legal strategy due to the vanished *firman* continues to impede the debate from reaching a resolution. As a result, the following paper evaluates the historical background and original setting of the marbles, analyzes the role that the Ottoman *firman* has played in the debate, and presents the arguments that both sides have made in the past few decades. Rather than offering a position in the debate, what follows stresses the importance of looking at both the cultural heritage of the artifacts as well as the problematic legal issues that surround any attempt to understand the relationship between artifacts and nationalism.

### The Parthenon

While the Elgin marbles are now allocated in different places in the world, they were originally constructed to adorn the most celebrated temple in Greece – the temple of Athena Parthenos, also known as the Parthenon ("The Parthenon Sculptures: The British Museum") [23]. Though it was not the first attempt to build a temple in tribute to Athena – the goddess of wisdom, war, literature, and arts – the Parthenon was certainly the largest and the most ornate of such buildings up to the Classical Period (Pollitt [33]). With plans drawn by the celebrated architects Iktinos and Kallikrates, the Parthenon was known for its refinements. The straight lines of the structures displayed relatively imperceptible arcs, and the exquisite decorations inside the temple, along with the harmonious proportions, established the Parthenon as an archeological paragon ("The Parthenon") [24]. According to the architectural historian Arnold Lawrence, the Parthenon "came as near perfection as is humanly possible, both in design and in meticulous execution" (Lawrence & Tomlinson [14]).

One of the main arguments that the Greek government has made concerning the return of the marbles has to do with their relationship to the Parthenon and Acropolis. The marbles were originally constructed under the guidance of Pericles between 477/6 and 433/2 B.C. Pericles sought to replace the earlier temple known as the Older Parthenon, which had been destroyed by the Achaemenids in 480–479 B.C. during the second Persian invasion. The new temple and its symbolic location atop the rebuilt Acropolis would be a sign to the rest of the Greek world of Athens' renewed might.

While the temple itself was apparently completed in the year of 438/7 B.C., the rest of the years spent on construction were devoted to decorative works and sculpture. An estimate of 13,400 stones were used in the construction of the temple, roughly costing 470 silver talents (around \$7 million U.S. dollars) ("Parthenon") [22]. Even though the temple itself appears to be perfectly symmetrical and straight, it is "subtly curved"



to make the Parthenon appear “more active” (“How the Ancient Greeks Designed the Parthenon to Impress—And Last”) [22]. In fact, with 46 outer columns and 19 inner columns standing on a 23,000-square-foot base, the Parthenon contains no right angles and no straight lines. This feat of Greek architecture was a center for religious life and activities. A shrine within the Parthenon housed an incredible statue of Athena, which was covered in ivory and gold and stood 39 feet high [22]. Despite undergoing damages, disasters and being transformed into different centers for religious worship during the centuries that followed, the Parthenon still stands as a persistent symbol of Athens’ dominance and contributions to the Western world.

### **The Metopes**

The Parthenon featured a splendid display of sculptural decorations, the finest among Greek temples at the time (“The Parthenon”) [23]. This colossal sculptural production included ninety-two polychromatic carvings presented on the Doric frieze called metopes. These metopes, with a height of around 5 feet, were rectangular slabs carved and situated into the high reliefs on all four margins of the temple (Schwab) [38]. These metopes were placed between the “three-channeled triglyph blocks”, adorning the exterior walls of the Parthenon (“Parthenon”) [22]. Fourteen metopes were located both on the west and east facades, while the thirty-two other metopes were each placed on the north and south flanks. The metopes on the main entrance or east side of the Parthenon depicted Gigantomachy, the Olympian gods battling against the earthborn giants for sovereignty of Mount Olympos. Moving towards the south, a mythical fight erupts amongst the Lapiths and the centaurs during a wedding feast in chronological order, also known as Centauro-machy. Continuing to the west, Amazons on horsebacks and on foot were portrayed fighting against the Greek soldiers. Lastly, the north metopes showed the fourth mythical battle, illustrating the Sack of Troy.

With their divine and human figures and focus on war, the metopes likely contain layers of psychologi-

cal and political meaning (Schwab, “Celebrations of Victory,”) [38, 167]. For example, the centaurs on the south wing embodied a continuous battle where the civilized humans were frequently threatened by the undisciplined natural behaviors of animals (Schwab, “Celebrations of Victory,”) [38, 168]. Lapiths, who were fully human, eventually won the battle over the undisciplined behaviors of the centaurs. This rivalry has been interpreted as a metaphor for the conflicts between the Greeks and the barbarians. Another interpretation suggests that this is an internal conflict in which “the human is relentlessly confronted” by these wild, animal-like behaviors shown by the centaurs (Schwab, “Celebrations of Victory,”) [38, 167]. These interpretations align with civic values promoted by Athena and Athenians.

### **The Frieze**

The Ionic frieze was another major decoration that made the Parthenon, a Doric building, culturally significant for Greeks. This wide and decorated band made up of 114 blocks was 160 meters (524 feet) in length, 1 meter high and ran along the entire inner chamber, also known as the cella, of the Parthenon (Neils [34]). Through bas-relief techniques, the figures on the frieze were sculpted to protrude slightly from the background. Scholars have generally believed that the frieze depicted a “religious procession” mainly because the standard components of a Panathenaic procession are included (Boardman [35]). Separate groups of figures formed two parallel processions in sequence that went around the cella beginning at the southwest corner and ending at the eastern corner (Neils [24]). A row of “eleven swiftly moving chariots” were presented on the north frieze, which filled a large expanse and moved the viewers towards the the all-important east side.

As the temple’s main entrance, the longest block, measuring 4.43 meters (normal block length: 1.22 meters), was centered at the east side of the doorway. Five divinities and five mortals, including a priest holding a cloth with the help of a young assistant, were carved on this block. The central position of



this selected group represented the high point of this religious ceremony, which happened every four years and featured the adornment of the statue of Athena Polis with a peplos. This fascinating accomplishment indeed took up a large portion of the sculptor team's time. A rough calculation showed that it would take a sculptor around a year to carve 3.5 meters [24].

While sculptures on the Greek temples normally depicted episodes of Greek myths, the frieze again broke the tradition by showing religious processions. The people presented at the ceremony were not just everyday people. Instead, they represented the citizens of a utopia because the Athenians of the Pericles' time wanted to be evoked at their best by the generations that followed (An Introduction to the Parthenon and its Sculptures) [1].

### **The Pediments**

The Parthenon pediments were the "two sculpted, triangular-shaped gables" on each end of the temple, with a size of around 100 feet wide at the baseline and 11 feet high at its peak (The Parthenon) [22]. The two sets of statues surpassed those of their predecessor, the temple of Zeus located in Olympia, in both scale and quality of completion (Palagia & Neils [36]). The Parthenon pediments were in fact inspired by the Olympia pediments in ways such as compositions and techniques. The West pediments were believed to echo the East pediments of Olympia as they borrowed figures such as the river gods and personifications that encompassed the actions of Olympia. While the Parthenon was sacred to Athena, in the center of the pediments stood male figures, Zeus on the east side and Poseidon on the west [36, 233]. The sculptures on the East pediment, above the entrance of the Parthenon, depicted the birth of Athena from the head of her father, Zeus. Athena's birthday was celebrated along with Panathenania in midsummer, which became the subject of the Parthenon frieze [36, 234]. On the other hand, the West pediment on the rear illustrated Athena and Poseidon's conflict as Poseidon challenged Athena for an ancient region of Greece named Attica ("The Parthenon") [22]. The

figures in the West were the earliest visual evidence of the disputes between the gods over the land of Attica. In sum, the two sets of fifty pediment statues designed to fill in the enormous triangular space at the highest point of the temple contributed to the ideal beauty of the perfect Classical Greek temple.

### **The Firman**

#### **The Background**

Lord Elgin's removal of the Parthenon marbles was accompanied by one of the earliest and most controversial documents known as a *firman*. This specific *firman* is an "Italian translation of the letter from Sejid Abdullah, Vali of Anadolu", to "the Justice (Cadi) and also to the Voivode of Athens" (Williams [27]). While no original Turkish text was discovered during the search in Istanbul, an Italian translation of the firman was kept and examined. The use of this document dates back to 1801 when the Ottoman Empire occupied Athens and was ruled by Sultan Selim III (1789–1807) [27].

As the "Ambassador Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of his Britannic Majesty to the Sublime Porte at Constantinople", Lord Elgin intended to contribute to the development of Fine Arts in Great Britain [27]. After discussing his plans with Thomas Harrison, an architect that he had selected in 1796 to reconstruct his country seat at the Broomhall in Scotland, Lord Elgin adopted the mission to make Greek architecture and cultures more well known. Models of the objects could be brought to Britain, instead of just possessing the detailed sketches and drawings of the architecture [27, 13]. Immediately after, he proposed to the Foreign Secretary to assemble a team of skilled architects, artists, and mold makers at government expenditure. His attempt was unsuccessful. Nevertheless, Lord Elgin went forward to Palermo and presented his ideas to Sir William Hamilton, who recommended the outstanding Italian artist, Giovanni Battista Lusieri, to come to an arrangement with Lord Elgin.

On 22 July 1800, the team of remarkable artists arrived in Athens and busied themselves measuring

all the monuments on the Acropolis. A *firman* was required if the team attempted to draw and mold the reliefs, and Lord Elgin had sent one directly to Logotheti. Yet the French naval build-up in Toulon halted the work on the Acropolis due to the orders of securing all the fortresses throughout Greece in “the face of a possible attack” [27, 14]. In order for the project to continue on the Acropolis, Lusieri and Logotheti urged Lord Elgin for the need of a proper *firman*. On 12 June, Lord Elgin sent out an initial document to the Porte that proposed his wishes. At the same time, Lord Elgin negotiated with the Porte for pieces of the porphyry for himself at the Broomhall, and turned to Mr. Hunt in request for the guidelines of acquiring a new *firman*. Mr. Hunt suggested that the new *firman* should be “procured from the Porte, addressed to the Vaivode and Cadi of Athens, as well as to the Disdar or Governor of the Citadel; stating that the Artists are in the Service, and under the immediate protection of the British Ambassador Extraordinary” [27, 16]. The copy of this granted *firman*, however, is not extant and all attempts to understand what the *firman* said must resort to investigating the Italian translation.

### **The Text and Translation of the Firman**

While the original *firman* was an Ottoman document written in Turkish, the only current record of the archive remains an Italian-translated version. This Italian version was under the possession of Lord Elgin’s chaplain, Revd Philip Hunt. The Italian translation of the *firman* was inscribed on paper, along with a watermark of “three simple trefoils with curled bases”, enclosed around the letter “F” on the left leaf, and “VG” on the right [27]. “VG” identified Valentino Galvani as the papermaker, and the translation itself was made by Antonio Dané. During Hunt’s visit to Athens, he assisted in completing an English translation of the Italian version of the *firman* in order to publish it in the Report of the Parliamentary Select Committee of 1816. Later on, the Italian translation was passed by descent to Mr. Hunt’s great-grandniece, who then gave all the remaining “Hunt papers” that were under her

possession to Mr. William St. Clair during 1962 [27]. St. Clair then offered the large collection of the documents, including the Italian translation of the *firman*, to the British museum for them to secure under their property. A total of three English translations of the *firman* have been published. The following section will examine the so-called third English version of the text.

Sejid Abdullah began the letter by addressing the European Court’s desires and excitement in seeing the ancient buildings and the images of the City of Athens. He then mentioned the scaffoldings and molds in lime pastes that the five English painters Lord Elgin commissioned had set up on the Acropolis. Considering the abiding friendship and alliance between the Sublime, Ottoman Court, and England, Sejid Abdullah requested that the English artists be treated with courtesy and met with no opposition while walking, viewing, scaffolding and excavating according to their needs.

Throughout the letter, Abdullah emphasized repeatedly that the artists may enter and excavate the ancient ruins on their own will and that “no opposition” should be taken against them. Significantly, Abdullah’s order stressed that this “no opposition” pertained to the removal of the marbles. For instance, he orders,

“And should they wish to take away any pieces of stone with old inscriptions, and figures, that no opposition be made” [27, 7].

As we see in this quote, it is apparent that Abdullah did provide Lord Elgin and his artists the permission to remove the marbles and that the act of unearthing objects from the Parthenon was entirely legal under Ottoman jurisdiction.

Toward the end of the letter, Abdullah repeats the importance of leaving the artists alone and also allowing them to remove pieces of stone should they wish. For example, in this part of the letter he remarks:

- “No one meddle with their scaffolding and implements, nor hinder them from taking

away any pieces of stone with inscriptions, and figures, and in the aforesaid manner you must conduct and comport yourselves” [27].

Not only did he reaffirm the importance of keeping the artists to themselves while they work on the Acropolis, but Abdullah also urged the people guarding the Acropolis to treat them with absolute respect with their work and follow exactly what the letter asked them to do.

### **Removal of the Marbles**

According to Williams, when Lusieri and Hunt received permission in the *firman*, they assembled a team of skilled workers and began operations [27, 20]. They started off by gathering the sculptures and inscriptions that lay around the Acropolis. Lusieri’s team took down a section of the cornice from the Erechtheum in addition to working on the West ends of the Parthenon. This removal was seen as the first officially accredited action on a piece of antiquity from the Acropolis. Hunt’s attempt could be understood as him testing Voivode’s “interpretation of the *firman*”, or how Disdar would have stuck to Voivode’s understanding of the *firman* that was accepted during the meeting on 23 July [27, 20]. It was not until the 31<sup>st</sup> of July when Lord Elgin’s men climbed on to the Parthenon in order to remove sculptures from the temple. They started off with the “series of metopes at the eastern end of the southern flank” due to its well preserved qualities. The first metopes to be removed was South Metope 27, followed by Metope 26 [27, 21].

The removal of the Parthenon marbles ended by early 1804 and the operations carried out under the *firman* of 1801 helped Lord Elgin secure approximately half of the “preserved sculptures from the Parthenon” [27]. When the marbles arrived in England, Lord Elgin stored them with him until he succeeded in persuading the British Museum to purchase the marbles in 1816 “for the price of £35.000” (Banteka [2]). From this point on, the marbles have been on display in a special room designed specifically to host these antiquities [2].

### **The Elgin Marbles after Greek Independence**

The Ottoman Turks “conquered Greece in 1453” and controlled Greece as an “occupying power” [2]. A few years after Lord Elgin’s removal of the Parthenon marbles, the Greek War of Independence allowed Greece to become an independent state in 1832. This celebrated revolution ultimately led to the formation of modern Greece.

Since the achievement of independence, the Greek authorities have filed numerous requests for the restoration of the Parthenon marbles (Banteka [2]). Yet, in 1984, the British government “officially declined this request” and has maintained a consistent position in the ongoing debate, declining all consecutive requests for the full return of the marbles.

There are two core issues in the legal debate over the Parthenon Marbles. The first is focused on the “authority of those who gave” Lord Elgin the permission to remove the marbles. If the power that granted the removal was doubted, it could completely overturn the debate as one side has the ability to accuse and question the legality of the removal as a whole. The second is the range and depth of this permission [2]. This narrows down the amount of pieces that was considered legal, therefore maneuvering the arguments from the two positions of the debate. Both sides have mustered arguments to support their position over the final possession of the marbles.

The British side has presented four main arguments in favor of keeping the marbles in the British Museum. In order to understand the development of the British case for keeping the marbles in London, we must start with an appeal to the legality of the Ottoman document (Greenfield [37]). Lord Elgin’s removal of the Parthenon marbles was conducted with “full knowledge and permission” under the International Law applicable at the time of Lord Elgin’s actions (British Museum [24]). The *firman* issued from Sultan permitted Lord Elgin’s relocation of the marbles. Upon the marbles’ arrival in London, the Parliamentary Select Committee investigated the



purchase and found the acquisition of the marbles to be entirely legal in 1816 (“Elgin Marbles”) [7].

Art historian Sir John Boardman has further noted that rather than a “beacon of democracy”, Athens was more of an imperial state during the time when the marbles were created in the fifth century B.C. (“What Were the Elgin Marbles?”) [7]. In other words, the Greek “nation” did not exist during that time. Therefore, the Parthenon temple was not built for the purpose of celebrating the democracy, glory and heritage of Greece as a “nation,” it was instead constructed to represent the profound military and cultural power that Athens held as a city (“Elgin Marbles: The Case for Keeping”) [8].

Since the foundation of the British argument lies in their removal and placement, the second part of the argument is centered around the cultural influences and the role the marbles played in the history of Britain. The Parthenon marbles have become an “integral part of British cultural heritage” due to their presence in Britain and their effects on British art throughout the neoclassical movement (Banteka [2, 1240]). The removal and installation of the marbles have contributed significantly to our understanding of ancient Greek history as it brought these antiquities to a larger audience. Their immeasurable impacts on artistic legacy have inspired generations of artists and historians that “steered the course of art history ever after” (“Elgin Marbles: The Case for Keeping”) [8]. The Greeks may rebut that this has deprived Greece of its cultural heritage since the marbles were on display in another country. However, the Parthenon marbles housed in the British Museum only represented a small percentage of the classical works that have endured in Greece to the present day.

Not only did the marbles bring long lasting impacts to cultures outside of their origin country, they were also well protected from prospective hazards by the British museum. The presence of the Parthenon marbles in the British Museum has saved them from potential damage due to significant alterations to the Parthenon throughout the centuries. The temple was

converted to a Christian church in the sixth century AD and then to a mosque under the Ottoman Empire in the 1460s. In 1687, the interior of the Parthenon exploded after the ammunition dump inside the temple was ignited [8]. The British Museum has argued that its stewardship of the marbles prevented the sculptures from being ground into limestones by the Ottomans and subjected to constant environmental pollutants such as acid rains (Bruney [9]).

There are also concerns about the impacts of the potential repatriation of the Parthenon marbles. The surviving pieces of the Parthenon marbles are held in 10 museums across Europe, including the Vatican, Munich, the Louvre, and Copenhagen (Elginism) [28]. The return could set the precedent for “a ripple effect” that would lead to the universal emptying of antiquities from the encyclopedic museums back to their “origin” countries (Banteka [2]). The Rosetta Stone that was on display since 1802 would follow the marbles out the doors of the British Museum. Shortly thereafter, the bust of Nefertiti located in Berlin’s Neues Museum would have to be forced to be shipped back to Egypt (Bruney [9]). In fact, a majority of the countries in the world have had pieces of their “artistic heritages fallen into foreign hands”. Should all of them be returned back to their so-called “source countries?” (The New Yorker) [19].

### **Greek Arguments**

With the advent of Greek independence, Greek authorities have presented four main arguments advocating for the return of the marbles to Athens (Hitchens, 2008; Fincham, 2013) [28]. Since the British arguments are built upon the supposed legality of the *firman*, Greek argument has usually started with questions about this document. According to the Greek government, the legality of Lord Elgin’s removal of the Parthenon marbles was in question due to the absence of the Ottoman *firman*. The translation of the document stated as below:

1. “to enter freely within the walls of the Citadel, and to draw and model with plaster the Ancient Temples there.



2. to erect scaffolding and to dig where they may wish to discover the ancient foundations.

3. liberty to take away any sculptures or inscriptions which do not interfere with the works or walls of the Citadel” (Merryman [17]).

Some scholars argued that the *firman* only gave Lord Elgin permission to perform minor excavations in the ruins instead of removing major segments of the temple. The *firman* itself did not mention anything about the authorization of shipment of the marbles all the way to another country. The removal of the sculptures clearly “interfered with the works or walls” of the temple (Banteka [2]). The Greeks contested that Lord Elgin “deliberately violated his permit” and transported the marbles without any official consent (“The Case for Return”) [20].

Likewise, the Ottomans’ legal right to authorize the *firman* in the first place is dubious. The Ottoman Empire ruled over Greece during Lord Elgin’s excavation, and during this period, the Greeks actively resisted Ottoman rule. If the Ottomans acted as an illegitimate occupation force, then arguably, the Ottomans did not have the legal power to sign away any antiquities that belonged to Greece. In addition, with the absence of the original *firman* that was issued by the Ottoman government, the authenticity of its translation could be doubted as well.

While most of the attention has centered on the legality of Elgin’s actions, more recent focus has been drawn to the cultural heritage of the artifacts. Greeks view the Parthenon marbles as an inseparable monument that epitomized “the apogee of the Greek Classical Civilization” [20]. The removal of the marbles led to the destruction of the special and alluring whole since the marbles were designed to be situated in proximity to the monuments and appreciated as a larger work of art. Edward Daniel Clarke, an English writer, once commented that since the Parthenon was already in great ruins and casts of the marbles have already been made, he saw no need in removing the authentic sculptures [20]. The British could have left with accurate moulds of the sculptures and

enjoy viewing the originals in their “proper place on the Parthenon” [20]. While the British Museum may state that the marbles have contributed to a better understanding of Ancient Greece and that it helped the marbles reach a wider audience, the works were displayed inaccurately in the Duveen Gallery. Phidias designed the marbles to be viewed at a height of 35 feet (Bruney [9]). Now with the Acropolis Museum built especially for the purpose of storing the Parthenon marbles, situating the marbles away from where they were built “demeans their value as art and historical objects” (Banteka [2]). Visitors over the world would have the opportunity to enjoy the grand view of the monument along with the marbles that would be “exhibited in close proximity to the sight of the Parthenon” [2, 1241].

Third, the Greeks raised the issue of the damages caused by the British Museum when they requested the repatriation of “the marbles through UNESCO in 1982” (The Guardian) (“British damage to the Elgin Marbles “Irreplaceable” (The Guardian). After inspection, a group of Greek conservationists came to a conclusion that “the very morphology of the sculptures had suffered” due to scrapings and efforts using wire brushes and copper chisels to make the marbles appear whiter in the 1930s (“British damage to the Elgin Marbles “Irreplaceable” (The Guardian). The original carvers’ marks have been removed and the unskilled laborers have wiped out the fine details given to the marbles such as the sinews and muscles. By using the latest technology in examining the marbles, the “excessive rubbing and polishing” not only impaired the surface of the antiquities but also “deformed them to a shocking degree.” (“British damage to the Elgin Marbles “Irreplaceable” (The Guardian). The features that defined the core of classical sculptures could no longer be traced on the Parthenon marble.

### Conclusion

As noted at the beginning of the paper, the construction of the New Athens Museum brings new life to this age-old question of the appropriate setting for the Parthenon Marbles. The museum houses a num-

ber of the original reliefs that were a part of the frieze and they look out at the remains of the Parthenon outside of the museum. This setting reminds visitors to the museum that the marbles played a vital role in Greece's cultural heritage. For many Greeks, the setting of the marbles in Athens symbolizes their link to an ancient past and ancient identity. Hence, their display in the museum points to the reasonability of the Greek request for them to be returned to the ancient capital of Greece.

Nonetheless, the return of the marbles to Greece could potentially establish a legal precedent for the repatriation of artifacts around the world. If the Parthenon marbles were returned to Greece and placed back on display in the Acropolis Museum, it raises

questions about other antiquities that are currently not in their origin country. For instance, should the Ishtar Gate of Babylon in the Berlin Museum be returned to the modern country of Iraq? Perhaps the Temple of Dendur in the Metropolitan Museum of Art would follow its way back to Egypt after the Ishtar Gate of Babylon. This possible ripple effect demonstrates the complexity of the affair. In brief, with the loss of the mysterious original *firman*, the resolution of this discourse becomes progressively unclear as both sides presented persuasive arguments. Oversimplification of the issues is not an option, particularly with a piece of antiquity that "transformed Europe's understanding of ancient Greek Art" ("How Did the Elgin Marbles Get There?") [13].

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Gioia Amalia,  
*PhD in Architettura, Disegno Industriale e Beni Culturali*  
*University of Caserta "L. Vanvitelli"*

## THE RESTORATION PROJECT OF THE ROYAL SITE OF SAN LEUCIO IN THE 20<sup>TH</sup> – CENTURY DEBATE ON THE ETHICS OF CONSOLIDATION

**Abstract.** The 20<sup>th</sup> century has seen the birth of the debate about the consolidation of cultural heritage and the use of different materials and techniques on those structures. The paper describes the Italian different schools of thought in those years using as an example the case of the restoration project of the Royal site of San Leucio. The debate focused on how to approach damaged masonry structures through consolidation and the correct technique.

**Keywords:** Real Sites; Restauration; Consolidation; Circolare Ballardini.

In 1997 the Royal Site of San Leucio (Fig. 1), a unique case in Italy of a production complex within a royal residence, was recognized together with the Royal Palace of Caserta and the Carolino Aqueduct UNESCO heritage. The extensive historiography on the Royal Site of San Leucio has highlighted the importance of several aspects such as (i) the construction of a place for the sloth and hunts of Borbone sovereign, firstly Carlo di Borbone and then Ferdinando IV; (ii) the “industrial” primates linked to the silk factory; (iii) the socialist utopia of the city-factory and the happy island of the Ferdinand statutes.

In the extended literature, few are gaps about the Royal Site of San Leucio, like the recent restoration of the factory whose survey and design plans and reports are kept in the archive of the Caserta superintendence.

The restoration of the San Leucio’s complex differently from other Royal site interventions was the result of an in-depth cultural discussion that started in the early seventies and lasted many years.

The restoration of the Royal Site of San Leucio has its roots in the cultural panorama of the Eighties when experts, theorists, and some superintendents began a profound and articulated reflection on the cultural objectives of the restoration until then di-

rected to put first the figurative message and the perception of the external image of the factories and their decorative apparatus concerning the structure and the material.

The restoration in Italy and, particularly in Campania, was strongly influenced by the recovery and consolidation interventions following the earthquake of 23 November 1980. As matter of fact the violent earthquake, which devastated the area of the Campania-Lucan Apennines, and Law 219/81 for the reconstruction, led to emptied buildings; the frame of the buildings completely replaced; masonry structures ruined with concrete; masonry elements replaced by steel bars immersed in resins or other types of binders, reinforced concrete beams and pillars inserted in masonry structures.

After the seismic event, the whole country goes through a very long season in which the anti-seismic logic corresponds with the logic of reinforced concrete, according to which the intervention on a masonry building realized with pre-modern techniques, is more effective if the structure is similar to a reinforced concrete frame.

In the early 1980s, the rules for seismic retrofitting were applied indiscriminately to every type of building including monuments, regardless that

generalized application was not compatible with the principles of monumental conservation, would have opened the doors to restoration interventions,

where the excessive use of iron or reinforced concrete would have prevailed on the same monument, altering it irreparably.

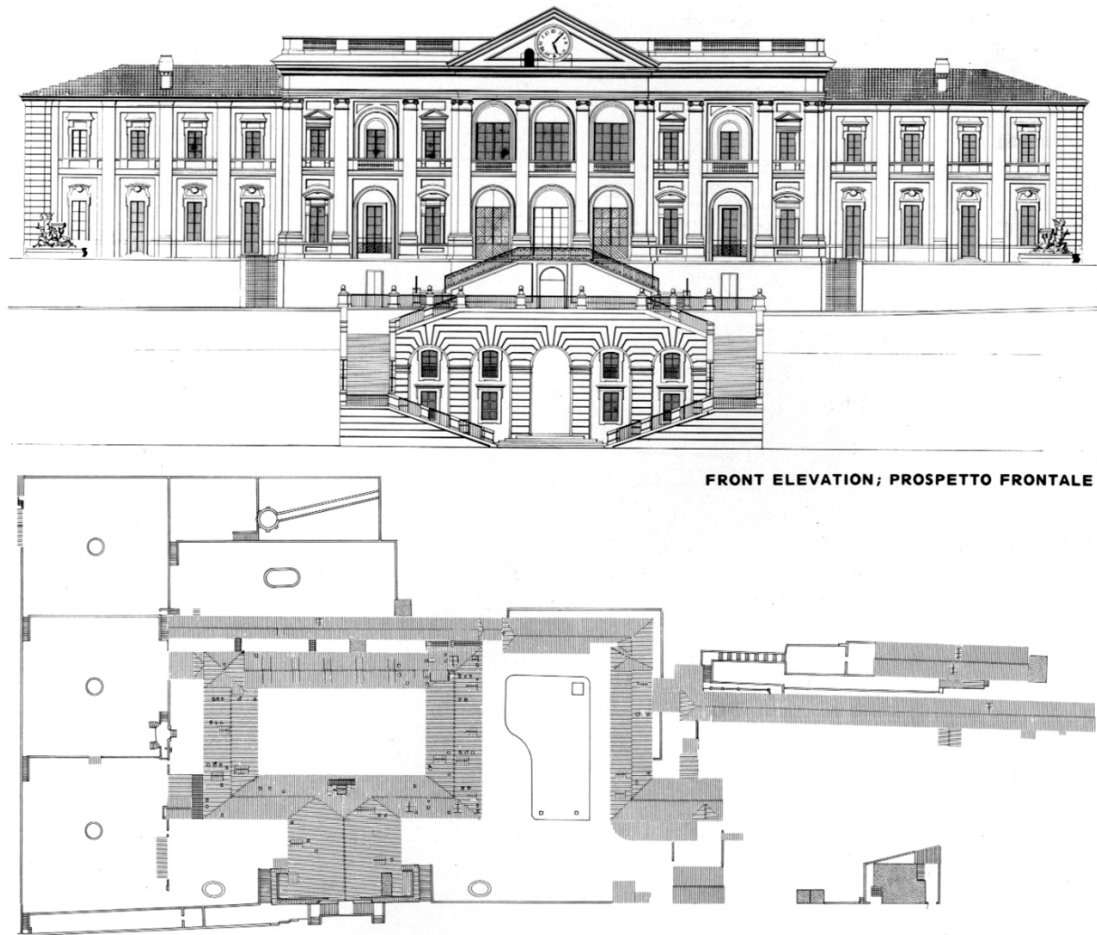


Figure 1. Plan and front elevation of the Belvedere of San Leucio

The volume “Restauro e cemento in architettura” [1], edited by Giovanni Carbonara provides, with the enthusiasm quite widespread in that period for the potential of concrete, an extended panorama of restoration techniques based on the use of reinforced concrete with the illustration of 95 interventions described analytically and through black and white photos of work on site. Another 300 short sheets summarize as many restoration interventions carried out in Italy with the material in question.

The second volume [2], a few years later, continues the work by updating the repertoire of interventions with another 28 analytical files, however, unlike

the previous one, it has dealt with the question of the use of reinforced concrete in restoration interventions from a theoretical point of view, reporting texts on the subject by various authors with very different cultural settings.

Among these is the paper by Antonino Giuffrè, “Pietà per i monumenti” [3, 120–122] a warning signal for all the measures done on monuments without understanding their original language and statics. According to Giuffrè “the statics of the monuments are as sacred as the colors of the Cenacle and restoring them requires the religious respect of those who have the History as their interlocutor” [4].

The relationship between the restoration and the seismic vulnerability of the architectural heritage was a crucial aspect for Giuffrè [5], demonstrating that historical structural types if properly built are capable to stand when an earthquake occurs. The author also highlights the similarity between the reach for ancient construction to the requirements of a proper building to the stability assessments for a modern building.

While Mastrodicasa, had analyzed the correlation between damage and type of instability, Giuffrè on the other hand identified the correlations between earthquake, type of construction, and collapse mechanism, assuming that the construction methods of masonry buildings, despite being characterized by a very high number of variants, present an organizational constant due to a “recognizable matrix that reveals the simple and at the same time repetitive and generalizable logic” deriving from a uniform way of living [6].

Giuffrè [8] affirms that “earthquakes do not disintegrate the structures in a disordered way but select the structural parts and the weakest technological solutions. In other words, only the weakest part of the building yields to the earthquake, without dragging the adjacent portions with it”.

Together with Giuffrè, Edoardo Benvenuto, Alfredo Cosanego, Salvatore Di Pasquale, Luigia Binda, Romeo Ballardini also work to recognize the centuries-old durability of ancient materials and techniques. They also work to resume studies on ancient mastery.

A phase of profound reflection on the culture of conservation begins with the use of slight and less invasive technologies than reinforced concrete that had shown their effectiveness over the centuries. This way of thinking was confirmed by the availability of manuals of local construction techniques, revealing elementary methods of seismic prevention long-forgotten by university programs.

The discussion of the relationship between built heritage and seismic vulnerability already began in the fifteenth century (G. Manetti, *De Terraemotu*,

1457), and finds in the eighteenth-century text by Giovanni Vivenzio, “*Istoria e Teoria de’ tremuoti*” [8], a complete examination of the problem. In the 19th century Giuseppe Valadier, an architect sent to Romagna to repair the damaged buildings following the earthquake of 1786 and one of the major protagonists of the restorations promoted by Pio VII on monuments of the classical age, wrote several pages on intervention on buildings, how to build properly and the ancient teachings in his book “*L’architettura pratica*” [9]. Sections XX and XXI of the fourth volume are dedicated to the analysis of the deterioration of structures and the repair interventions. The former, entitled “*Della maniera di osservare le lesioni negli edifizj, e metodo per rilevarne le cause, e delle cautele per le riparazioni*”, highlights the importance of observation in the process of knowledge of the monument and understanding of the damage. The latter, “*Del modo di risarcire gli edifizj danneggiati dalla cessione dei fondamenti, e del metodo di accavallare, e puntellare l’edifizio durante la riparazione*” examines the interventions to be implemented in such a way as “not to do greater damage to the factory by using of means that do not suit the circumstances” (Valadier 1828–1839). However, the fundamental text in the description of seismic events remains the text by Mario Baratta of 1901 “*I terremoti d’Italia*” [10].

The cultural change takes place starting from academic research, aimed at providing a theoretical foundation for the restoration and consolidation of the structural analyzes of framed structures.

In the general report presented at the third session of the 1st National Congress of ASS.I.R.C.CO in 1981, Roberto Di Stefano argues that “in the group of operations named “Restoration of monuments”, aimed at the conservation of the monument, the consolidation is one of the fundamental. Therefore, the consolidation is a part of the restoration and not something different or even an alternative”.

In 1986, the great debate on the conservation of architectural heritage in seismic areas has as protagonist

the Ministry for Cultural and Environmental Heritage, through the establishment of the National Committee for the Protection of Cultural Heritage from Seismic Risk, coordinated by Romeo Ballardini.

Ballardini, who is one of the signatories of the 1985 project for the recovery of the Belvedere di San Leucio, as a professor of restoration and member of the Higher Council of Cultural Heritage, is called to chair the Committee, established in 1984 by Decree of 7 August 1984 of the Minister for Cultural Heritage and Activities in agreement with the Minister of the Interior and the Coordination of Civil Protection.

The Commission, known precisely by the name of Ballardini, gathers around single table technicians and researchers with heterogeneous skills, coming from different disciplinary areas such as Carlo Garavini, Salvatore D'Agostino, Carlo Viggiani, Petrini, Frallone, Braga, Corsangelo, Gaetano Miarelli Mariani, Francesco Doglioni, Eugenio Coccia, Di Geso, Paolo Marconi and the representatives of the ministries concerned.

The Ballardini Circular is considered to be the first document capable of demonstrating the need to combine conservation activities and safety requirements for historical structures.

Born from the analysis of the state of the art also conducted through contacts with various Superintendencies, the document opens with a critical introduction towards the interventions carried out in

the seismic area, which “alter the monument from its identity and value point of view” with “completely illusory security guarantees” placed at the base of the structural interventions that “try to remodel the ancient factories according to the resistant patterns typical of modern materials”.

The Recommendations for interventions on monumental heritage with a specialized typology in the seismic area, drawn up by the Committee chaired by Ballardini, represent the achievement of a new cultural attitude that puts a stop to invasive interventions and gives priority to repairing interventions, rather than unjustified replacements, to be implemented with traditional and compatible techniques, as the Charters had already pointed out.

Thus, while most of the restoration and consolidation interventions carried out after the earthquake of 23 November 1980 are carried out using the seismic adjustment criterion, the restoration project for the Real Site of San Leucio is strongly influenced by the in-depth studies conducted by the designer as coordinator of the National Committee for the Protection of Cultural Heritage from Seismic Risk. The influence although it will not be able to exclude the use of concrete from the restoration site, will result in the reuse of the recoverable material (roof tiles and channels, peeled beams of wooden floors, etc.) with the differentiation of the integrated elements from the original ones.

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*Uryumtsev Egor Romanovich,  
Master's degree student,  
Novosibirsk State University, Novosibirsk, Russia*

## DISCUSSION ABOUT THE NATIONAL ASPECT IN THE BATTLE OF BOUVINES (JULY 27, 1214)

**Abstract.** The article discusses the mythologization of the Bouvines Battle based on the data of the official chroniclers of King Philip II Augustus. The author examines the image of the warring opponents, their mythology and sacred appearance, presented in the presentation of the French side. An alternative conclusion is proposed about the discrepancy with the reality of the thesis characterizing the Battle of Bouvines as the first French national event.

**Keywords:** Philip Augustus, the Battle of Bouvines, nation, mythology, High Middle Ages.

In modern French historiography, there is a fairly unified position regarding the first national triumph – the event when the French nation was born. Such a position is not a novelty; it is found in the works of French medievalists Henri François Delaborde, Georges Duby, Dominique Barthelemy, in the mass of popular scientific works. This event took place on Sunday, August 27, 1214, the day of the Battle of Bouvines. A person familiar with the history of the Middle Ages will immediately ask the question: “where could the idea of a nation or national feeling come from at the beginning of the XIII century?”. Traditionally, the emergence of nation-states is associated with the period of Modern Era. The research aims to analyze this position, analyze its origins and understand how such an approach corresponds to reality.

You should start with a description of the event itself. Why is the Battle of Bouvines so important? Firstly, the Battle of Bouvines was a decisive general battle, summing up more than twenty years of confrontation with the English Kingdom and its ruling dynasty, the Plantagenets. For the era of the High Middle Ages, a general battle in itself was a rarity, since in the period described it could decide the fate of the sovereign, question the existence of the entire kingdom. And finally, even in case of victory, it could not bring great benefits, but cause irreparable dam-

age. The sovereigns of the Middle Ages preferred not to put all available means at stake, choosing less risky ways for war – maneuvering on foreign territory with their subsequent ruin or sieges of castles. Nevertheless, the battle took place, and this is really the first battle of territorial France with an international coalition. On the battlefield of Bouvines, many enemies of the French king came together under a single banner: the dukes of Flanders and Boulogne, in fact, powerful and independent rulers, Count William Salisbury from England and the head of the entire union, Emperor Otto IV. That is, if earlier the predecessors of Philip Augustus could only claim the lands around Île-de-France and the city of Orleans due to the limitations of their real power, then the scale of the confrontation changed during the reign of Augustus [6, P. 59]. Now the King of France possessed vast territories and a large army, which could only be compared with the combined Anglo-German forces. The significance of the battle was so great that almost immediately it began to acquire a mystical halo, overgrown with legends and special symbolism. Let's take a closer look at what this symbolism was.

The main source about the Battle of Bouvines is the work “Phillipide” by Guillaume le Breton, the court chaplain and chronicler of King Philip [3, P. 346]. This is a synchronous source that has been

written for several years; specifically, the segment dedicated to the battle was written around the beginning of the second decade of the XIII century. It should be noted that Guillaume le Breton was directly on the battlefield, next to the king. He saw the battle with his own eyes, and although the description was not written immediately, nevertheless, we do not have more synchronous sources. Naturally, the nature of the composition glorifies the figure of the king, but not only. Guillaume praises the main royal advisers: Brother Guerin of the Order of the Hospitaliers, the first adviser, Bishop of Beauvais Philippe de Dreux, who knocked William Salisbury off his horse, etc. In addition, the “Phillipide” presents the reader with a detailed description of the battle, presented through inspired descriptions: “The Franks, who were boiling with courage, fought one against three, bravely going to meet dangers,” finally “won because they were strong in spirit and virtuous” [5, P. 141]. However, the author does not examine only the episodes of the battle, but also focuses on the nature of the entire war, turning it into a sacred one. Here symbolism is born, which so clearly fits into the Christian, three-part idea of the Trinity and the world familiar to medieval man; embodied both in heaven and on earth [4, P. 308].

King Philip, as a good Christian, did not want to fight on Sunday – a day that should be dedicated to God. It was the Germans who forced him to wage war with their cunning tricks. When the time of battle came, Philip knelt in prayer; at his command, the Oriflamme, the holy banner blessed by the church, was raised. Saint Dionysius, the patron saint of Paris and France, will fight for the king [4, P. 309]. The royal army was symbolically and conventionally divided into three parts, three orders of the “nation”: first of all, chivalry, the right hand of the king, his hope and savior in case of danger; next come the good commoners, loyal sons of a submissive people, not plebeians or mercenaries; the third part, the “army of God’s peace”, people of communes led by priests, workers and townspeople. It is they who are trusted to guard

the Oriflamme; this gesture of trust shown by the king also had a practical purpose – it was impossible to allow the center of the army to escape, and the Oriflamme had to support people and their faith [4, P. 310]. Thus, Guillaume le Breton portrays the image of a Christian army fighting for the faith and its king. And who was on the opposite side?

The camp of the German Emperor is shown as a place where evil and disorder reign. The leaders are greedy and arrogant, the soldiers are insane or mercenaries. There are no good people or priests in this army, “everything is rotten around the German emperor”. Emperor Otto IV is excommunicated from the Church, his entourage are enemies of the Pope, friends of heretics; or, worst of all, traitors who have changed their oaths [4, P. 309]. In contrast to the blessed Oriflamme, the Germans kept a variety of emblems and banners, all bold and “as if diabolical”, with dragons and black eagles. But the main thing in the enemy’s army is its goals. The Germans, like the ancient barbarians, came to kill and plunder, mercenaries without kin and tribe, paid at the expense of the robbed poor and ruined churches [4, P. 139]. That is, the German emperor and his people, represented through the image of unambiguous evil, darkness and a crowd of monsters.

Guillaume le Breton presents the battle as a chess game, the king of France is on the side of the “Whites”, because he is fighting for a just cause, the cause of Christ and against the rebels; against him, the German emperor is on the side of the “Blacks” with an army of scoundrels and traitors who planned to split the kingdom, burn churches, etc. And the result is quite obvious to any medieval person – the victory was won, and the “evil and damned” fled in disorder [4, P. 310].

The King of France has won, but why? The answer does not lie in the number of knights or sergeants, but in the fact that he could not fail to win. After all, all those who sincerely fight for the cause of Christ, defending his church and people are obliged to triumph. In the perception of a medieval man, it is the motive,

the noble feeling for which Philip II Augustus fought, that is primary, and victory is only a consequence of his correct actions. In the end, any battle is the judgment of God, where you defend the right to your own vision of power and the work of many decades. It was the Lord who helped the king to win.

The people help Philip. When the king returned to Paris, everywhere in the countryside and in the cities, he was greeted with applause, ringing bells, celebrations. When the sovereign entered the capital, a genuine euphoria began. The festivities continued for seven days and seven nights. Thus, Guillaume le Breton shows us that the king is blessed by God, and God has confirmed the rights of the king, restored peace on earth, called on both sides of the world (clergy and people) to glorify the winner and rejoice. And the hitherto unknown is born in this celebration – in harmony of Gregorian singing, the king seems to have thrown his cloak over all his subjects [4, P. 309]. The bloodshed in the battle of Bouvines sprinkled all the “children of Gaul”, and the king, by his grace, supposedly abolishes all dissonances, differences of gender and age, but the most important differences of rank [5, P. 141]. The celebration of the victory at Bouvines is a celebration of equals. Actually, this is where the position of national unity and the French spirit takes root – the king feels the love of the people, pays him the same, and now all Frenchmen will follow the king of France, genuine, real: from the poor to the bishop. So, in the “Phillipide”, and this is noted by Georges Duby, as if a single nation appears, rallying around the king [4, P. 141]. However, how does this assumption correspond to reality? Truly, Philip Augustus changed the idea of France in many ways, literally reformatting it from a Frankish state to a French kingdom. Wearing the crown for the first time as the king of France, and not as the king of the Franks, Philip claims the imperial regalia and powers. After the defeat of Otto, it is the French sovereign who becomes the heir to the empire of Charlemagne. It is not surprising, since it was in this spirit of “strong royal power, with a strong

hand of the monarch, as it was under Charlemagne” that Philip II was brought up from childhood [6, P. 58–59]. A state with the real power of the king was a full-fledged goal, to which the French monarch systematically advanced for four decades. The result of this policy is a great victory, the formation of the kingdom, the nickname August. In the mouth of Guillaume le Breton, “Augustus” is a unifier or collector, primarily of Frankish lands, but also a conqueror who decides the fate of the Christian world together with His Holiness the Pope [4, 311].

People followed the king in a single impulse, and perceived Bouvines victory on such an unprecedented scale that a similar phenomenon was even reflected in the manuscripts of French chroniclers. But if we put aside the laudatory odes and look at reality, we can see that in the entire reign of King Philip II, and even more so in the era of the High Middle Ages, the Battle of Bouvines is a relatively local and small event. It became important in meaning and results, but it could not produce a social revolution and create a different kind of society, a national society.

Indeed, the king, with his charisma, led people to battle, and people stood with all their hearts for him and for the cause of Christ, which he defended. But first of all, it happens because they are his subjects, “the king’s people”. The Latin concept of “*Do ut des*” or “I give that you gave”, explaining the medieval principle of interdependence and belonging to someone (homage, vassalage) it explains the behavior of the king’s subjects much better than a dubious national feeling. It is not entirely clear to which state it would manifest itself, how is this even possible in a feudal society with no concept and idea of a “nation”. In the described period, national feeling could not be a unifying factor. Philip is the first king who managed to unite people under the right hand of the king just by this event, this victory. That is, for the first time, the royal power, in addition to religion and language, became a pillar of unity of people, the little they had in common. But this is not a national feeling, and not its analogue. I am inclined to believe that here we



are talking more about a kind of short-term impulse, fixed on the charisma of a particular king and on a great victory. But to pull up the birth of the French nation to this event is too hasty and doubtful a conclusion. However, if this is not a national feeling, then why chroniclers pay such attention to a local event. What was so different from the others in the policy of Philip II? Let's try to answer this question.

On August 27, 1214, the battle on the fields of Bouvines consolidated in French society the triumph of the "royal model" – a concept introduced by the French medievalist Gerard Sivery to denote the Philippian transformations. The historian noted that during the described period in the society of the High Middle Ages, the "feudal model" and the "royal model" coexisted in parallel; the "feudal model" meant the dominance of large lords in the kingdom, the "royal" model covered the decisive victory of the royal power in all areas of public life [6, P. 10]. A huge synthesis of actions of social and spiritual characters was behind this victory. The creation of a developed and devoted officialdom in the kingdom, the use of a "personal homage" to the king to strengthen power and expand the royal domain, the consolidation of the role of the capital for Paris, the formation of army structures controlled by the baillis, prevots and seneschals, as well as all that legendary and mythological aspect analyzed in this work – the image of a Defender of the Faith, a fighter against heretics and the first the King of France – all this fits into the logic of the royal model and the transformation of the country. It should be noted that despite the seemingly obvious differences and novelty, Philip and his government

team did not create a new society. That is, even such changes were only a kind of French variation of the development of feudalism, or to be more precise, another "Revival", since all the symbolism, spirit and logic of these transformations were permeated with a look back to the Empire of Charlemagne.

The Battle of Bouvines and the transformation of the newly minted King of France are completely unique in scale and consequences. However, despite this, such changes were fully a medieval phenomenon, inseparable from the historical reality of developed feudalism. Despite the brief historical moment of the feast of equals on the battlefield, inequality, which is an integral part of feudal society and a natural norm of life, has not gone away [7 P. 37]. It is enough to look at the time of the epoch after the Battle of Bouvines, at other military campaigns or large-scale events. Such praise in the spirit of "equality" and "unity" is not mentioned by any of the royal chroniclers or writers. Official biographies acquire a different character and turn to the praise of personal qualities: holiness, justice, courage. In the same period described in the works of Guillaume le Breton, there is clearly a desire to pay tribute to the policy of Philip II Augustus to create a genuine French kingdom with real royal power, and not national motives.

For the formation of a new national society, more serious structural changes are needed, which are possible only with a change in historical reality and technological development already directly in Modern Era. The question of creating such a society on the battlefield of Bouvines or in the High Middle Ages is too controversial.

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## Section 4. Philology and linguistics

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*Irgasheva Shokhida,  
Foreign languages department, senior teacher  
Tashkent institute of Finance*

### **SOCIOLINGUISTIC PHENOMENON OF THE INTERNET LANGUAGE AND ITS ROLE IN FORMATION OF NEOLOGISMS**

**Abstract.** The emergence of the Internet creates a new environment for the functioning of the language, a network language arises, which then penetrates into the national language. This language is characterized by its linguistic features, among which the most characteristic are the lexical properties of the Internet.

**Keywords:** internet, discourse, neologism, communication, phenomenon.

The Internet is now the most comprehensive source of information that is known to exist in the history of humankind. This is an undeniable truth. It is feasible to utilize the Internet not only as a tool for learning, but also as a tool for communication because of the Internet's characteristics, which include the effectiveness, speed, and availability of communication between users located at both long and small distances. The influence of the Internet as a medium of communication on the language is not felt at all levels of the language system: it is fixed, first of all, at the level of vocabulary, and also affects word-formation models, punctuation and spelling norms, features of the syntactic structure, ways of organizing and structuring the text, communication strategies and etc. David Crystal, a British linguist, declared a "language revolution" in light of the significant shift in communication patterns that has been brought about by the emergence and development of new means and channels of communication. He drew parallels between the advent of the Internet and the invention of printing by Johannes Gutenberg or the

emergence of writing. In other words, he compared the advent of the Internet to the emergence of writing [2, 56].

Researcher A. I. Gorcheeva characterizes the Internet language as a "subsystem-nugget" of the literary language, which appeared in the early 90s of the XX century and marked the emancipation of speech behavior. The key concepts of this subsystem were informality and vernacular, as well as deliberate violation of speech norms. She also views Internet language as a sociolinguistic phenomenon. Considering the Internet language as the language of a social layer, we can conclude that to a greater extent its emergence and functioning affected young people – the socially most promising layer of society, whose linguistic competence and speech behavior largely determines the direction of development of other social subsystems of the language. Although it is based on standard literary Russian, the Internet language has developed its own set of norms and, like any language, its grammatical phenomena have evolved over the past decade or so [3, 78].

It can be argued that verbal communication is a backbone feature of the Internet as a social reality. Now, basically, the Web appears as a virtual reality, where physical images replace the appearance of communication. With development, this virtual reality acquires the features of a new lifestyle, constantly changing, which, in turn, gives rise to the emergence of new means of communication. As a new form of communication, the Internet has encouraged native speakers to reflect on the choices they make while employing a language. A greater scope is open for human speech creativity. As a result, the study of the core linguistic issue of a person in language now incorporates insights from cognitive, sociology, and culture sciences [1, 58].

With the introduction of the Internet, the fate of the text in society is changing substantially, since in the Internet community, the person-image is equivalent to the text. This is especially evident in chats, where the fundamental human desire for creative self-expression is fulfilled.

Furthermore, chat inhabitants are nearly totally deprived of auxiliary methods such as tone of voice, accents of a message, emotional coloring, tone of voice, strength, diction, gestures, and facial expressions.

So, this global shortage could not but be compensated in a certain way, so communication on the Internet is still not complete without physicality. First of all, the “emotional deficit” was compensated in a certain way by introducing into the virtual discourse partially characterized emotional reactions – emoji or “emoticons” (from the English – smile), which became extremely widespread.

However, this is still a substitute for emotional reactions. Many attempts have been made to assign and fix the designation of certain emotional states for certain emoticons, but they have all been unsuccessful. In fact, today only emoticons inform about the emotionally colored attitude of the author to the text, conveying the direction and degree of his emotions [4, 98].

Thanks to the Internet, the intertextuality of the text began to develop intensively. A change in the

consciousness of a person on the Internet, the formation of a new, networked way of life and thinking significantly affects the language situation. Thus, the combination of the cognitive, sociological and cultural orientation of research in recent years highlights the individual characteristics of the speaking subject. We have considered the Internet language in general from the point of view of sociology. We will also consider this phenomenon from the point of view of linguistics, word formation and culture of speech.

From the point of view of the latter, it seems obvious that the language serving communication on the Internet is undergoing transformation in various aspects: at the level of vocabulary, rules for constructing statements and coherent text, genre and stylistic norms, the ratio of oral and written speech, communicative strategies and tactics [10, 97].

It would be appropriate to speak of the Internet language served by this style as a sociolect, as we have discussed earlier. Sociolect – a set of linguistic features inherent in any social group – professional, class, age, etc. within one or another subsystem of the national language. Like every language, the Internet language has its own productive word-formation methods. Compounding, suffixing, prefixing, abbreviation and other common cases are productive. In a number of cases, there is a noticeable desire to choose word-formation paradigms that are more typical of vernacular.

Internet speech undoubtedly affects the general literary and conversational language, about which Russian linguists have made significant findings. According to M. B. Bergelson, communication is a “bridge” between written and oral speech [1, 58], linguist L. Yu. Ivanov suggested that the language of the Internet is a formation “above sublanguages and separate functional varieties”, unites “many genre subsystems, divided, in turn, into separate genres”, similar to artistic or colloquial speech [5, 140].

Undoubtedly, there is an interaction between the language of the Internet and the national language. On the one hand, the standard vocabulary within



the Internet language is being transformed: ordinary words, signs, symbols are used in a new sense. On the other hand, getting into the world of everyday language, this professional language finds its place in it, quickly spreads, becomes common for members of this society, and is recorded in dictionaries. In everyday conversational language, some Internet concepts are beginning to acquire new fresh meanings.

Virtual personalities can communicate with each other only through written texts that are created in real time and are influenced by spontaneous oral colloquial speech. So, the text and the person in virtual reality become equivalent, therefore, the value of the written text is greatly increased.

The Internet is a special communicative social environment, a special place for the implementation of the language, which has no analogues in the past. V.V. Dankov calls the Internet “a catalyst for the linguistic revolution of the 21<sup>st</sup> century” [4, 48]. The Internet affects such processes in the language as democratization, the strengthening of the internationality of communication, the cosmopolitan nature of communication in general, as it is global. In turn, under the influence of Internet communication, new trends begin to manifest themselves, unwritten rules of the genre-based stylistic organization of speech and speech behavior that are spreading beyond the Web.

Back in 2010, a researcher of Internet discourse, T. Yu. Vinogradova, described the problems of competition between computer slang and literary language, demonstrated “the claims of the jargon under consideration for the implementation of all basic language functions” [9, 65].

The influence of the language and style of Internet communication on non-network communication and natural Russian language is the subject of an article by N. B. Mechkovskaya on metalinguistic reflection in the age of the Internet, which presents the facts of the expansion of Internet communication and its codes into ordinary communication, natural language. The author names and systematizes these facts, presenting them in order from less to more significant in terms

of the deep penetration of Internet discourse into the fabric of everyday communication. The article also discusses the trends in the development of communication, which are reflected in the originality of the linguistic consciousness of people associated with new information technologies, which “allows you to better see both the prerequisites for the susceptibility of natural languages to the influence of the Internet, and the specific aspects of such influence” [8, 168].

The Internet affects natural (ethnic) languages in two ways: firstly, new words and meanings, as well as speech turns, penetrate into ordinary languages from established computer-Internet sublanguages, and secondly, the Internet strengthens and expands the effect of some long-standing trends in the history of communication:

1) The Internet enhances the metalinguistic reflection of speakers to unique extent and continues to increase the saturation of modern written and oral speech with metalinguistic meanings.

2) The Internet develops hypertext features of speech: a) it enhances the internal structure of texts; b) produces, reveals and emphasizes the external (intertextual) links between texts.

3) The Internet contributes to the complication of natural languages: the number of signs and rules for their combination increases; ordinary (oral and written) communication becomes more complicated; During Internet communication, new “unwritten rules” of speech behavior arise, including those outside the Web.

4) The Internet significantly enhances the internationality of communication.

5) The Internet has a liberal democratizing effect on literary languages and cultural communication [7, 128].

The general patterns characteristic of the functioning of both languages in the Internet environment include the emergence of neologisms to denote new realities of computer technology, the use of reduced forms, abbreviations and slang, the widespread use paragraphemic means for expressive pur-

poses to compensate for the emotional component of communication, violation norms of spelling and punctuation, construction of statements according to the rules of colloquial speech, the use of elliptical constructions, hyper textuality. These patterns are

due, in our opinion, to the peculiarities of the electronic communication environment, the mentality of the most active participants in electronic communication, as well as the principles of saving language resources and verbal-thinking efforts [6, 48].

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## Section 5. Pedagogy

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Le Thi Quyen,  
Master, Research Student, Tra Vinh University  
Lecturer Nguyen Hue University

### APPLYING READING KNOWLEDGE TO ACCESS MODERN SHORT STORIES IN THE SECOND HIGH SCHOOL LANGUAGE PROGRAM BY CATEGORY CHARACTERISTICS

**Abstract.** The General Education Program in Literature (2018) sets new requirements. In addition to the goal of providing knowledge and fostering the soul of students, teaching literature must also aim at developing learners' competencies. On the theoretical basis, the writer clarified more about the role of reading comprehension knowledge and how to apply reading comprehension knowledge to approach modern short stories. Within the framework of the article, we use research methods of analysis, synthesis, systematization, generalization, towards teaching the application of reading comprehension knowledge to approach modern short stories in Chapter 3. Secondary school Literature program according to genre characteristics. The research aims at affirming the role of reading comprehension knowledge, genres and characteristics of short stories, how to apply reading comprehension knowledge to approach, teaching methods, and narrowing the gap between Vietnamese research South to the world, opening up the prospect of equal academic dialogue, about grasping, accumulating and applying new theories to the practice of literature and language ...

**Keywords:** Application, knowledge of reading comprehension, Genre, approach, short story.

#### Introduction

Over the past time, Vietnamese education has made new changes in all aspects (objectives, content, programmes, tests, assessments...). In particular, the innovation of teaching methods, the innovation of testing and assessment has received more and more attention and attention. In *"Training materials for teaching, testing, and assessment in junior high schools and high schools in the direction of developing student's ability"*, the writer asserts that *"general education in our country is implementing This is the transition from educational programs that approach content to approach learners' com-*

*petence, that is, from being interested in what to learn to caring about what students can apply through learning. To ensure that, it is imperative to successfully carry out the transition from teaching methods in the style of "one-way transmission" to teaching how to learn, how to apply knowledge, practice skills, and form competences. qualities".* To achieve the above, teachers need to master knowledge of genres, orient students to apply reading comprehension knowledge to approach works, pay more attention to changing teaching methods in a modern way. have the right direction in organizing teaching activities in order to improve the quality of teaching and education.

Literature is one of the subjects with position and importance in high schools. In addition to its instrumental function, this subject also makes a great contribution to the formation and development of common competencies as well as contributes to fostering the thoughts, feelings and noble qualities of learners. In order for this subject to be worthy of its position and importance, teachers need to have methods and orientations for learners to approach the beauty and beauty of the work. In the framework of this article, we want to mention the issue of “*Applying reading comprehension knowledge to approach modern short stories in the junior high school literature program according to genre characteristics*”.

## **2. Research content**

### **2.1. The importance of knowledge reading comprehension**

Reading comprehension is the results created by humans. It includes the entire physical world, the spiritual world of man. Reading comprehension provides the most basic knowledge about genre characteristics. Marx once said that with an ear that does not know music, the best piece of music has no meaning, just as when receiving a work without reading comprehension, one will definitely not understand the work thoroughly. . Therefore, the provision of reading comprehension knowledge for students in the preparation stage is very necessary. From identifying knowledge outside the work such as the author's life, author's style, the birth circumstances of the work, to the knowledge that needs to be provided in the work such as title, subject, subject, character image, content value, artistic value.

In the process of going to class, adding reading comprehension knowledge for students will help them be active in the process of receiving literary works and know how to receive works in accordance with genre characteristics. On the other hand, knowledge of reading comprehension will help teachers to be more prepared with knowledge related to the lesson, to be more active in teaching activities. In teaching activities, the teacher still plays a key role from providing

knowledge for students to prepare lessons to the process of leading learners to the art world of the work. Teachers will choose the outstanding knowledge in the work to provide to students and this knowledge is also uneven depending on the purpose and requirements of each lesson. Through the guidance of the teacher, students are active in reading time because in addition to the knowledge the teacher equips students during class time, students have more conditions to prepare. In addition, with the provided knowledge, students who are not interested in learning will stimulate their creative initiative. This will create a comfortable atmosphere during reading time and allow them to communicate with friends and teachers.

From knowledge of reading comprehension, students can read works of the same genre by themselves and can read works of different genres. Children can foster their own thoughts and feelings through literary works. Children can discover behind each page of the book are human destinies with thoughts and worries in life, great aspirations, personalities that are longing for perfection, and physical pain. and the spirit that people experience. Each work aims to reflect life with different scopes. There is a work that only delves into a part of life, a life of hard-working people in Thach Lam's story Two Children. Sometimes the work reflects a whole human society with the lives and fates of individuals mixed with the fate of a nation such as *War and Peace* by Lep Tonstoy, *Tan's life* by Ban. From a piece of life to a human's fate, readers have recognized an entire historical epoch reflected in an intricate and organic relationship.

### **2.2. Genres and characteristics of modern short stories**

#### **2.2.1. Genre**

Genre is a concept that has been mentioned for a long time, since the time of Aristotle, there has been a division of different methods to create works. In the process of composing, writers often use different ways of occupying life, expressing different aesthetic conceptions of reality. These modes correspond to other forms of human cognitive activity, making



the elements in the work always have unity and mutual regulation. Therefore, it can be said that a literary work is a complete unity of thematic elements, themes, ideas, characters, structure, plot, and lyrics. However, that unity takes place according to the law of ideological development, reflecting the objective reality of the writer in the work. Each researcher has a different concept of genre, but we can understand that *“the genre of a literary work is a concept that indicates the rule of the type of a work, in which there is a certain type of content for a certain series of content. certain, giving the work a form of whole existence”* [17, p. 220].

In the dictionary of literary terms, the authors affirmed that genre *“is the form of a literary work, which is formed and exists relatively stably in the historical development of literature. in the similarity in the organization of the work, in the character of the types of life phenomena described, and in the character of each writer’s relation to the described life phenomenon and in the character of each writer’s relationship with those life phenomena”* [9, p. 202–203]. The division of genres has many inconsistent concepts in naming. Although the names are not the same, researchers still agree on how to define the characteristics of each genre.

Teaching that adheres to genre characteristics is leading students to discover, discover and analyze formal aspects of literary and artistic works to derive its aesthetic meaning. This is one of the useful supplementary teaching methods for the traditional teaching method, which focuses more on factors outside the work such as: writer’s biography, composing situation, character archetype, price realism, social effects. Teaching in line with genre characteristics is also a requirement of the current teaching method innovation in high schools.

### 2.2.2. Basic characteristics of the modern short story genre

Short story is a small narrative form, the content of the short story genre covers most aspects of life: private life, world affairs, epic... but its uniqueness is that it is short. Short stories are written to absorb seamlessly, read in one breath without stopping.

*Short stories are often “towards depicting an image, discovering an essential feature in human relations or human life” (Dictionary of Literary Terminology, cited book), which is a multi-dimensional convergence in human life. moments like “the cross section of life”.*

A short story can become a “castle” containing the spirit of the times if it is really under a talented pen. Writers only need to “Draw a leopard through a patch of fur and still know it’s a leopard. Through one eye, it transmits the spirit” (Lu Xun). In the world, to achieve that, the number of writers can only be counted on the fingers: G. Maupassant, A. Daudet, A. Chekhov, E. Hemingway, J. London, Lu Xun, Nam Cao... Pure strength The work of these masters is largely in the characterization and identification of an image in which man and life are revealed. With that typical example, readers think of a historical period, a national era. At this time, the short story becomes “a great memorial stone”, becoming “a great building containing the spirit of the times” as Lu Xun said.

Short stories usually only focus on a certain situation, a certain topic. Therefore, it is often limited in terms of character, time and space. Sometimes a short story is just a slice, a moment, a fleeting moment of life. When reading texts, we need to master the basic characteristics of genres such as: capacity, themes, plots, story situations, characters, details, language, time and space, .. These are the characteristics for us to understand the content value, artistic value, message of the work.

- *Capacity*: looking at the size of the text, we can also guess relatively accurately about the genre. The genre of short stories usually has a small volume but has great destructive power, a strong impact on the consciousness, evoking the imagination of the readers. This is also understandable because short stories often have few characters and few facts.

- *Theme*: most of the topics in the short story are personal issues, sometimes just moments in that private life. The choice of topic, reflecting the content in the work is governed by the “perspective” of the writer, in which establishing one’s own “point of view” is

the most important. The house always stands above all class relations, all ideological ties, speaking the right voice of truth and life. The inspiration of the world dominates the reverberation and deposition of short stories in the timeline, in the hearts of the readers. Short stories are the secret voices of people, the aspirations of all times.

- *Plot*: often based on unique, unexpected events; there are psychological stories directed at “Inner Action”, paying attention to the psychological transformation of the character rather than the fact that there is a story that tells a fantasy story; Some stories tell about everyday events; ... The plot is not formed according to a pre-existing formula, but it is formed from the writer’s sudden emotions when encountering moments of life and from the moments of life. fragment of human destinies.

- *Story situation*: is a certain time, moment in the work, where the main node in the writer’s work is concentrated. The story situation is compared as “the key that operates the plot”. From the situations, details and events taking place in the plot will be shown through the character’s character and actions. The main ideas, themes, and content that the author wants to send through the work will be clearly revealed through the resolution of conflicts and contradictions. The creation of unique situations has reflected the author’s ability to observe and explore the nature of people and society.

- *Characters*: Short stories often have few characters, little time, and tight space. Characters in experiments often appear in a certain situation, having both unique and common characteristics. The character is a small part of the world, is the embodiment of the relationships in community activities, the perception of social issues or the explanation of the presence of people, is the message sent by the author. through the character directly or indirectly.

- *Context*: is an important element of the story. The main context is the place, time, specific scene (society, historical period) where the story occurs.

It supports the development of the plot and contributes to the expression of the character’s personality.

- *Storytelling and changing the narrative*: How the story is told is always more important than who writes it. The narrator’s “point of view” becomes the basis for distinguishing the narrator from the author.

Tell the story in the first person from the point of view of the character’s consciousness. The narrator not only tells the story (describes what “I see”) but also tells the mood (describes what “I feel”, “I think”). This way of telling helps the narrator to tell the story flexibly, covering a wide range of events.

The change and coordination of narrators and narrators are often used in works with a story structure nested in a story. Each person, each narrator often brings a unique way of seeing and evaluating, making the story reflected from many dimensions become rich and attractive, containing many meanings.

- *Language, narrative*: how Using words that address and describe, we can also find out who’s point of view and narrative.

### **2.3. Requirements when applying reading comprehension knowledge to approach modern short stories**

- *Ensuring the requirements of teaching innovation in the direction of developing learners’ capacity*

Resolution 29 NQ/TW approved by the 8th Central Conference of the XI term On

fundamental and comprehensive renovation of education and training, it is determined that “Continue to strongly and synchronously innovate the basic elements of education and training in the direction of attaching importance to developing the qualities and capacities of learners. ...”. Accordingly, the Program general education after 2015 is moving from content-oriented programs teaching to a competency-oriented program. For the subject of Linguistics – the subject can be considered as a tool subject, the ability to communicate in Vietnamese and the ability to enjoy literature/ Aesthetic perception are the specific competencies of the subject. In addition, power communication ability, creative thinking

ability, problem solving ability, cooperation ability, Self-management also plays an important role in determining the teaching content of the subject.

– *Sticking to the characteristics of modern short stories*

The requirement for reading comprehension of modern short stories in the Junior High School Literature Program is higher than that of the el-

ementary level in that it broadens and enhances the knowledge of the genre such as using two-person narrator, switching the narrator (same person) in a work. Therefore, when approaching the modern short story text in the junior high school program, it is necessary to pay attention to the following genre characteristics:

Ordinal number	Elements of the short story	Characteristics (for identification)
01	Topic	Current scope reality is reflected in the work.
02	Plot, events	Basic events, main events (in a journey, a slice, a moment in the character's life.
03	Main character and character art	Portrait, action, character's feelings, thoughts, words; relationships with other characters; meaning, problems emanating from/through the character
04	Persons, narrative art	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>– Narrator and transformation person/narrator; the effect of each person, each person telling the story</li> <li>– Narrative circuit (arrangement of events – narration sequence); historical chronological order of events</li> </ul>
05	Special details	Are details capable of reflecting (life); containing meaning, highlighting themes; portraying character's personality
06	Themes	Exposed from content, characters, .. (no writer said straight to the topic in his work, ...)
07	Message	What the author wants to convey (through events, details, characters; readers draw lessons, ...)
08	Own creation	About images method, how to convey the message (creating images, details, language, endings, open textures, etc.).

Pay attention to the focus of reading comprehension of modern short stories in the Middle School Literature Program: using the narrator and transforming the narrator.

To clarify the reason, why the author uses the narrator (first/third person), we need to pay attention to whether the story being told needs to show an objective or subjective view?

To clarify why the author chooses from the point of view of character A or B, we need to pay attention to the character's relationships, age, occupation and social position. Consider what factors make the character understand the story being told, suitable for commenting or expressing feelings about that incident. What are the plot characteristics of works using two narrators?

– Associate the renovation of the organization of teaching activities with innovation and assessment in the direction of developing learners' capacity.

#### **2.4. Modern short story approach through reading comprehension**

To exploit a literary work, we can have many different approaches. In the scope of the article, we refer to the approach to reading comprehension.

– *Guide students to read comprehension*

Starting from the point of view of teaching reading – understanding literary works according to genre characteristics, in the document “Methods of teaching reading comprehension of texts” has emphasized the importance of mastering the basic elements. characteristic of the genre. “*Knowledge of*



*narrative elements is an important foundation for teaching reading-comprehension based on literary works. For that knowledge forms the basis for discussions of comparing and contrasting texts, authoring styles, topic selection, and problem solving” [16, p. 184].* On the basis of the requirement to master the specific elements of the genre, the document also shows how to teach reading – understanding those elements as follows:

*Contextual factors:* Ask students to find information about the stages history of events so that they have a deeper look at the context with vivid images, compare the time of those events with the present... to better understand the work. From there, students adjust and convert the author’s information according to their own purposes, creating a story of their own.

*Character element:* Ask students to learn about the character. Use a reading diary to write down your thoughts about the character, use a diagram to learn about the character such as listing personality traits, details, information related to the character, students put themselves in position of the character to learn about the character, use the diagram to learn about the character. There are three ways to use diagrams.

The diagram only lists the main facts about the character.

The diagram lists all the information about the character and has comments on the character’s personality.

The diagram lists the details in the work about the character but is more systematic.

The use of diagrams to learn about characters helps students focus on important characteristics of characters in the work, providing a useful basis for discussions about the techniques the author uses. to portray the character vividly, to engage the reader, to provide an opportunity for students to fall in love with the character in the work, to create vivid memories of the character and that it can serve to compare when students read other works as well as can relate the content of the work to their own life. In addition, the use of diagrams when learning characters, it also helps students have the ability to systematize knowl-

edge, select and arrange knowledge, have the ability to generalize, understand and remember knowledge for a long time.

Use reading journals to encourage students to think about characters through their writing, thinking about creating character personalities so that the writing makes sense.

Students put themselves in the position of the character, the situation of the character, try to analyze the feelings of the character by relating how they would feel in that situation... So that students can recognize complex characters’ emotions, participate in discussions well, interpret texts from more diverse perspectives.

*Find the plot:* Students read the text first at home to grasp the plot. Group discussion finds the main events and helps students understand its sequence and important role and students can write down the plot after reading. Use the event diagram and sequence of events in order or in reverse, or alternately, to ask students to practice. Thereby, helping students grasp the development of the story. The thing to keep in mind when using diagrams to summarize plots is that there are two types: those that follow the author’s narrative and those that follow character development. On the diagram, when showing the main elements, the minor elements must be distinguished by color and size...

*Find the topic:* Use a reading diary for students to discuss or express their own feelings. Use plot diagrams to explore themes. Explore specific topics to derive a general theme. The effect of this measure is to help students better understand the work and forge students’ ability to think and generalize about the problem.

*Find the structure:* Use a mind map sample of a story diagram in the form of a synoptic diagram to make an outline for the story.

As mentioned above, if you want to read and understand a modern short story, you must pay attention to the narrator, there is no narrator without a short story, but the narrator is always hidden. Even



the short stories with the narrator claiming to be me are also something that avoids the speaker. Writers want to lose their personal ego in order to gain artistic self. Besides, we need to know that there is a person who receives the story (narrataire). It is the intermediary link between the narrator and the reader. It helps to better define the framework of the story and define the narrator characterization that contributes to the highlighting of thematic elements and plot development. Ignoring the recipient of the story, it is difficult to understand what is outside the language of the story. In order for learners to have access to modern short stories, we need to guide learners to answer questions at the following levels:

– *Instructions for implementing awareness questions*

Awareness level belongs to the question group level 1, students need to read the text carefully and arrange it in the following order:

The plot stretches along the text; identify the main events in two sequences: chronological order and narrative sequence (modern stories of events are not arranged in chronological order but according to the author's artistic intention).

Notice how typical words, actions, thoughts and feelings play a dominant role in portraying the character's personality; identify details, expensive events that create an unexpected ending for the story, surprise in readers' perception and emotions.

– *Instructions for implementing thinking questions*

Students must think to understand the depth of the text with two types of simple questions and tables.

In short stories, thinking questions are often directed at explaining the causes of events, words, actions, thoughts and feelings of each character. Therefore, students need to locate them in the text, then pay attention to the events, circumstances, actions or feelings of characters that take place before or after. From there, connect the surrounding information (the question element raised) to make inferences to explain the question Why? Why?

Thinking questions are open-ended questions, so there are two bases for explanation: textual content;

individual students' understanding (same question Why there will be different interpretations: some students give only one reason, some students give two or three reasons, ... ).

Analyzing the meaning of details, events, and passages of text are details/speeches (emotions, thoughts, actions of the character) selected to ask questions, which are often unique and contain two layers of meaning. above. What character traits/statements do those details/words (in the question) reflect? How does it affect the characters involved, etc.

Analyze and clarify the usage of words, sentences, artistic methods, and layers of meanings contained therein. For example, which aspects of life, characteristics (emotions, thoughts, dreams, changes in perception, ... ) of the characters?

It is necessary to clearly show the explanation of the individual (may be contrary to the majority).

– *Instructions for implementing applied and connected*

– questions With open-ended questions, students need to determine that they have to do it themselves, no one can do it for them. Because the question asks to show an individual's understanding of a particular issue.

Determine the impact of the text (behavior, opinion of the character, ... ) on yourself. That is, students compare the reality reflected in the story with the reality of life with themselves in order to adjust their emotions and behaviors, to have new life skills, to enrich their spiritual life. themselves (change perceptions, feelings, dreams, etc. to treat loved ones).

Example: Have students read and understand the short story "Tears and dust" by writer Nguyen Ngoc Tu.

Two boys climbed over the fence, one was scratched by barbed wire. The L-shaped laceration on his side revealed a patch of shriveled black skin, so black that the sensation darkened his pale orange shirt. Unfortunately I was there too, and was taking pictures of them and the caption popped into my head as soon as the camera shutter was open,

“through a barbed wire fence of the resort under construction...”

But the caption and photo seemed to have been burned by the child’s glare. He swore o bolo a ba la and asked if being rich was a good thing? Suddenly I found myself holding a camera is guilty, dressing well is guilty, I am whiter than it is also guilty. And I am guilty because I came to this paradise island to play, so they built a place to pick me up, so the boy’s shirt was torn.

It’s the end of November, the sea breeze blows cold everywhere. The guy with the feng shui was afraid to talk to the guy (who was) but still torn. I remember when I climbed a tree and scratched my new sweater, when I came back, I went back into the house, in case my mother hit me, I ran quickly. The healthy shirt of childhood is a fortune. Like this child of the sea.

The boy in the ragged shirt was still standing by the fence, bewildered. His friend ran back first because it was time for dinner. Fear and regret softened the sparks in his eyes as I wandered around indifferently suggesting this and that. Ask her family to wave her hand towards the village located on the other side of the sand, every house looks exactly like the other, just like the thin rolls of smoke rising up.

That sandy beach is also going to be fenced off to build a commercial center of the island. This means that the children’s path to the beach is increasingly blocked by layers of higher hedges. He told me that a few months ago, he would take me out to the beach every afternoon to feed him, “let the child play with water and he will eat as much as he can, it’s not easy at home ...”. The boy in the torn shirt told and told, about the little brother and the children in the neighborhood, about the running games that were so exhausting and some of them nearly drowned, about the drifting fish that he had picked up and brought back to fry to eat. Bui Bui.

– My dog Phen is buried there.

Now the beach, where the dog “smart as a demon, when dying, can shed tears” rests, belongs to strangers.

And tomorrow the sky also belongs to someone else, when the building rises and blocks all views.

I thought so when I heard the bragging boy say that if you climb up the poplar trees near his house, you can see Little Rai Island all the way offshore. As he talked, he caressed the torn shirt, as if he could not forget the cruel tear that chilled the sharp ribs. Any piece of cloth cut into his hand and the resentment returned, the boy pushed me across the border with the darkness in his eyes, “I’m on their side too...”. Are they here a hedge of thorns or the owner of a hedge of thorns?

The word side of it reminds me of my old cousin, once asked in a loud voice, which side is this cloud cover? The question, is also the conclusion of a village story that the old man is angry. A few aquatic plants pollute the surrounding water, complaining for years that no one can solve it, so one day, relatives pulled back to the factory to talk right and wrong. Fifteen minutes after everyone was still hustling outside the fence, the authorities came to disperse the chaos. Clouds do not stand in the middle so that both sides are shady and well-watered, but seem to lean to one side without any pretense.

Now also on their side, the old man said and then left a country, when I heard I hesitated the sentence “my relatives are a bit unreasonable...” but I had to juggle a basket of words to choose the modest ones, most ambiguous. At that time I wondered when did the boundaries appear and I was forced to choose either to be on one side or the other, not in the middle?

Like the kid who ripped his shirt from the beginning, he assumed I was on the side of those who took his beach, because I could go out there and play without having to climb the fence. Just pay, which the other kid doesn’t have. The boy was so sharp that he left me, he crossed the street alone.

And when the milky white car passed by, sending a cloud of sand to separate me and the boy, I was able to see him pick up a handful of shells and throw it at him, accompanied by a very strong wind stone. After the wheels of the wheel calmly turned, there were some swear words of the boy himself falling.

Why do I feel sad and full of feelings of helplessness? Why can’t I see the boy’s actions as desperate

as he used to, when he watched his uncle's shadow crouching with a cane in the late afternoon?

After students finish reading the story, students do the following questions and exercises:

### Recognition questions

1. Read the text and fill in the following table with information: Worksheet

Study sheet No. 1

Ordinal Number	Key Elements	Expression (Brief demonstration)
1	What happened next, where did it happen?	
2	main characters	
3	main narrator	
4	Topics	
5	Genre	

2. Arrange the following events in two sequences

a) Chronological sequence

b) Sequence of narrator (narrative)

A. My coaxed my father to eat and cry

B. My coaxed his father to eat and tell stories

C. Massage, put my father to sleep

D. Talking to my mother

E. My drawing and crying

G. Father told about the sky, brought My to my dream

H. Parents quarrel, divorce

I. Father had an accident, My worked at home to take care of my father

K. My reads my father's diary

L. My draws, falls asleep, wakes up, my father is lost.

### Thinking Question

1. Fill in the information in the table to learn about My character

Study sheet No. 2

My character	
Elements of	Expression in the work
Circumstances	
Take care of father	

Longing	
Understanding Father	
Sadness	
Personality:	

2. Why, in the past two years, My hasn't cried anymore, but happily told my father stories like the tea tree he planted is now blossoming, and his pots of cacti have grown a lot. many branches?

3. What do I want to draw? Why is My crazy drawing, then crying, what does that state represent?

4. What does My often say to her mother, why did she tell her mother like that? What valuable quality does that show in My?

5. Fill in the table to learn about the father

Study sheet No. 3

Father character	
Factors	Expression
Situation	
The love of being a pilot	
Longing in the present	
For me	
Personality:	

6. Is My influenced by my father? Let's analyze some of those expressions?

7. Summary of My's work when she learned that her father had an accident and was not able to recover. From there, comment on the solution that My has chosen?

8. Fill in the table to learn the art of storytelling: Worksheet

Study sheet No. 4

The Art of Storytelling		
Paragraph – to	The narrator	The author's intention (wants to say)
the beginning – he is smiling	Character main	
Last night – and slimy	Main Narrator	
Effective:		

9. Fill in the table to learn the art of character building Worksheet

Study sheet No. 5

The art of character building (words/actions/emotions...)		
Character	Expression	Character
Father		
My		
Mother		
Which expression best suits a character with a realistic personality?		

### Questions to connect lessons with life

1. From the above short story, can you tell me what factors are capable of nurturing beautiful dreams and aspirations in the human soul?

2. In your opinion, which detail/image in this short story is the most meaningful? How did that detail/image affect your feelings and thoughts?

3. Do you think you need to learn the qualities of My character? If yes, what qualities would you like to learn?

4. Tell me about a job that shows deep love for a parent/grandparent in a paragraph (about 200 words).

### Expected answer

#### Identify

1. Read the text and fill in the following table: Worksheet.

Study sheet No. 1

Key Elements	Expression (brief demonstration)
What happened next, where did it happen?	– Dreams and pain of an unhappy father with a filial son. – In my family.
The main character	My, the father
The main narrator	Third
Theme	Family
Genre	Short story

2. Arrange the following events in two sequences

a) Time sequence

G. Cha told about the sky, brought My to dream

H. Parents quarrel, divorce

I. Father had an accident, My worked at home to take care of him

A. My coaxed him to eat and cry

B. My coaxed his father to eat, tell stories

C. Massage, feed him sleeping

D. Talking to mother

E. My drawing and crying

K. My reading father's diary

L. My drawing, falling asleep, waking up, father passed away.

b) Sequence of narrator (narrative)

A. My coax Father eats and cries

B. My coaxes him to eat, tells stories

C. Massages and puts him to sleep

D. Talks to his mother

E. My draws and cries

G. Father tells about the sky, brings My to my dream

H. Parents quarrel, divorce

I. My father had an accident, My worked at home to take care of him

K. My read his father's diary

L. My drew, fell asleep, woke up, lost his father.

### Thinking questions

1. Fill in information Trust the table to learn the character My.

Study sheet No. 2

My character	
The Elements	of Expression in the work
1	2
Circumstances	Divorced Parents; father had an accident; mother elsewhere; My is looking for a job close to home to work and conveniently take care of my father.
Take care of father	Dad Feed him, massage him to relieve his pain, tell him stories.
Longing	Bring your father his sky.
Understanding Father	Can tell if dad is smiling or crying; she knew her father was walking in a daze in a strange thought toward the sky.



1	2
Sadness	Panic and feeling lonely; panic about the father's daydreams; cry for the cold and motionless patches of color.
Personality: pure, loving father, responsible, emotional; sensitive and romantic soul.	

2. Why, in the past two years, My hasn't cried anymore, but happily told my father stories like the tea tree he planted is now blossoming, and his various cactus pots have grown a lot of branches?

In the past two years, My hasn't cried anymore, but has happily told my father stories like the tea tree he planted is now blossoming, his pots of various cacti have grown a lot of branches because:

- My can cry Snakehead won't solve anything, it will make people weak.

- My wants father and son to be happy, to have an optimistic and dream-filled life.

3. What do I want to draw? Why is My crazy drawing, then crying, what does that state represent?

- My want to paint the sky to bring back his father's sky on the canvas.

- My crazy drawing, then crying in panic, dreaming and vague about the father; for the cold and motionless patches of color.

- That state represents My's helplessness in the face of harsh reality and at the same time shows My's deep, intense, limitless fatherly love.

4. What does My often say to her mother, why did she tell her mother like that? What valuable quality does that show in My?

- My often told my mother "I'm tired, mommy go home". Because My does not want and does not like to talk to her mother, does not like her lifestyle and her plans.

- That shows the precious quality of My. That is a person who knows how to control himself, not to say rude or disrespectful words to his mother.

5. Fill in the table to learn about the father's character.

Study sheet No. 3

The character of the father	
Elements	Expression in the work in the work
Circumstances	Being a pilot; his wife left and got divorced; Injured and unable to take care of themselves.
The love of being a pilot	Looking at the sky
Longing for the present	"Airspace... airspace, want to return to... airspace"; want to hear and want to see his wife cry.
For me	Let't tell me Hay tells me about the sky...
Personality: Rich in love, longing to be loved; romantic soul; despise life only material.	

6. Was My influenced by my father? Let's analyze some of those expressions?

- My was deeply influenced by my father.

- From the stories about the sky of my father who is a pilot, My has had beautiful dreams and a beautiful soul.

Those memories are always imprinted in my mind. Only the beautiful and clear romantic images returning to My can be creative, making the painting not bland and lifeless, making My feel like my father's figure in it.

7. Summary of My's work when she learned that her father had an accident and was not able to recover. From there, comment on the solution that My has chosen?

- My parents are divorced, My lives with my father. She graduated from college and was about to apply for a job when her father had a serious accident. Knowing that her father was unlikely to recover, My decided to stop applying for a job. She opened drawing and English classes for children on the street to earn a living and spend time taking care of her father.

- Comment on the solution that My has chosen (students should pay attention to the suitability of the job with the career that My has studied) to make comments on the value of the solution.

8. Fill in the table to learn the art of storytelling: Worksheet.

Study sheet No. 4

<b>The Art of Storytelling</b>		
<b>The passage from – to</b>	<b>The narrator</b>	<b>The author's intention (wants to say something)</b>
From the beginning – he is smiling	3 <sup>rd</sup> person, the narrator is hidden	An objective view of My's love for my father .
Last night – and muddled	First person, My father (the narrator confesses "himself"	Deep desires and pain in the father's soul
Efficacy: Rotating flexible narration suitable for expressing personality object.		

9. Fill in the table to learn the art of character building Worksheet.

Study sheet No. 5

<b>The art of character building (words/actions/emotions...)</b>		
<b>Character</b>	<b>Expression of</b>	<b>Personality</b>
Father	Words, thoughts, dreams, desires	Rich in love; romantic soul
My	Words, thoughts, deeds, dreams, desires Pure	loving father, responsible living, romantic soul
Mother	Words	Very practical
Which expression best suits personality? realistic objects? Words and actions		

### Questions to connect lessons with life

1. From the above short story, can you tell me what factors are capable of nurturing beautiful dreams and aspirations in the human soul?

What factors are capable of nurturing beautiful dreams and aspirations in the human soul

- Origin of My dreams.
- Observing the lives of people around, ...

2. In your opinion, which detail/image in this short story is the most meaningful? How did that detail/image affect your feelings and thoughts?

(Students can choose their words and actions. Determine the details of the choice, the reason for the choice, the impact of the action details on themselves).

3. Do you think you need to learn the qualities of My character? If yes, what qualities would you like to learn?

- Review My character (outstanding personalities)
- Compare with your own assessment of valuable qualities to answer.

4. Tell me about a job that shows deep love for a parent/grandparent in a paragraph (about 200 words).

– Should choose real actions: state the circumstances leading to the action; feelings, thoughts after actions; the happiness of the recipient.

– Choose the narrator to suit the content (possibly 2 alternate narratives). Pay attention when writing sentences describing feelings.

### 3. Conclusion

Applying reading comprehension knowledge to approach modern short stories is a growing research trend. It is not only a trend to meet the needs of methods, knowledge, ... of many researchers today, but also a tendency to receive and select knowledge about genres. Whether applied in any genre, the principle must be ensured that "students complete cognitive tasks by themselves with the organization, direction, teacher guidance". Must promote the students' positivity, self-discipline and initiative Building and developing self-study ability on that basis, cultivating students' flexible, independent and creative thinking qualities. Students must grasp the

basic features of modern stories and know how to read and understand other texts of the same genre. This is also the key thing that the teaching and learning of lit-

erature in general should aim at, in the context of the new historical era, the country develops according to the current trend of international integration.

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Zhixiu Chen,  
University College London, United Kingdom

## THE MEDIATING AND BUFFERING EFFECT OF SELF-CONTROL ON THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PEER SUPPORT AND ACADEMIC BURNOUT

**Abstract.** In order to better understand the antecedents of academic burnout, this research examines the effects of college students' peer support on their academic burnout and the mediation effect of self-control. 260 Chinese college students were recruited by completing the Peer Support Scale, Tangney's Self-control Scale, and College Students Academic Burnout Scale. According to correlation analysis, peer support among participants was shown to be negatively correlated with academic burnout but positively correlated with their capacity for self-control. Meanwhile, self-control and academic burnout were negatively related. Furthermore, mediation analysis using the PROCESS plugin in SPSS revealed that peer support had both a direct and indirect predictive influence on academic burnout among students. Self-control was specifically identified as a partial mediator and buffer between peer support and academic burnout. In this case, universities may assist students in relieving academic burnout by encouraging closer peer relationships and developing a higher level of self-control.

**Keywords:** Peer support, Self-control, Academic burnout, College students.

### Introduction

According to Maslach and Jackson (1981), burnout was initially described as a symptom of 'emotional exhaustion', 'depersonalisation', and a loss of 'personal accomplishment' [26, p. 99]. Traditionally, it was believed that burnout only happened in occupations, but more lately, it has been expanded among many activity areas such as teaching and learning (Schaufeli et al. [36]). Students may suffer from burnout (Salmela-Aro et al. [35]), which is referred to as academic burnout (Wang et al. [46]). Yang [48; 49] defined academic burnout as emotional tiredness, a propensity toward depersonalization, and a sense of poor personal achievement due to course stress, course load, or other psychological issues that are exhibited during the learning process.

Many previous studies have found that academic burnout has negative effects on students' well-being and academic achievement (Bai et al. [1]). Orth,

Robins and Roberts [29] demonstrated that students who were burned out were more likely to have psychological problems including depression, poor self-esteem, and suicidal ideation. Besides, research conducted by (Schaufeli et al. [36]) with 1661 undergraduate students from Spain, Portugal, and the Netherlands demonstrated that, regardless of the place of origin, academic burnout was adversely connected to university involvement and achievements. Given the prevalence of these circumstances in youths, it seems imperative to discover the causes of academic burnout among college students.

As was evidenced by the existing literature, social support, including support from parents, teachers, and peers, is significantly inversely correlated to academic burnout (Kim et al. [20]). Besides, research has presented consistent evidence that personal regulation abilities (such as the capacity for self-control) are a crucial component in reducing academic



burnout (Seibert et al. [38]; Özhan & Yüksel [31]). Meanwhile, peer support has frequently been reported to be associated with students' self-control abilities (King et al. [21]). The extant literature speaks of a potential mediation path between peer support and academic burnout through self-support. Yet, this indirect path has been rarely examined among college students. To fill this gap, the present research investigated the association between peer support and academic burnout, as well as the role of self-control in mediating this relationship in the context of undergraduate study.

### **Literature review**

As mentioned above, burnout is manifested as emotional exhaustion, depersonalization and reduced personal accomplishment (Maslach & Jackson [26]). Emotional exhaustion, which corresponds to the sense that one's emotional resources have been drained, is considered the fundamental individual stress factor of the symptom. Depersonalization, which refers to hostile, cynical, or overly alienated behaviours toward peers, is the interpersonal aspect of burnout. Low personal accomplishment, which is the self-evaluation aspect of burnout, relates to sensations of reduction in one's competency and productivity as well as to one's diminished feeling of efficacy (Maslach [25]). Academic burnout is characterised by feelings of exhaustion due to the requirements of the study, a contemptuous and indifferent attitude toward one's study, and a sense of incompetence as a student (McCarthy, Pretty & Catano [27]).

Previous research has found that academic burnout is caused by both internal factors and the external environment. The internal part involves one's emotional intelligence (Kang [19]), personal features (Otero-López et al. [30]), self-efficacy (Capriet al. 2012) and so on; External environment is primarily concerned with the learning context such as social support (Seo et al. [39]), relationships between teacher and student (Tajeri Moghadam et al. [42]) and academic atmosphere (Brazeau et al. [3]). Peer support as a type of social support

has often been explored as an important cause of academic burnout (Kim et al. [20]). Based on the conservation of resources theory (Halbesleben et al. [16]), one of the primary ideas in interpreting stress and burnout, environmental conditions frequently threaten or induce the depletion of one's resources, and if resources are endangered, stress might arise (Gorgievski et al. [14]). Hence, academic burnout is very likely to be related to peer support which can be considered as a type of resource that people want (Bai et al. [1]). Indeed, many studies have proven repeatedly that perceived peer support is inversely associated with academic burnout (Kim et al. [20]). Some research even discovered that academic burnout is directly impacted negatively by peer support (Yang [48; 49]). Because peers are capable of supplying resources to help college students overcome academic challenges, such as organising study groups, sharing notes and thoughts, and providing guidance about study strategies (Richardson & Skinner [33]). Meanwhile, others have noted that peer support is also substantially connected to the overall psychological adjustments of college students (Rodriguez et al. [34]). Better academic and psychological adjustments may lead to lower academic burnout.

Besides external factors such as peer support, individual differences (such as self-control) are also important drivers of academic burnout (Schmidt et al. [37]). Self-control is a broad personality attribute or disposition possessed by individuals who contemplate the long-term effects of their actions on themselves and others while making behavioural decisions (Gibbs & Giever [13]). The person-environment fit theory suggests that external environmental factors may influence the individual's psychosocial adjustment mechanisms through certain personal traits (Edwards Caplan & Van Harrison [10]). In this regard, self-control is a means of regulating one's behaviour and emotions, which can be seen as a predictor of one's adaptation to reality (Wang et al. [45]). Studies showed that

people with high levels of self-control tended to be more diligent and hard-working, take more initiative in solving current problems, and have a more positive outlook when confronted with academic pressures. Whereas people with low levels of self-control have difficulty controlling and regulating their behaviours and are more likely to experience negative emotions when encountering problems that are difficult to solve immediately (Liu et al. [23]). Therefore, they might exhibit greater burn-out in their school life (Zhang et al. [50]). This relationship has been confirmed in the research on middle-school education (Luo et al. [24]), special education (Javaheri Mohamadi et al. [18]), and higher education (Cooper et al. [8]).

It is worth noting that peer support as a buffer against academic burnout was also contributable to self-control abilities, implying an expanding and reinforcing effect within the individuals. Peers act as essential role models who express signals about their own beliefs and offer crucial information sources that youths use to construct their perceptions of abilities and attitudes (Fan [12]). Additionally, by developing more emotional and psychological inde-

pendence from parents, youths begin to spend more time with their peers (Steinberg [41]). As youths engage in practically identical activities and form greater bonds with their peers, the attitudes, beliefs, values, and behaviours of adolescents' peers become more influential (Brown, Clasen & Eicher [5]). Indeed, peer support is found repeatedly and positively associated with self-control among students. For example, (Zhang et al. [51]) found that peer support helps increase self-control among left-behind students in rural China. Also, Zhao and Song [53] found that peer support is highly likely to predict students' level of self-control.

However, the potential mediation role of self-control between peer support and academic burnout has been rarely examined. The aim of the current study is to fill this gap. According to the extant literature, the present research hypothesizes that college students' self-control plays a mediating and buffering role between peer support and academic burnout. (Fig. 1) shows a diagram of the mediation mode proposed in the hypothesis which depicts the relations between the independent, mediator, and dependent variables.

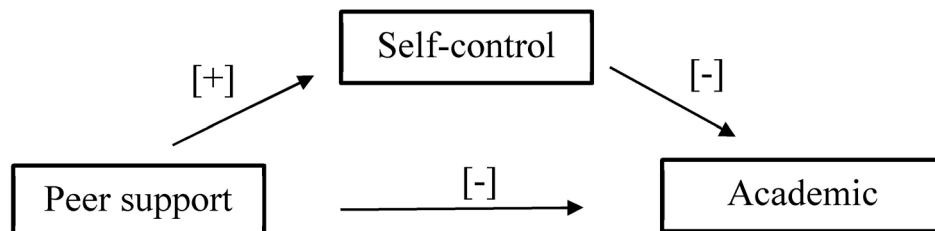


Figure 1. The relationships to be examined in the study

## Methodology

### Participants

This research was conducted in a public university in eastern China. The university has 16469 undergraduates enrolled in 11 bachelor's degree programmes. A total of 262 undergraduates participated in the research and filled out the questionnaire. Incomplete responses were eliminated from the dataset, bringing the sample size down to 260. 98(37.4%) were freshmen, 35(13.4%) were

sophomores, 74(28.2%) were junior students and 55(20.99%) were senior students. The top three majors they studied were International Trade and Commerce (26.5%), Architecture (13.5%) and Economics (13.1%). Students varied in age from 17 to 23, with a mean of 19.6 (SD: 1.42). 83 (31.7%) of the responders were male, while 179 (68.3%) were female. The procedures followed were conducted in compliance with the 2013 revision of the Helsinki Declaration of 1975's ethical criteria.

### *Data collection and instruments*

The current research used a correlational design, and a questionnaire served as the data-gathering method. The QR code of the questionnaire was shown to students at the end of their lessons and those who decided to join the research completed the questionnaire on their smartphones. QR codes, often known as quick response codes, are matrix bar-codes that can direct users to a website or, in this case, the questionnaire page. In China, QR codes are widely used to access internet applications from a mobile device, such as making payments, subscribing, and visiting particular web pages. There were also paper versions of the questionnaire available, while students complete theirs online. Before answering the questionnaire, consent was sought from the students, and they were informed of the purpose of the research.

This research's questionnaire consisted of four parts: demographic information, the *Peer Support Scale*, *Tangney's Self-control Scale*, and the *College Students Academic Burnout Scale*. Age, gender, major, and grade are all included in the demographic information section. For the present research, the original English version of Tangney's Self-control Scale was translated into Chinese. Back translation suggested by Brislin [4] was utilized to improve the accuracy of the text. More precisely, the researcher translated the scale from English to Chinese, then back to English, and then compared all three versions of the scale to determine the equivalence between the original English version and the translated Chinese version. Any inequivalence was resolved prior to data collection.

*Peer Support Scale* (PSS). It was part of the Social Support Scale created by Shuiyuan Xiao [47] and modified by Niya Chen [7]. Since 1986, the scale has been used in several investigations in China and overseas, and its reliability and validity have been proven. The consistency coefficient for the overall score on the two-month retest was 0.92, and the consistency coefficients for the subscales varied from 0.89 to 0.94, suggesting that the questionnaire has a

high degree of retest reliability. PSS is scored on a 4-point scale with 8 questions. The Cronbach's alpha in this research was 0.72.

*Tangney's Self-control Scale* (TSS). Developed by Tangney et al. [43], this scale comprises 36 questions and measures one's level of self-control. Participants rate themselves on a five-point Likert scale, ranging from 1 – Not at all to 5 – Very much. In the present study, Cronbach's alpha was 0.87.

*College Students Academic Burnout Scale* (CS-ABS). The CSABS was developed by Lian, Yang and Wu [22] specifically to evaluate the burnout level of college students in academic settings. This rating scale consists of 20 questions with a five-point Likert scale, ranging from 1 – Strongly disagree to 5 – strongly agree. In the current research, Cronbach's alpha was 0.87.

### *Data analysis*

The data were analysed using SPSS. To guarantee the reliability and validity of data analyses, the answers of two participants were deleted from the data set. Because one person picked the same number throughout the questionnaire, while another finished the questionnaire in less than one minute. After that, the data were examined using a variety of descriptive analyses to determine their central and dispersion tendencies. The Pearson product-moment correlation coefficients between variables were then computed to verify the connections between the independent, mediator, and dependent variables. To further investigate the current study's hypothesis, a mediation analysis was implemented by using Process Procedure for SPSS Release 3.41 by Hayes [17].

## **Research results**

### *Descriptive and correlation analysis*

The descriptive analysis results of means, standard deviations, and zero-order correlations for the study's variables have been summarized in Table 1. Using Pearson product-moment correlation coefficients, the relationships between the three variables were assessed. Peer support was shown to have a positively and statistically significant relationship with

college students' self-control ( $r = 0.27, p < 0.001$ ). Academic burnout and peer support had a significant but negative correlation ( $r = -0.30, p < 0.001$ ).

There was also a significant negative correlation between self-control and academic burnout ( $r = -0.7, p < 0.001$ ).

Table 1 Means, standard deviations, and correlations among study variables

Variable	M	SD	1	2	3
1. PSS	2.83	0.41	1		
2. SCS	3.26	0.50	0.27 ***	1	
3. ABS	2.81	0.50	-0.30 ***	-0.70 ***	1

Note: M = mean; SD = standard deviation; PSS=Peer Support Scale; SCS=Self-control Scale; ABS=Academic Burnout Scale; \*\*\* =  $p < 0.001$

#### Mediation analysis

The PROCESS plugin (Version 3.41) was used to perform the mediation analysis with peer support as the independent variable, academic burnout as the dependent variable, and self-control as the mediation variable (model#4). According to the findings (see Table 2), peer support can negatively predict academic burnout ( $B = -0.36, t = -2.61, p < 0.01$ ), and the prediction becomes more significant when self-control is the mediation variable ( $B = -0.36, t = -14.44, p < 0.001$ ). Moreover, peer support was

found to significantly and positively predict self-control ( $B = 1.45, t = 4.43, p < 0.001$ ).

In addition, bootstrap confidence intervals (95%) for both the direct impact of peer support on academic burnout and the mediating effect of self-control contained no zero between their lower and upper limits (see Table 3). This implies both that peer support can directly predict academic burnout (direct effect =  $-0.36$ ) and that peer support can predict academic burnout indirectly via self-control (indirect effect =  $-0.53$ ) (See Fig.2).

Table 2. – Mediation analysis results for the three variables

Regression Equation		Fitting Indices			Significance		
Outcome Variables	Predictor Variables	R	R <sup>2</sup>	F	b	SE	t
Self-control	Peer support	0.27	0.07	19.67	1.45	0.33	4.43 ***
Academic burnout	Peer support	0.70	0.50	126.75	-0.36	0.14	-2.61 **
	Self-control				-0.36	0.03	-14.44 ***

Note: \*\* =  $p < 0.01$ ; \*\*\* =  $p < 0.001$

Table 3. – Direct effect, indirect effect and completely standardised indirect effect among the variables

	Effect	Boot SE	Boot LLCI	Boot ULCI
Direct effect	-0.36	0.14	-0.63	-0.89
Indirect effect	-0.53	0.13	-0.78	-0.27
Completely standardised indirect effect	-0.18	0.04	-0.26	-0.09

Note: M = mean; SD = standard deviation; PSS=Peer Support Scale; SCS=Self-control Scale; ABS=Academic Burnout Scale; \*\*\* =  $p < 0.001$



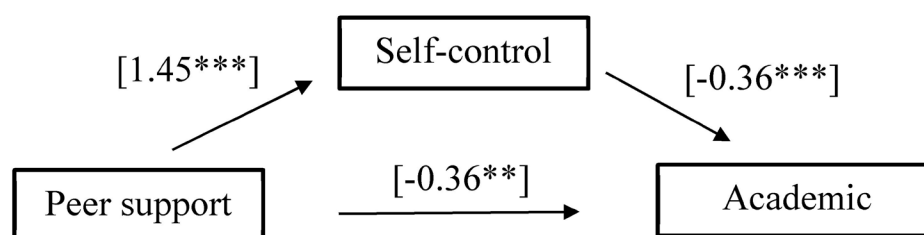


Figure 2. The relationships results in the study

Note: Path values represent the standardized regression coefficients. \*\* =  $p < 0.01$ ; \*\*\* =  $p < 0.001$

## Discussion

The purpose of this study was to get a deeper understanding of the relationship between self-control and academic burnout. The results of this investigation are consistent with the current study's hypothesis and earlier studies (Englert et al. 2017; Kim et al. [20]; Zhang et al. 2019; Zhao & Song [53]). Primarily, these results agree that college students' peer support negatively influences their academic burnout. The results also echo the findings of earlier studies, which indicate that there was a predictive relationship between peer support and academic burnout (Tinto [44]; Bai et al. [1]; Räisänen et al. [32]; Zhao et al. [52]). This research implied that greater support gained from surrounding peers might lead to a reduced degree of burnout feelings on university study. Support could be direct academic guidance such as sharing notes and ideas (Richardson & Skinner [33]), or emotional encouragement such as listening to their problems and cheering them up (Rodriguez et al. [34]).

Secondly, the results of the study indicate that self-control has a direct, negative influence on academic burnout. This finding suggests that college students with more self-control had less academic burnout. A possible explanation for this might be that students with better self-control tend to be more conscientious and hard-working, take more effort in addressing present difficulties, and have a more optimistic view when facing academic pressures (Liu et al. [23]).

Thirdly, the current result suggests that students with greater peer support tend to become more self-controlled in their studies and daily life. This is con-

sistent with Fan [12] which demonstrated that peers always serve as important role models, especially for college students who spent most of their time with friends, therefore, not only resources but also the beliefs and behaviours of peers could influence college students unconsciously. In this way, the capacity for self-control might be increased through getting frequent support from peers with good self-control abilities.

Finally, on the basis of the significant interaction between peer support, self-control and academic burnout, the mediating and buffering effect of self-control can be confirmed. College students are able to develop their self-control abilities after being supported by peers, and then higher self-control brings in a lower degree of burnout in the academic field.

## Implications

Concerning practical implications, the relationships between the three variables reported in this research may help practitioners gain a deeper understanding of the mechanism underlying academic burnout among college students, and thus enable them to assist students in relieving pressures at university. For instance, colleges might increase the number of events aimed at fostering strong peer relationships and promoting mutual support among students. Besides, additional instructions on the development of self-control would be required to prevent academic burnout to a certain degree.

Regarding theoretical implications, this study empirically related self-control to peer support and academic burnout, thus enhancing our understanding of the causes of burnout among college students in academic contexts. It explored the potential mechanism

of how peer support influences academic burnout. Finally, it intensifies the person-environment theory (Edwards, Caplan & Van Harrison [10]) such that the environment enables individuals to improve their ability of self-control and then reduces their likelihood of experiencing burnout when faced with stress.

#### *Limitations and future directions*

There are some limitations. Firstly, a cross-sectional design was used. So, the results do not allow a valid inference of causality. There is a possibility that higher academic burnout may lead to less peer support because peers may not like to engage with someone who is always pessimistic about academics. Secondly, all participants were from a single university, which may have limited the generalisability of the research outcomes. Future researchers might utilise a longitudinal study design to select students from various universities and gather data over a period of

time. In addition, Baumeister et al. [2] defined four fundamental domains of self-control: controlling thoughts, emotions, impulses, and performance. A future study might examine whether an aspect of self-control mediates the relationship between peer support and academic burnout.

#### **Conclusion**

This study explored the relationships between peer support and academic burnout and the buffering role of self-control in between. According to the findings, college students who obtained more support from their peers tended to have a lower degree of academic burnout and a higher level of self-control. Notably, academic burnout was also attributable to self-control indicating that college students' self-control served as a buffer against academic burnout and a bridge linking peer support and academic burnout.

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## Section 6. Political science

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Dai Raymond

### THE RIGHT TO INFORMATION DATA PRIVACY ON THE INTERNET

**Abstract.** This paper examines why individuals lack data privacy on the Internet, and it does so by exploring the ways in which constitutional and statute law fail to provide adequate privacy protections – even when rights to privacy are intended. As the author argues, there are “three main reasons for the scarcity of Internet data privacy: first, the law lacks a sufficient definition of data privacy. Second, existing laws and statutes regarding the right to data privacy have inherent flaws and loopholes. Third, the modern era of web design is inconvenient for users and leads to an unfair engagement of contracts, which in turn, gives users little choice but to expose their data to third parties.

**Keywords:** Right to privacy, Right to data privacy, Information privacy, Consumer privacy, Fourth Amendment, Fourteenth Amendment, *Griswold v. Connecticut*, *Roe v. Wade*, Search and Seizure, *Katz v. United States*, *Olmstead v. United States*, Privacy Act of 1974, Securities and Exchange Commission, Federal Trade Commission, Facebook, Google, Consumer Privacy Bill of Rights, General Data Protection Regulation, California Consumer Privacy Act.

The right to privacy is not specifically enumerated in the United States Constitution as a guaranteed right of the people, as the Bill of Rights and other amendments have done such as with the freedom of speech or the right to bear arms. The closest clause suggesting a right to privacy appears in the Fourth Amendment [37]. The right to privacy is still a fairly novel concept, as its first notable mention only appears in Samuel D. Warren II and Justice Louis Brandeis’s “The Right to Privacy”, a *Harvard Law Review* article published in 1890. In it, Warren and Brandeis advocate for a right to privacy, or more specifically, “the right to be left alone” [30].

In June 2022, the U.S. Supreme Court overturned the constitutionally guaranteed right to abortion care established in its 1973 decision *Roe v.*

*Wade*. In the 2022 decision overturning *Roe*, *Dobbs v. Jackson Women’s Health Organization*, the right to reproductive rights is now decided among the states. However, the right to privacy does not extend only to reproductive rights; questions concerning the right to privacy also pervade the digital world. The internet is still less than thirty years old, as the inception of the World Wide Web by computer scientist Tim Berners-Lee began in 1989. Since then, the internet has seen an unprecedented era in the explosion of both social networking around the world and the sharing of convenient access to information technology. From 2000 to 2016, the World Wide Web has grown from 413 million global users to 3.4 billion [20]. At the same time, these developments have allowed private technology companies and

websites to gather information about individuals either unknowingly or without their consent. As early as 2001, “Web bugs” tracked the sites people visit and send the information to third-party marketing research and advertising companies, which, in turn, are now used on 18 percent of web pages [31]. Another report found that it was possible for websites to make freely available individual voter’s registration records along with their home addresses on the Internet [16].

This paper examines why individuals lack data privacy on the Internet today. It pinpoints three main reasons for the scarcity of Internet data privacy: first, the law lacks a sufficient definition of data privacy. Second, existing laws and statutes regarding the right to data privacy have inherent flaws and loopholes. Third, the modern era of web design is inconvenient for users and leads to an unfair engagement of contracts, which in turn, gives users little choice but to expose their data to third parties.

The lack of a concrete definition of data privacy can lead to loose interpretations of any right to data privacy. In the event of a case challenged in the Supreme Court, one’s right to personal information would likely not fall under Fourth Amendment privacy protections. Instead, as technology continues to develop over time, the Supreme Court would more likely favor security over privacy [32]. This is mainly because of the Fourth Amendment’s particular phrasing—it only forbids “unreasonable searches and seizures.” However, the words “seizure” and “searches” are loosely defined and have been set only by Supreme Court precedents.

The Supreme Court defined “seizure” as the interference “with anyone’s possessory interest in a meaningful way” in the 1984 *United States v. Karo* [42] the Court ruled that the Drug Enforcement Administration (DEA) did not violate the right to one’s possessory privacy when it installed beepers inside cans to monitor and detect ether that was moved around among the respondents’ homes and to commercial storage lockers. A government informant had

told DEA agents that respondents Karo, Horton, and Harley had ordered 50 gallons of ether from them for the use of extracting cocaine from clothing imported into the United States. After executing a warrant to search the house based on information gathered by the beeper, law enforcement seized cocaine and arrested Horton, Harley, Steele, and Roth. While Rhodes contended that a warrant was required to install the beeper in the ether can in the first place and that the warrant for searching Horton, Harley, and Steele’s rented house was tainted by the government’s prior illegal conduct, the Supreme Court argued that because the can containing the beeper conveyed no private information pertaining Karo, it did not substantially interfere with anyone’s possessory interest.

The precedent was further upheld by the Court’s 1987 decision in *Arizona v. Hicks* [3]. After a bullet fired through the floor of an apartment wounded a man below, police searched the apartment for the shooter, victims, and weapons, but also stumbled upon stereo components. The police suspected that the stereo components were stolen and recorded the serial numbers and phoned them to headquarters along with moving some components and a turntable. Subsequently, the police found that the turntable had been taken during an armed robbery and seized it. The Arizona Court of Appeals held that the policeman’s obtaining of the serial numbers had violated the Fourth Amendment because the seizure was unrelated to the shooting incident and did not justify the entry and search. However, the U. S. Supreme Court ruled that copying serial numbers did not constitute a seizure, as recording the numbers did not affect the respondent’s possession of the numbers or stereo equipment. This trend continued in *Bills v. Aseltine* [4], in which the United States Court of Appeals for the Sixth Circuit ruled that taking photographs of a search scene was not a seizure.

Yet, one exception to the trend persists. In the 1967 *Katz v. United States* case [18], FBI agents wiretapped a petitioner’s telephone call and introduced the electronic listening and recording device attached

outside the telephone booth in which Katz had made calls at a trial. Katz was convicted for transmitting wagering information by telephone across state lines, violating U.S. Code 18 Section 1084, which the Court of Appeals upheld and found no Fourth Amendment violation because the FBI did not physically enter the telephone booth. In response, the Supreme Court rejected the ruling, claiming that the government violated the petitioner's right to privacy while using the telephone booth as the Fourth Amendment protects people rather than places and extends to recording oral statements.

As a result of these Supreme Court rulings, it is unlikely that copying a user's computer files containing personal information would ever be protected under a court of law in the United States' highest judicial body because possession of such files containing conversations or credentials would allow for one to control the use of information inside of it while possessing a physical item used to communicate such as a stereo would interfere with one's use of the device. It is possible to search through one's personal records and information without touching computer equipment at all. Thus, defendants may lack standing to challenge illegal searches of private information, as limited by the Supreme Court. Still, because personal data ultimately lies closer to a written document or oral conversation, it could be protected under the Fourth Amendment and its subsequent protections.

The definition of the word "search" in a Fourth Amendment context is even more difficult to define than "seizures." In fact, the Supreme Court has never given a comprehensive definition of what the word means under the Fourth Amendment at all [44]. Instead, before 1967 and *Katz*, cases such as *Olmstead v. United States* [22] pointed towards an area-based definition of "search."

In 1928, government officers secretly wiretapped a telephone line and intercepted a conversation between the accused, who had conspired to violate Prohibition [35]. The use of this evidence in a federal court was deemed not a violation of the Fifth

Amendment right to not self-incriminate, and the Supreme Court also ruled in *Olmstead* that because the tapping connections were made on public streets in a large office building's basement and not on the property of the defendants, there was no violation of the Fourth Amendment.

As mentioned above, *Katz* sharpened an individual's expectation of privacy and focused it on individuals instead of certain areas. Justice John Harlan's concurring opinion has since laid out the standard of a "search" under two conditions: first, that the individual exhibits an expectation of privacy, and second, that the expectation of privacy is deemed reasonable by society [43]. Nevertheless, this standard of privacy remains uncertain and tenuous because the government can defeat it relatively easily. The definition of an expectation of privacy remains unclear and largely under this loose interpretation, and statute laws cannot completely or accurately account for the variety of ways an individual infers privacy. On the other hand, the government can announce its intentions of surveillance in advance and completely subvert these expectations.

Second, a "reasonable" expectation of privacy is just as subjective, as it merely reflects the extent to which a society honors a right to privacy, and the Supreme Court has interpreted this idea as whether or not an individual expects to be undisturbed, as seen in *Rakas v. Illinois* [27]. In *Rakas*, a 1978 decision, police stopped robbers who were leaving the scene of a crime and seized a box of rifle shells and a sawed-off rifle. Prosecutors admitted the items as evidence in an Illinois court to convict the robbery suspects. In this case, the U.S. Supreme Court reasoned that the defendants did not have Fourth Amendment rights because they failed to demonstrate a legitimate expectation of privacy in the car as passengers. However, this reasoning limits the defendants' right to privacy by burdening them with proving their expectation of privacy; instead, the question of reasonableness ought to shift to the methods police use to investigate criminal suspects.



Because of these flaws in the current definition of the right to privacy, there is currently little use in applying the Fourth Amendment in the context of data privacy; individuals would either have the absolute right or none at all. It is also important to understand that the Fourteenth Amendment [36] does not protect data privacy either—the constitutionally protected “zone of privacy” is evident in two spheres: independence in making personal decisions and the independence to avoid disclosing personal matters. Justification of the constitutional right to privacy upheld by the 1965 *Griswold v. Connecticut* [15] case and *Roe v. Wade* [29] using the Fourteenth Amendment only applies to the personal sphere, not the latter; the extent of one’s right to avoid disclosing personal matters has not yet been defined by the Supreme Court [33].

Aside from the vague definition of an expectation of privacy, current legislation has multitudes of inherent flaws, loopholes, and poor implementation, which leads to a failure of upholding the right to information privacy as intended. For example, in *Nixon v. Administrator of General Services* [21], the Supreme Court in 1977 articulated a right to information privacy, yet never developed this concept further. Because of this, there is no authoritative definition of the right to information privacy; the Court leaves the matter up for debate to lower court jurisdictions.

The Privacy Act of 1974 [26] established regulations for the collection and use of records by the federal government, and individuals have the right to access and correct their personal information. This legislation did make a step in controlling government information systems, but it also has crucial shortcomings. One important problem with the act is that it does not apply to the private sector at all, and it does not apply to state or local governments either, only the federal government.

Furthermore, personal information may still be disclosed for a “routine use” exception, if doing so is considered “compatible” with an agency collecting the information’s purpose. This “routine use” excep-

tion effectively serves as a loophole that can be used to completely avoid obliging under the Privacy Act [23]. While the Privacy Act of 1974 also attempted to restrict the use of Social Security Numbers (SSNs), these rules once again did not apply to the private sector. In the present-day world, SSNs are now used as a form of a password for individuals to access personal records at banks, schools, and hospitals.

Weaknesses in the federal regulation of one’s right to privacy only precede the widespread collection of Internet users’ personal information by private technology companies. One of the most straightforward reasons private technology companies can ignore consumer data privacy rights is simply because they illegally collect and share data from users.

In September 2019, Google agreed to pay a \$170 million settlement after the Federal Trade Commission (FTC) and the New York Attorney General filed a complaint that Google’s YouTube video-sharing service illegally collected information from children without consent from their parents [10]. This was a violation of the 1998 Children’s Online Privacy Protection Act (COPPA) [5], which requires that child-directed websites and online services notify users of their information practices and privacy policies prior to collecting personal information for children under 13 years of age with parental consent. Such methods of identifiers include tracking a user’s Internet browsing habits to sell for targeted advertising and third-party advertising networks. YouTube had marketed itself as a top online destination for children yet had not complied with the necessary regulations.

Even though the \$170 million settlement was the largest sum of money gathered by the FTC by a COPPA case, Google’s parent company, Alphabet, earned a profit of \$30.7 billion off of \$136.8 billion in revenue collected from targeted advertising alone in 2018 [28]. Thus, many lawmakers and children’s advocacy groups argue that the repercussions are extremely light for these private technology conglomerates.

One of the most famous incidents of the illegal sharing of data occurred in 2018 when an online leak

found that Facebook, the world's largest social media platform with approximately 3 billion monthly active users [7], had been providing the personal information of over 80 million profiles for the purpose of political advertising without users' consent to Cambridge Analytica, a political consulting company connected to President Donald Trump [38]. For the egregious breach of consumer data privacy rights, Facebook was punished with a \$5 billion penalty by the FTC; while this was the largest regulatory penalty imposed by the United States government on a company, many criticized the fine because it did not impose any meaningful change to the company's structure or financial incentives, leading to no change in the underlying reason for the data scandal in the first place. Instead, some commissioners advocated for litigation against Facebook and Zuckerberg [8]. Years after the incident, Facebook remains a prominent company that still generates billions of dollars in revenue without many concrete restrictions, despite the magnitude of the Cambridge Analytica scandal. Monetary fines in response to consumer privacy data scandals will continue to receive backlash if structural changes are not implemented as well, which the United States government must be responsible for enacting on private technology companies.

In the status quo, there is no expectation of confidentiality or privacy online for Internet users due to the widespread tracking of online activity without permission. Thousands of websites use canvas fingerprinting, allowing them to track users' activity on the Internet without informing them, and the usage of cookies also enables websites to track users' activity and display targeted and invasive advertisements based on identified consumer preferences and can reveal sensitive information about the user. In addition, individuals downloading mobile apps on their phones can grant mobile application companies access to a plethora of cell phone features and data [17].

When private technology companies amass control of such large quantities of personal information, the databases are often subject to breaches or compro-

mises. One of the most notable examples arose in the 2018 Marriott International hacking, in which hackers breached its Starwood reservation system and stole the personal data of up to 500 million of its customers [24]. This breach affected customers who made reservations in subservient Starwood hotel brands from 2014 to 2018, including Sheraton, Westin, W Hotels, St. Regis, Four Points, Aloft, Le Méridien, Tribute, Design Hotels, Element, and the Luxury Collection. While the Residence Inn and Ritz-Carlton hotels operated on a separate reservation system, Marriott International had planned to merge those systems with Starwood, which would have put even more customers at risk of having their personal information exposed had it been done before the instance of the data breach. Stolen personal credentials included names, addresses, phone numbers, birth dates, email addresses, and encrypted credit card details, as well as travel histories and passport numbers for a smaller group of guests. Not only that, but the security breach went unnoticed for four years; it started in 2014 when a security tool alerted officials to an unauthorized attempt to access the guest reservation database, which also led to the discovery of a foothold gathered by hackers in Starwood's systems. Since the data breach, Marriott International has offered one year of free enrollment in Web Watcher, a service in the United States, Canada, and Britain that tracks websites where thieves exchange and sell personal information and alerts users if their information is being sold.

Another significant data breach incident pertains to Equifax, an American credit reporting agency that reported in September 2017 that a data breach exposed the personal information of 147 million people and resulted in the theft of credit card and driver's license info, birth dates, SSNs, and addresses [11]. The company agreed to a \$425 million settlement with the FTC, the Consumer Financial Protection Bureau, and 50 U.S. states and territories to help the victims of the data breach. Equifax has also offered free credit monitoring for those who filed claims for settlement benefits.

Even if only one private technology company unlawfully gathers the data of its customers, that personal information can be and is often compromised in the form of data breaches, which can spread the credentials far and wide across the Internet into the hands of malicious actors without any means of retrieving the data back to its source.

Modern web design practices continue to perpetuate a lack of data privacy among consumers, as all responsibility is left to them to control their own personal information when allowing private technology companies to do what they wish with it is the much more convenient option.

As current laws stand, private technology companies follow the “informed consent” model, a practice used in medical care and human subject research, where consumers encounter privacy notices and privacy policies online as they use the Internet [19]. However, because of the massive explosion in Internet usage since the inception of informed consent in the 1990s, informed consent – which would require consumers to read through privacy policies written in legalese from every single website they visit on the Internet is no longer practical. Because of this, a majority of adult Americans today, or 97 percent polled by the Pew Research Center, have been asked to agree to privacy policies at least once when using the Internet, yet a very small minority of 22 percent of polled adult Americans always or often bother to read the entire fine print and only 13 percent understand what these policies entail [25]. Along with these statistics comes the fact that only 21 percent of polled adult Americans are very or somewhat confident that private companies will publicly admit mistakes and take responsibility if they misuse or compromise users’ personal data, suggesting little public confidence in private companies’ accountability with their personal information.

Systematic changes can be made to remedy many of the issues present with current data privacy practices. The first change pushed by data privacy advocates is the opt-in system, where personalized data collection is allowed only through this system with

transparency and conciseness. Removing unnecessary and long legal text that the average American would never read paves the way for a truly consensual individualized targeting of users by private technology companies or political campaigns [47].

Secondly, providing individuals access to all the data a private company has gathered about them, as well as computational inference, or information on how the company uses the gathered data to extrapolate personal preferences, personal and medical history, political ideologies and more can provide an additional level of transparency for the general public [39].

Third, another method to further empower consumers’ control over their personal information on the Internet is by specifically enumerating the time-frame in which collected data can be used. Limiting data harvesting to an expiration date creates more proper regulation on the duration of time of harvesting an individual’s personal information.

Fourth, the aggregate use of data can be regulated. Even if private technology companies claim that individuals will own their data, there still exists the possibility of convincing people to give away personal information for an aggregate level, such as if a private company were to gather health information on a billion customers, which can still create unforeseen threats to individuals and public harms [41].

Despite claiming to value information privacy as among their key values, social media users are often quick to assume that private technology companies will look after their best interests and thus sign agreements giving away their right to informational privacy. In reality, this is not the case; many companies may end up taking advantage of this lack of knowledge and privacy rights until the event of an incident. As social media users continue to post large volumes of personal information, most simply hope that businesses will make moral decisions and keep their customers informed of changes.

As of now, the presence of monopolies in the technology industry exacerbates the lack of account-



ability in private technology companies. Because Facebook Meta's products are used by billions of consumers worldwide, individuals lack the power to singlehandedly ask Facebook to change its privacy policy practices. Alternatives including Snapchat or a potential new non-profit service provided by Wikimedia and funded by the Corporation for Public Broadcasting do exist [46], but they can be smaller and not as practical to switch to compared to staying with the current service.

Two existing pieces of legislation outline a potential solution to the lack of regulation of data privacy practices by private technology companies: the Obama administration's Consumer Privacy Bill of Rights and the European Union's General Data Protection Regulation. Both texts outline a set of basic rights that consumers have on the Internet with regard to data privacy.

The Consumer Privacy Bill of Rights enumerates seven key protections for consumers: individual control, transparency, respect for context, security, access and accuracy, focused collection, and accountability [40]. The bill requires the FTC to establish a set of rules regarding the collection of personal information in order to increase consumer privacy [6]. Under the Consumer Privacy Bill of Rights, consumers have greater control over their personal information, as private technology companies that gather data must notify individuals of how their personal information is used in an easily understandable and accessible format, obtain express approval to use a consumer's personal information and provide the ability to withdraw that approval. The companies cannot deny service based on a refusal to approve the collection of their personal information nor can they offer price incentives in exchange for approval. The companies must ensure that depersonalized information cannot be restored to make an individual identifiable, and not disclose personal information to a third party under a written contract unless the contract prohibits the third party from using the personal information for any other reason than perform-

ing the contracted service or disclosing the personal information to another third party.

Consumers also have the right to secure and responsible handling of their personal information; they can access, correct in case of inaccuracies, or delete personal data upon request. They also have a reasonable limit on the personal data that companies collect and retain, as well as appropriate measures to ensure that private technology companies will handle personal information while adhering to the Consumer Privacy Bill of Rights. Until the proposal of the Consumer Privacy Bill of Rights, these specific data privacy rights were never enumerated before by laws or statutes in the United States.

In the European Union, the General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR), put into effect on May 25, 2018, is a strict privacy and security law for people in the EU, which levies heavy fines of tens of millions of euros against those that violate its privacy and security standards [45]. The law's foundations are based upon the 1950 European Convention on Human Rights, which states that all people have the "right to respect for his private and family life, his home and his correspondence" [9]. As technology continued to develop, the EU passed the European Data Protection Directive in 1995, which established minimum data privacy and security standards, and each member state based its own implementing law.

Similarly to the Consumer Privacy Bill of Rights, the GDPR outlines seven protection and accountability principles: lawfulness fairness and transparency, purpose limitation, data minimization, accuracy, storage limitation, integrity and confidentiality, and accountability [14]. The processing of personal information must be lawful, fair, and transparent. Data that is processed must be used for the explicitly stated purpose of collection. Only the necessary data that is needed for the specified purposes may be processed. Personal data must be accurate and up to date and may only be stored for as long as necessary for the specified purpose. Processing personal information must ensure security, integrity, and



confidentiality with methods such as encryption. Finally, private technology companies or entities processing personal information must demonstrate compliance with all principles of the GDPR.

Accountability can be achieved in several different manners. A team may designate data protection responsibilities, maintain detailed documentation of the collected data of how it is used, where it is stored, and which employee is responsible for it, train staff and implement technical and organizational security measures, have Data Processing Agreement contracts with third parties to process data, or appoint a Data Protection Officer, to name a few.

Data security is handled by implementing “appropriate technical and organizational measures,” which can include two-factor authentication for accounts with stored personal data and contracting with cloud providers that use end-to-end encryption. Organizational measures may include staff training, a data privacy policy as a part of an employee handbook, and access to personal data limited to only employees who need it. Data breaches must be reported within 72 hours, or private technology companies or entities will face penalties unless technological safeguards such as encryption can render leaked personal information useless to an attacker. Everything done by an organization must consider data protection from the very beginning in designing any new product or activity.

Under the GDPR, processing personal data is legal, but only under a few conditions. These conditions include the individual granting specific and unambiguous consent to processing the data (such as opting into a marketing email list), collecting personal data to enter into a contract, background check, a legal obligation required by a court, performing a task in the public interest, or when there is a “legitimate interest” that is not overridden by an individual’s “fundamental rights and freedoms” [14]. If the situation does not apply to one of the aforementioned conditions, an individual’s personal data should not be collected, stored, or sold to adver-

tisers. Afterward, the instance must be documented, and the individual must be notified for transparency. The same process applies to a change in justification.

Consent from a consumer to process their personal information must be “freely given, specific, informed and unambiguous,” distinguishable in “clear and plain language,” and recorded with documentary evidence of consent [13]. Data subjects can always withdraw previously given consent, in which the decision must be honored, and children under the age of 13 may only give consent with parental permission. Since its passage in 2015, the GDPR has also prompted companies in the United States to embrace more privacy-friendly practices. Amazon has promised to strengthen encryption around its stored data from cloud storage services and give customers the right to choose which region they would like their data to be stored [2].

While the Consumer Privacy Bill of Rights may prove to be more adaptable to evolving technology such as artificial intelligence, which may require aggregate masses of data for machine learning or smart infrastructure than the rigid GDPR, ultimately both the draft and law create strong foundations for a more secure and transparent Internet where users can feel safer and more confident in how their personal information is gathered and processed, if at all.

New data privacy regulations are in the works or being implemented rapidly in the United States. In 2018, the State of California passed the California Consumer Privacy Act (CCPA), which secured new privacy rights for its consumers, including “The right to know about the personal information a business collects about them and how it is used and shared; The right to delete personal information collected from them (with some exceptions); The right to opt-out of the sale of their personal information; and The right to non-discrimination for exercising their CCPA rights” [34]. Businesses are required to disclose the personal information they collect on consumers, including the purposes for which it is to be used, the categories of third parties with whom

the business shares the personal information, and the categories of information that the business sells or discloses to third parties. While there are more exceptions in the CCPA that allow for businesses to retain an individual's personal information, one may still request to have it deleted by the business and for it to tell its service providers to do the same.

With regards to the right to opt-out of sale, consumers may request businesses to stop selling her personal information and cannot do so upon receiving the opt-out request unless authorization allowing them to do so again is provided. There is a 12-month period until businesses can ask to opt back into the sale of personal information. Children under the age of 13 cannot opt-in at all without approval from a parent or guardian.

There are no punishments for exercising one's rights under the CCPA. Businesses cannot deny goods or services, charge different prices, or provide a different level of quality of goods and services. However, refusing to provide personal information to a business or asking to delete or stop selling it may prevent it from completing a transaction if the use of that personal information is necessary for it to provide goods and services. Businesses are allowed to offer promotions, discounts, and deals in exchange for collecting, keeping, or selling personal information, but this is only allowed if the financial incentive is reasonably related to the value of the individual's personal information. Individuals may not be able to

participate in these special deals offered in exchange for personal information if they ask a business to delete or stop selling their personal information.

The right to privacy, as Mark Alfino and Randolph Mayes of the Florida State University Department of Philosophy explain, is a fundamental moral right that must be upheld in order to uphold personal autonomy and liberty [1]. With respect to informational privacy and the "right to be left alone," there are currently many barriers preventing individuals from accessing this right in the online sphere, as private technology companies continue to routinely abuse the lack of regulations of data privacy to profit by selling personal information for targeted advertising or other third parties. While some individuals may be willing to share their personal information with private technology companies, it is crucial that they are fully aware of the implications and precise details of what they are sharing, and these companies must take on the role of a "fiduciary," or prioritizing a client's interests over its own. There are already steps being taken to secure this right for individuals as seen by the Consumer Privacy Bill of Rights, GDPR, and CCPA, but it is important to understand how we arrived at this situation in the first place. Only when legislation supported by the highest levels of the judicial system is passed, is void of loopholes and shortcomings, and holds private technology companies or entities accountable for their actions can people finally begin to take back control of their right to information privacy.

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## Section 7. Psychology

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*Zhusupov Marat Muskenovich,  
candidate of military sciences, PhD,  
professor at the National Defense University them  
First President of the Republic of Kazakhstan – Elbasy, Nur-Sultan*

*Trubnikov Viktor Petrovich,  
PhD doctoral student of the Kazakh National University  
them. al-Farabi, Republic of Kazakhstan, Almaty*

### CONSTELLATION OF PREVENTIVE MEASURES TO PREVENT PTSD

**Abstract.** The article briefly discusses the constellation of preventive measures to prevent PTSD, in the form of acquiring the skills of effective coping – strategies that impoverish emotional, cognitive and behavioral components. The relevance of effectively-tested means to reduce the impact of medical and psychological consequences on human health is differentiated by occupational risk groups and quality of life. In addition to negative consequences, positive variations in eustress were noted, often expressed in post-traumatic personal and career growth.

**Keywords:** PTSD, soldier, coping, aggression, depressive triad, eustress, post-traumatic growth.

*Жусупов Марат Мускенович,  
кандидат военных наук, доктор PhD,  
профессор Национального университета обороны  
им. Первого Президента Республики Казахстан – Елбасы, г. Нур-Султан*

*Трубников Виктор Петрович,  
PhD докторант Казахского национального университета  
им. аль-Фараби, Республика Казахстан, г. Алматы*

### КОНСТЕЛЛЯЦИЯ ПРОФИЛАКТИЧЕСКИХ МЕР ПРЕДУПРЕЖДЕНИЯ ПТСР

**Аннотация.** В статье кратко рассматривается констелляция профилактических мер предупреждения ПТСР, в виде приобретения навыков действенных coping – стратегий, обедняющих в себе эмоциональные, когнитивные и поведенческие компоненты. Актуальность эффективно-апробированных средств снижения влияния медико-психологических последствий на здоровье

человека дифференцируется по группам профессионального риска и качестве жизни. Кроме негативных последствий отмечены положительные вариации эустресса, зачастую выраженные в посттравматическом личностно-карьерном росте.

**Ключевые слова:** ПТСР, военнослужащий, coping, агрессия, депрессивная триада, эустресс, посттравматический рост.

Посттравматическое стрессовое расстройство (далее – ПТСР), при негативном развитии весьма тяжелое расстройство здоровья, которое может развиваться у человека, пережившего неординарно-экстремальные события. Негативные проявления пролонгированных последствий ПТСР отражаются не только на самом пострадавшем, но и на ближайшем его окружении как дома, так и на работе (службе). Когнитивно-поведенческие отклонения могут выражаться в виде панических атак, нетривиально-суицидального поведения, физиолого-психологических аддикций, неконтролируемой агрессии или полного ухода в себя в сопровождении депрессивной триады.

В этой связи профилактические меры предупреждения ПТСР необходимы практически всем, но особенно военнослужащим.

В этой связи интересны исследования Э. Бивора который в своё время отметил, что после Великой Отечественной войны (далее – ВОВ) военнослужащие более цивилизованных, по его мнению, армий Англии, Канады и США были более подвержены «боевой усталости», чем солдаты вермахта или СССР не без основания предположив, что именно нацистская пропаганда и суровые условия жизни сталинской эпохи способствовали обретению навыков стрессоустойчивости [1].

Современный термин «стрессоустойчивость» прочно вошёл в повседневный обиход. Руководители самых разных структур единодушны во мнении, что «качества» претендента определяется не только образованием, но и его психолого-социальной адаптацией к любой ситуации. В этой связи изучению coping-поведения, по принципу «Владеешь собой – владеешь миром», посвяще-

но большое количество исследований на самые разные темы. Например, авторы в своих статьях: «Теория «Денежного copingа...» и «Использование религиозных ценностей экстремистскими организациями», рассмотрели разные вариации применения copingа в действии [2; 3].

Далее для ясности уточним термины. Стрессоустойчивость – «Это набор личностных черт, определяющих устойчивость к различным видам стресса, состоящим из трёх связанных между собой компонентов: 1) ощущения важности своего существования; 2) чувство независимости и способности влиять на собственную жизнь; 3) открытость и интерес к изменениям, и отношение к ним не как к угрозе, а как к возможности развития» [4].

Термин coping (от англ. «cope» – совладать), непосредственно введенный в психологию Х. Хартманом – это динамичное взаимодействие человека с ситуацией, связанное с эмоциональными, когнитивными и поведенческими реакциями индивидуума, направленными на защиту, адаптацию, устранение внешних или внутренних противоречий, являющимися стрессовыми факторами для организма и рассматриваемые как транзакция между людьми и окружающей средой. Защитные эго-автономные механизмы человека возникают сами по себе формируясь в результате конфликтов разных фаз детства и могут быть полезны для разрешения проблем, возникающих позже, что способствует адаптации человека к внешнему миру и в этой связи именно его «эго» считается органом психической адаптации [5].

Далее термин «coping» был использован Л. Мэрфи при исследовании способов преодоления детьми кризисов развития, а закрепил его

окончательно в научной литературе по психологии А. Маслоу [6].

Р. Лазарус и С. Фолькман считают, что именно индивидуум даёт свою субъективную оценку возникшей ситуации – является она для него стрессом или нет, а сам *coping* – это поведение человека при преодолении психологического стресса в процессе совладания с ним. *Coping*-стили совладающего поведения это динамичный, постоянно изменяющийся процесс, не терпящий шаблона, указывающий **на взаимосвязь и взаимовлияние личности и среды**. Р. Лазарус и С. Фолькман, определили их как сумму когнитивных и поведенческих усилий, затрачиваемых индивидуумом для ослабления влияния стресса, предполагающего все виды взаимодействия субъекта с задачами внешнего или внутреннего характера, выраженных в попытках овладеть или смягчить, привыкнуть или уклониться от требований, предъявляемой проблемной ситуацией. Динамический процесс *coping*а зависит от когнитивной оценки стрессора индивидуумом, специфики возникшей ситуации и фазы непосредственного столкновения со стрессовым фактором как таковым. В своих работах эти исследователи выделили *два глобальных стиля совладающего (coping) поведения*: 1) проблемно-ориентированное совладание, связанное с разрешением возникшей стрессовой ситуации, зависящее от когнитивной оценки; 2) эмоционально-ориентированное совладание, которое «преобладает в том случае, когда когнитивная оценка говорит о том, что ничего невозможно поделать и в этой связи необходимо изменить лишь «способ интерпретации случившегося».

По мнению Р. Лазаруса и С. Фолькман, во всех случаях происходит «развивающийся динамический процесс когнитивной оценки, переоценки, совладания и эмоциональной переработки ситуации». Когнитивные оценки делятся на первичный и вторичный уровни. Первичная когнитивная оценка является ответом на вопрос «*Извлеку ли я из этого пользу или же окажусь в какой-либо*

*неприятной ситуации сейчас или в будущем?*». Вторичная когнитивная оценка ищет ответ на вопрос – «*Возможно ли в этой ситуации что-либо предпринять?*». Кроме того, три вида первичной когнитивной оценки содержат в себе: 1) стрессовая – восприятие в виде угрозы, вреда, вызова; 2) безразличие – восприятие стрессора в качестве безразличного фактора; 3) позитивная – взаимодействие со стрессором оценивается как слегка позитивное, что относится к эмоционально-ориентированному совладанию, помогающему изменить «*способ интерпретации случившегося*» в случае, когда саму ситуацию изменить нельзя. Первичная когнитивная оценка даёт субъективную оценку характеру столкновения с различными факторами. Вторичная когнитивная оценка определяет выбор стратегии совладающего поведения и предположительный исход ситуации [7].

Дж. Фланери, Н. Агазаде, Д. Максвелл, С.М. Флетчер, Шато де Босси и другие под эффективными *coping*-стратегиями совладающего поведения объединяют комплекс определенных навыков, используемых для контроля и управления любыми сложными обстоятельствами, а также приведение в действие социальной сущности человека, осознано направляемой на действительное оказание помощи другим. Эти авторы неоднозначно считают, что одной из основных проблем, напрямую связанных с психическим здоровьем человека во время кризиса и чрезвычайных ситуаций, становится *способность людей обратиться к своим психосоциальным потребностям*, предоставляющим реальную возможность конструктивно применить *coping*-стратегии для преодоления внутренних и внешних трудностей. По их мнению – применение в действии принципа помощи другим людям отодвигает стресс отдельного индивидуума в сторону, тем самым активно защищая его эмоциональную сферу и душевное здоровье [8; 9; 10; 11; 12].

Данные выводы полностью подтверждаются практическими исследованиями, проведенными



в концлагере в качестве заключенного во время ВОВ доктором Виктором Франклом, автора логотерапии (исцеления смыслом), весьма перспективного направления в психотерапии и экзистенциальной психологии. В понимании этого специалиста – основные характеристики человека это, прежде всего *его духовность, ответственность и свобода*. Проявление бездуховности, по его мнению, происходит именно при потере человеком смысла существования, т.к. только в человеке (в отличие от животного) можно увидеть не только стремление к удовольствию или власти, но и стремление к поиску смысла жизни [13; 14; 15].

Некоторые люди для избавления от ПТСР, обращаются к таким деструктивным привычкам как курение, алкоголь, наркотики, транквилизаторы, нейролептики и иным седативным средствам, которые отравляют организм, существенно снижая его естественную сопротивляемость путем выключения психологических механизмов регуляции функционального состояния и поведения субъекта. Именно все эти привычки больше всего отражаются на близких жертвы ПТСР [16].

Однако необходимо отметить и положительные стороны ПТСР. Ричард Г. Тедески и Лоуренс Г. Калхун исследовали ПТСР не только с точки зрения сугубо негативных последствий, но и по-

ложительной динамики в виде эустресса – глобальной переоценки ценностей и приоритетов, выражающиеся в явном обогащении духовной и экзистенциальной жизни, а также личностного и карьерного роста. По их мнению, важную роль во всем этом играют индивидуальные характеристики, а также поддержка и когнитивная обработка, которые сводят на нет события, причинившие травму [17].

Конstellация профилактических мер предупреждения ПТСР состоит из нескольких компонентов и в заключение можно прийти к выводу, что:

1) эмоциональные, когнитивные и поведенческие coping – стратегии человека социальной направленности т.е. реальное оказание помощи другим пострадавшим, сохраняют не только его здоровье во всех смыслах этого слова, но и прививают индивидууму стрессоустойчивость, а также динамичные навыки стратегий реального управления возникшей ситуацией;

2) посттравматический рост – это переживание позитивных изменений, которые происходят с человеком в результате борьбы с очень сложными жизненными ситуациями и проявляющиеся как в повышении оценки самой жизни, так и межличностных отношений, а также реального роста чувств собственной значимости и силы.

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## Section 8. Sociology

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*Shan Jason,  
Hotchkiss School, CT, US*

### CHINA'S VACCINE DIPLOMACY

**Abstract.** This research examines the difference in rolling out COVID vaccines in China and the United States amid increased political tension. Additionally, considered is the impact of these nations' actions on Latin American countries; for example, This research takes a closer look at the social and economic impacts in these countries as well as the manner and motivations in which China and the United States offered to help other nations during the pandemic. Examples include Venezuela, El Salvador, Paraguay, Brazil, Ecuador, and Honduras. Specifically, China used strategic diplomacy, and the United States disregarded regions it did not value. On the other hand, China seemed to have quicker responses and succeeded in filling empty power vacuums. Furthermore, has the success of these nations' vaccine policies changed the global power distribution? As a result, China was able to benefit from deteriorating international relationships. Additionally, China flexed its influence to leverage diplomacy over the countries as the United States struggled with execution. Has the pandemic revealed a global power shift or the strengths and weaknesses of dominant nations?

**Keywords:** Covid, China, Vaccine, Distribution, Diplomacy, United States, Political Tension, Global Power.

Following the U.S.-China Trade war, the competitive and arguably antagonistic relationship between the two states is becoming increasingly clear both economically and politically. As the world's largest economies and countries of considerable global influence, the U.S. and China have entered an age of rivalry far past economic competition. Enter the pandemic: ravaging communities, decimating economies, and ultimately changing the world as we know it. The COVID-19 pandemic has negatively impacted every country in the world. Almost two years after the initial discovery of the virus, this global health epidemic's lasting effects are observable today. The pandemic results have been particularly harsh in developed nations, where the intercon-

nectedness of their modern societies has allowed for a more intense virus spread. However, developed nations progress past COVID-related issues with preventative medicine more readily available to the public, as the spotlight on COVID prevention shifts toward developing nations with the resources and technologies necessary to combat the pandemic in countries that are still in need of vaccines. Unfortunately, high-income countries have been faulted for gatekeeping lifesaving medication and supplies, "instead of facing up to their international obligations by waiving intellectual property rules for vaccines, tests and treatments, and sharing lifesaving technology, G-7 leaders have opted for more of the same paltry half-measures" [8]. Even months before the

first COVID vaccines were approved, wealthy nations like the U.S. had secured billions of doses. At the same time, developing countries were ultimately left with insufficient supplies [13]. Furthermore, the drastic need for vaccines in the modern world has paved the way for a new field of international politics: Vaccine Diplomacy. As defined as the ability to “project influence through donations or loans of their home-grown vaccines and the inking of vaccine purchase agreements with countries who have less access to vaccines”, vaccine diplomacy brings countries who donate vaccines “prestige, goodwill, perhaps a degree of indebtedness” [13; 7].

COVID: background:

China's extensive use of vaccine diplomacy aims to decrease American influence and reshuffle regional power in Latin America. China's strategy in Latin America is twofold: first, by using cheap vaccines to win over low to middle-income American allies, and second, to use the vaccine to strengthen bonds with existing Chinese partners.

Since Trump's presidency, America's relationship with China has become much more confrontational, as evidenced by the trade war and Trump's administration's blatant disapproval of China's human rights affairs in Xinjiang and Hong Kong. The U.S.'s complaints about China don't end there, as America has become increasingly concerned with China's rapid economic and military growth, illiberal approach to human rights, and growing authoritarianism. In addition, the U.S. voiced its opposition to various Chinese activities, including their involvement in Taiwan and Hong Kong, their theft of American intellectual property, militarizing the South China Sea, and more. Above all, the U.S. believes it is necessary to curb Chinese growth to preserve the liberal world order that it has established internationally, concerned that it might create a new world order that better supports authoritarian regimes. Alternatively, China pits the imbalance between the two countries with the U.S.'s active involvement in hindering Chinese growth and development, believing that the U.S. is attempting to

contain and limit China's power in the Indo-Pacific region because it is afraid of Chinese influence. China views the U.S., while still a powerful international player in the status quo, as a declining power at the beginning stages of an inevitable fall. Furthermore, the two countries also define the nature of the relationship differently. The U.S. characterizes the relationship as one of great power rivalry, concentrating on confrontation and competition rather than cooperation and trust. China, on the other hand, has openly expressed frustration about this characterization, as they prefer to define the relationship as “a peaceful coexistence guided by shared principles, consensus, and possible cooperation.” The two contrasting viewpoints have made progress and agreement undoubtedly tricky, as both sides continue to push for international dominance and influence.

The increase of Chinese influence in Latin America in correlation with China's vaccine diplomacy demonstrates this new wave of global power. China's engagement with Latin America began in the early 2000s with an economic interest in Latin America's vast market of raw materials and natural resources needed to fulfill China's intense growth [2]. In turn, China helped spur rising economies in Latin America by expanding their markets to sustain more commodities and goods. Yet China has not fully explored its economic and diplomatic possibilities with Latin American countries because the region is still referred to traditionally as the U.S.'s sphere of influence. Nevertheless, because of NAFTA, China remains the region's biggest trading partner, except for Mexico. The U.S., for the most part, has made little to no restrictions on economic activity between China and Latin despite their quickly progressing relationship. This inactivity is because they see economic growth for Latin American countries as a net good both for the U.S. and the respective countries [2]. However, the U.S.'s lack of political strategy to counter the growing Chinese presence in Latin America represents a fraction of the U.S.'s overall lack of definitive policy in Latin America in general.



The U.S.'s inattention to their close neighbors has led to a consensus in Latin American countries of the U.S.'s benign neglect of Latin America, or "its prioritizing other regions of the world less tangentially related to its security and prosperity." China is actively taking "advantage of existing Latin American resentment towards the U.S. after a long history of asymmetric relations and exploitation" to wedge its way into stronger ties with countries in Latin America, hoping to ultimately establish stable economic relationships that will guarantee them long term access to the region's resources and markets [12].

To the credit of the U.S., China faces numerous benefits as a country geographically connected to Latin America, allowing it to deploy such ambitious diplomacy. For example, while the U.S. is subjected to innumerable issues like illegal immigration, drug trafficking, and corruption networks that stem from its close geographic location, China can more freely explore economic pursuits and interests in the region without simultaneously dealing with such matters. In Latin America, "China has sought a region that is more developed than Africa, less institutionalized than Europe, bountiful in natural resources, and naturally consumer-driven" [2]. Similarly, China's best strength is its ability to facilitate ties with Latin America is its "ideological agnosticism." China is willing to work with any country regardless of its political affiliation and beliefs, as shown in the 300 meetings China's International Liaison Department held with seventy-four different political parties in twenty-six other countries in Latin America [2]. Comparatively, the U.S. is strong with its intent to "spread democracy," is a lot more selective in who it decides to partner with, commonly prioritizing other democracies.

Playing an integral role in this new vaccine frontier is China, which has been on a "reputational rollercoaster" since the initial discovery of the Coronavirus in Wuhan [13]. China has been at the center of a multitude of accusations, including intentionally manufacturing the virus to gain a geopolitical advantage by weakening its competitors, or on blast for not

handling the spread of the virus adequately and consequently being at fault for letting it spread into other countries. While most of these allegations have either been proved wrong or remain speculation, China has received widespread criticism and extensive sympathy from the international community. Given the mixed attitudes, China has since then been trying to revive its reputation by attempting to "turn its health crisis into a geopolitical opportunity," with the distribution of vaccines, masks, and Covid tests being the cornerstone of this strategy [13]. In fact, China has already delivered nearly 1.1 billion vaccines to more than 100 countries scattered around the world, aiming to provide 2 billion vaccines by the end of the year [21; 8]. Comparatively, the U.S. has only donated 140 million vaccines to 93 different countries, with the majority of those vaccines, or 50% being donated in July [21]. This stark difference between the number of doses donated by the U.S. and China exists for a variety of reasons, including vaccine nationalism and clashing values in vaccine distribution. When China was able to rapidly pump out its vaccines and export them to countries in need, its control of the virus domestically was far better than that of the U.S., allowing China to utilize a more significant portion of its vaccines for alternative purposes. For example, in March of 2021, China was producing 33% of the world's supply of vaccines while exporting 62% of that to other countries [13]. The greater need for American vaccines in America created a sense of vaccine nationalism in the U.S., where the U.S. government found it more necessary to supply Americans with vaccines before those in other countries. Secondly, the approaches to vaccine distribution vary between the two countries. The U.S. claims to take a more humanitarian approach to vaccine donation. President Biden has pledged to provide vaccines to countries with the most considerable need, asserting that America's "vaccine donations don't include pressure for favors or potential concessions. We're doing this to save lives, to end this pandemic. That's it. Period" [20]. The U.S. accomplishes this by giving vaccines through COVAX, a global initiative that aims to provide more equitable access

to vaccines internationally established by the GAVI vaccine alliance, the World Health Organization, and the Coalition of Epidemic Preparedness Innovations. Conversely, while China has tried to frame its vaccine donation program in the same light, the country has had the intentions behind its program repeatedly questioned for having ulterior motives. Such an accusation is not hard to see as China isn't even "donating" its vaccines, with only 1.31% (8.6 million doses) of the 656 million doses going to countries free of charge. The other 647.4 million were all purchases made by governments [14]. Furthermore, China is selectively choosing which countries it wants to give vaccines to, as only 10 million of China's donation doses went through COVAX, as compared to the 560 out of 580 million doses of vaccines that the U.S donated through COVAX [20]. Thus, it is hard to argue that China is not intentionally picking countries to give vaccines to base on political strategy and economic gain. There is some evidence that China has explicitly tied its vaccine donations to Chinese interests, as its provision of aid is often paired with national ceremonies thanking the Chinese government and public messages in favor of putting China in a positive light [14].

Additionally, China was able to accomplish these milestones despite having vaccines that are far less effective than the vaccine created in the U.S. China's leading Covid vaccine manufacturers, Sinopharm and Sinovac's vaccines only have an effectiveness rate of 79% and 51%, respectively [8]. Yet in many countries around the world, not only are Chinese vaccines more accessible, but they are also preferred more than American vaccines. This preference is because Chinese vaccines are practical and more economically feasible for lower- and middle-income countries. For example, China sold Indonesia its Sinopharm vaccine at 13.60 dollars per dose. In comparison, it would have cost Indonesia around 15 to 20 dollars per dose for Pfizer or Moderna vaccines [20]. In addition, storing and transporting Chinese vaccines is more accessible, as mRNA vaccines like Pfizer and Moderna need to be stored in a -70 to -10 degree environ-

ment, which is difficult for a resource deprived low-income countries. In contrast, China's Sinovac only needs to be kept in a two to 8-degree environment [20]. Unfortunately, many countries' preference for Chinese vaccines stems from a lack of willingness from Western countries to supply vaccines. While China's vaccine diplomacy model focuses more on the middle to low-income countries that generally do not have the resources to source their vaccines as easily as high-income countries, Western countries like the U.S have been far more prone to vaccine nationalism and thus giving low-income countries little to no other options than China's vaccines that are accepted as they are "better" than nothing.

While China has been able to not only maximize but also take advantage of this model of vaccine diplomacy, the U.S has massively lost out on this opportunity to boost American influence and strengthens further. It is the "vaccine vacuum – a perceived failure of Western states to help in the provision of vaccines," that has allowed China to capitalize on the immense need that countries were facing amid the pandemic [5]. By reverting the initial belief of China's mishandling of the Covid outbreak to "a reliable friend of lower- and middle-income countries in their time of need", China has made a substantial difference in rebuilding China's reputation of being a global superpower while simultaneously restoring confidence in a Chinese partnership [24]. Jason Marczak writes that "from a public relations standpoint, China has sought to shift the narrative from China being at the center of the Covid problem to China being at the center of the Covid solution" [4]. China's vaccine diplomacy is just one example of a grand scheme of the country utilizing soft power. Defined by Harvard professor Joseph Nye as the "ability to affect others to obtain the outcomes one wants through attraction and persuasion rather than coercion or payment," to increase Chinese influence internationally [17]. Chinese efforts to bolster their reputation and image through consistent diplomacy and aid follows a specific agenda of pushing back on and balancing America's international dominance

and power. In the past decades, China has been seen to be more cognizant and responsive to the changing dynamics of the international community, not only striving to become a more active player in the international environment but also countering and challenging America's position in the global hegemon [26].

China's vaccine diplomacy campaign in Latin America was early and ambitious, starting even before the initial development of an actual vaccine. China's foreign ministry began to advertise its vaccine diplomacy campaign to various leaders in the region, going as far as to offer a billion dollar loan to the area for the sole purpose of buying the Chinese vaccine when it was available [2]. China delivered its first vaccine in March of 2021, as compared to the U.S., who sent their first donation in June of the same year. During this time, China continued selling vaccines to Venezuela in March, El Salvador in April, and then Ecuador in 2021 [22]. Moreover, China's diplomacy was not exclusive to vaccines, as its donations of ventilators, masks, and other medical equipment and supplies played an essential role in Latin America's pandemic response [22]. Furthermore, China's vaccine campaign doesn't stop at distributing one-off shots as the country has even gone to establish vaccine production facilities around the world, a strategy that Demarais bets that "will boost their presence on the ground for decades to come" [5]. Even though the U.S. has doubled down in its international vaccine distribution, raising a four billion dollar commitment to COVAX (more than any other country), the slow response in the U.S. took to help Latin America at a time when Latin America, making up five percent of the world population but 25 percent of the world's total cases, was in extreme need of COVID relief led many to question whether it would give the U.S. a permanent lousy image [10]. However, the U.S.'s lack of engagement during times of COVID is just a fraction of the bigger picture of neglect. Washington is increasingly starting to exploit and prioritize relationships with foreign countries in more distant regions rather than prioritizing its ties with Latin American countries that are right next to

the U.S. [10]. However, Latin American countries are not oblivious to the U.S.'s disregard for the region. They are very much aware of it. When India requested help from the U.S. for resources necessary to make vaccines, the U.S. responded quickly, lifting its export ban of such materials, an action that it did not do in Latin America despite the relatively equal need. "Brazil lacks the same strategic importance", said Rubens Ricupero, Brazil's former ambassador to the U.S. [19]. Carlos Alberto Madero, the chief cabinet coordinator from Honduras, best summarizes this increasing frustration amongst Latin Americans: "The Honduran people... see that China is helping its allies and we start to ask ourselves why ours are not helping us" [10]. Paraguay's Minister of Foreign Relations shares the same sentiment, expressing that Latin America is waiting for the U.S. to demonstrate "proof of their love" [2]. Contrasting the previous messages to one that Venezuelan Vice President Delcy Rodríguez gave on a television broadcast in appreciation of China, saying, "from Venezuela's soul, we want to thank the People's Republic of China and President Xi Jinping for this generosity", it is clear that China, directly because of its vaccine diplomacy, is increasingly gaining a larger presence in the region, in place of the U.S., that allows China to "project itself as Latin America's most trusted ally in times of hardship, when other powers failed to respond" [2].

Furthermore, Latin America's growing positive attitude towards China is starting to manifest in the material benefits to China. For example, in March, several countries, including the United States and its allies, came together to accuse China's atrocious human rights record in status quo, particularly highlighting its genocide in Xinjiang of Uyghur Muslims. Accordingly, they worked to sanction China economically until China showed the initiative to enact change. However, amidst the collaboration to pressure China to recognize its human rights abuses, President Iván Duque Márquez of Colombia came out to not only ignore such efforts but praise China's human rights record to the United Nations at a time when Colombia had imported 75% of its vaccines from China [9].



China has undoubtedly already started using this newfound influence in Latin America for its benefit. While China has distributed to a long list of countries in Latin America, many countries, namely Honduras and Paraguay, were intentionally left out of this list. What is uniquely different between these two countries? Their diplomatic ties with Taiwan. Whereas China sees Taiwan as a part of China, Taiwan recognizes itself as an independent country separate from China. In an attempt to politically isolate Taiwan, China is trying to use vaccine diplomacy to weaken the state economically and politically. Consequently, Honduras has not received any offer to be provided with vaccine doses because they supported Taiwan. In the words of Jason Marczak, the Latin American Center at the Atlantic Council, “China has used this moment to flex its muscles” [4]. By picking and choosing which countries will receive much-needed vaccines, China can force countries to follow in its interests for potentially life-saving medication. Honduras reported talks in which China explicitly promised Honduras access to Chinese vaccines in return for cutting diplomatic ties with Taiwan. Recognizing the immense importance of obtaining vaccines, discussions in the Honduran government have already occurred debating whether the relationships between Honduras and Taiwan outweigh the benefits of a relationship between Honduras and China [19]. Facing a similar situation, the Paraguay government is actually under pressure from citizens to reevaluate their ties with Taiwan and potentially recognize China [3]. In both cases, China has been able to use their vaccine diplomacy to leverage Chinese interests on other states. Just for the possibility of Chinese medical aid, these senators in Paraguay were willing to overlook nearly seventy years of partnership with Taiwan [2].

Moreover, China has used vaccines to uphold its economic interests in Latin America. Specifically, this can be seen in Brazil’s change in policy about Chinese telecommunications giant Huawei. Despite Huawei having operated in China for more than twenty years, the majority of the networks that it provided to Bra-

zil’s telecommunications companies were 3G and 4G. When Huawei presented the possibility of establishing 5G networks in Brazil, backlash began to unfold for two reasons: firstly, allowing such networks to exist in Brazil further widens the digital divide that exists in Brazil, a country where 20 million households still lack access to the internet; secondly, then-President Trump argued that more significant Huawei presence in Brazil creates a more extensive security threat that could potentially enable Chinese espionage in the Western Hemisphere [2; 18]. In fact, the Trump Administration pushed so hard for displacing Huawei out of allied countries that it “threatened to sever the access of any ally that allowed Huawei to operate within their borders to all American intelligence”, and went as far as to directly asking sixty one countries to ban Huawei all together [18]. Thus through the U.S.’s use of explicit threats, Brazil was kept in line with American interests until late February of 2021, when Brazil’s Ministry of Communications publicly announced their approval of Huawei’s initiation of 5G network construction. What changed? The pandemic. As Brazilian cases and deaths started to surge, Brazil’s government began to get desperate, looking for any way to mitigate the spread of the virus [2]. Brazil’s Communications Minister Fábio Faria was sent to China in early February to participate in talks and “advantage of the trip to ask for vaccines”. Ultimately agreeing, China promised Brazil 100 million doses of vaccines two weeks later [2]. While the specific connection between China sending vaccines and Brazil changing its stance is not explicitly defined, the New York Times’ journalists Ernesto Londoño and Leticia Casado agrees that “the timing is striking,” representing “a part of a stark change in Brazil’s stance toward China” [15].

Perhaps China’s most significant material win from its vaccine diplomacy initiatives was the commercial expansion many Chinese companies took advantage of throughout the pandemic. For the many Chinese companies involved in China’s international operations amid the pandemic, it was also an opportunity



for them to “showcase their capabilities to foreign audiences or demonstrate their commitment to the countries and communities where they work” [16].

For Latin American countries like Argentina and Brazil, China’s interest in donating vaccines was synonymous with an interest in closer economic ties. Particularly in Argentina, where China-Argentina ties politically and economically were on the rise, Argentina has been a primary recipient of vaccine donations and economic engagement. Such projects have included “China Machinery Engineering Corporation’s investment in a train car production facility in Santa Fe, Argentina; the approval of Phases 4 and 5 of its Cauchari Solar project; and talk of a China-financed gas pipeline running from the Vaca Muerta shale field in Argentina to Brazil” [16]. Likewise, heavy commercial interest in Brazil has also landed the notable country aid from Chinese companies for covid relief. From large-scale Chinese corporations such as the Industrial and Commercial Bank of China to smaller but significant \*business\* players in Brazil such as electronic appliance supplier Gree Electric and travel database Trip.com, Brazil has been the recipient of donations amid the pandemic [16]. In emphasizing their commitment to both the Brazilian markets and communities at a time of such economic struggle, Chinese companies are taking advantage of this moment to strengthen its relationship with the country in hopes of securing future markets and economic expansion. Particularly notable when Chinese-Brazilian relations are not the strongest, given Brazilian President Jair Bolsonaro’s relationship with Xi Jinping, China is reasserting its strong economic ties with the country as a foundation for more cooperative future political development. In some cases, this rhetoric is explicitly shown by donation boxes that read “[w]e stay together through storms and tensions” about China’s willingness to be there for Brazil during times of extreme need despite the two countries’ strained relations [16].

Perhaps most prominently, China’s vaccine diplomacy has also “amounted to something of an international debut for China’s pharmaceutical compa-

nies” [16]. The pandemic presented the opportunity for unprecedented collaboration between China and Latin American countries under the common objective of fighting Covid-19 infections. Examples of collaborative research and development included trials and analysis of the vaccine between China and Argentinean organization Fundación Huésped and Brazilian organization the Butantan Institute [16]. Several treatments, including the Interferon Alfa-2B, developed by a joint project between Cuban and Chinese scientists, demonstrate the growing relationships between Chinese industry and that of Latin American countries [16]. Given the extensive use of Chinese vaccines in respective regions, Chinese manufacturers have gained widespread recognition that will be beneficial for Chinese biomedical and pharmaceutical industries for decades to come.

However, the vaccine race in Latin America has not been a total loss for the United States, most namely seen in Central America, where the U.S has vastly outpaced China in the present when it comes to providing shots. Perhaps because of its extensive relationship with Central America (often referred to as the U.S’s southern border), the U.S was quick to announce its plans to support the region, pledging more than 310 million dollars in humanitarian aid to El Salvador, Guatemala, and Honduras [1]. In terms of vaccines, total U.S donations to Central America (inclusive of those that were donated through COVAX) came to almost 16.8 million doses, compared to China’s 1.75 million doses [1]. With that said, China was much more selective of the countries to which it was donating to, which was namely its ally El Salvador, the recipient of 1.5 million Sinovac vaccines to which it sold to El Salvador [1].

Despite numbers supporting America’s more significant effort to come to the aid of Central American countries during times of crisis, the entire story reads differently. Even though U.S vaccine donations to central America have been more significant, they have been geo-strategically less competitive than those made by China, thus allowing Chinese vaccine

shipments to leave a much more robust public impression than American shipments. Senior Fellow María Eugenia Brizuela de Ávila at the Atlantic Council urges the U.S to “rethink how it communicates shipments, and identify more political or economic accompaniments” in future global events [1]. Two important factors have allowed China to come out on top despite having donated significantly lower amounts of vaccines: timing and diplomacy.

Time is a crucial crux of this situation. Despite donating a substantially more considerable number of vaccines, Chinese donations received more public attention because they arrived faster and easier to administer. Between March and April 2021, Dr. Keith Rowley, the prime minister of Trinity and Tobago, wrote to President Joe Biden, spoke with Congresswoman Maxine Walters, and talked to other senior members of the White House about the Caribbean’s need for vaccines [1]. Similarly, he engaged in conversations with Chinese President Xi Jinping and the Chinese Ambassador to Trinity and Tobago about the same condition. The differences between the two countries’ respective reactions to such a conversation forebode the existing attitudes of the countries surrounding vaccines. While discussions with the U.S only led up to a letter from Biden acknowledging the country’s need for vaccines, talks with China resulted in decisive action, with China providing Trinity and Tobago with 300,000 Sinopharm vaccines between May and June and a 204 million dollar loan to purchase Chinese vaccines [1]. Furthermore, when the U.S finally got around to providing Trinity and Tobago with vaccine donations, they sent a mere 480 doses, an arrangement that occurred on the very same day Trinity and Tobago received 200,000 doses from China [1]. Riyad Insanally argues that the Caribbean could have been an “easy win” for the U.S in the scope of vaccine diplomacy, given the region’s relatively small overall need for vaccines due to population size, had the U.S chosen to help their neighbors earlier [1]. Especially in the domain of vaccine diplomacy, China’s quick response to coun-

tries in Latin America becomes especially important because it made Latin America more dependent on Chinese-made vaccines in the future and also made Latin Americans question why the U.S, arguably Latin America’s more traditional ally, did not come to its aid faster.

Additionally, China’s strategic use of diplomacy and the press allowed them to maximize the impact that their vaccines had diplomatically. Xi Jinping pursued more direct forms of engagement with Latin American leaders during the peaks of their COVID outbreaks to offer vaccine donations and negotiate loans to purchase vaccines, a strategy miles different from that of Biden’s, which was more limited to specific partner countries compared to China’s much more bilateral approach. With publicity as a cornerstone of its vaccine diplomacy strategy, China utilized media headlines and photos with national figures in conjunction with its aid to bolster media attention to its domestic and international actions. China’s more significant efforts to meet with local leaders and officials made a significant difference in public perceptions and headlines. Furthermore, China didn’t allow vaccine purchases to end their diplomatic strategies in Latin America, but the starting point. Take Mexico, for instance, as it was one of the first countries to benefit from China’s export of vaccines. Following Mexico’s purchasing of Chinese vaccines, Mexico and China participated in diplomatic conversations that led to new agreements and collaboration, which included a notable medical deal that expedited the processes of medical shipments [1].

Consequently, China’s aggressive policy-making toward vaccine diplomacy further exposes both the power vacuums that exist in regions that are supposed allies of the U.S and China’s willingness to fill up those vacuums. Without careful consideration of pursuing closer engagement with its partners in programs that prove the U.S is willing to support its allies during times of hardship, the U.S may find itself in an increasingly antagonistic light with a reshuffling of regional power.

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## EXCESSIVE SMARTPHONE USAGE AMONG CHINESE HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS

**Abstract.** Smartphone usage affects many aspects of a students' life and behavior on a global scale. We are all very dependent on our smartphones to perform many different and useful functions that have become essential in the modern world. In Chinese high schools, students often arrive at school sleep deprived, without having completed assignments, and generally lacking motivation. These behavioral effects have been attributed to excessive smartphone usage, a growing problem with students and the general global population. Previous research has associated increased smartphone use to multiple motivating factors, including maintaining and developing social interactions with those who are not close in proximity, for those who are generally isolate to reach out to others, and to make other social connections. In the present study, researchers made three primary hypotheses regarding what types of motivation students from a Chinese metropolitan area would be related to either increased or decreased smartphone usage, and whether males who were not local to their peers would demonstrate increased smartphone use, for social engagement.

**Keywords:** Smartphone usage, Chinese high schools, social motivation, social connections, school performance.

### 1. Introduction

In Chinese high schools, it is so common for students to wake up tired even on weekends with a pile of homework overdue. Were they out of time? Yes, indeed. But not only because of the heavy study workload from school or after class, it was because of the excessive smartphone usage. Smartphone has become so multifunctional, that it can be used as a medium for exchanging and displaying emotions, which affects people's life both positively and negatively (Silva, 2012) make conclusion and commenting on the observation.

Smartphone has a lot of helpful functions. One of the most popular usage of smartphone is social usage. Social usage involves interacting with one's social network through social media interaction, and instant messaging (Elhai et al., 2017). It can help people connecting to each other regardless time and space.

While socializing on smartphone can be so helpful in life, there are a lot of factors that can cause

too much interaction between teenagers and their phones. The fear of missing out, depression, and loneliness can result in more smartphone social usage (Shen et al., 2020). Meanwhile, phubbing can cause addiction of smartphone usage, which leads to a more frequent usage of phone (Niu et al., 2020). People, especially teenagers, may find themselves socializing on their phones for way longer than they would've expected. The over usage of phone takes massive amount of people's time, makes it hard for students to plan their life properly and affects their growth and health. That's why it's important to take a good look into this issue.

#### 1.1. Motivation and smartphone usage

When finding the reason for excessive cellphone usage, it is important to look at what motivates people to use them. There are many variables that affect people's motivation for smartphone usage, including gender, age, mood, and other demographic characteristics. People find support to talk to people with

social usage (Zhang, 2017). They can share their life problems with people who are going through similar things and they don't necessarily have to live near each other. There are more people that are willing to listen to them through social media, so they can feel supported and have a wider resource of audience. Students who are isolated and have trouble establishing relationship with peers are more likely to use smartphone for social usage to fulfill their needs (Lim & You, 2019), and to cope with life problems (Wang et al., 2015). The need for them to communicate with others doesn't go away because the fact that they're isolated. As a result, they manage to find other ways to share their thoughts and feelings, but with the online world. Dealing with problems that go on in life is extremely difficult sometimes, and it gets worse when there is nobody to talk to. Sharing thoughts with people can help people cope with their negative experiences in life.

Emotions can cause different behaviors as a motivation, so they can help us to adapt to our surroundings faster. Emotion can influence human activities in many ways. When people are in a good mood, they tend to help people more often (Isen, 1999). In daily life, it is probably easily to be observed that after someone is in a bright mood, they are more willing to give help to others, while the bad mood can do otherwise. When someone is in a bad mood, they are likely to lose interest in activities and just want to be alone. However, it is also true that bad mood can make people feel isolated and distanced from other people, making them want to interact with people more. One interesting area to explore is the frequency and nature of people's smartphone usage for social purposes.

### **1.2. Motivation and smartphone social usage**

Nowadays, people are getting busier and more exhausted by work and study, that they sometimes struggle to get motivated every day to keep doing what they need to do. There are many variables that can affect people's motivation and behavior, one of which is mood. Moods do not have influence on the goal priority or a lasting impact on the intensity or

persistence of behavior, but they do affect motivations and behavior through directive and informational mood impact.

### **Gender, grades, residency and smartphone social usage**

Girls are more likely to be affected by the social interactions and stresses. Therefore, they will be more likely to use cellphone for social usage (Gore et al., 1993). Girls have higher chances of underestimating their cellphone usage for texting, which means they use it for social usage more than they thought, leading to a longer use of smartphone social usage. They tend to use cellphone more when they don't realize it, which was motivated by all kinds of effects in life. The younger they are, the less frequent they use cellphone for texting and social usage. (Forgays et al., 2014). Residency can influence people's social smartphone usage, too. People with a local residency may tend to use their phone for social usage more because they have more connection locally that they need to maintain through regular communication. On the other hand, people who are not local may use it less frequently for social purposes because they don't have a wide range of acquaintances. But it is possible that there are no significant differences between local and nonlocal people's usage of phone socially since nonlocal people may want to socialize more than people who already know quite a lot of people locally, resulting in frequent social usage of phone, too.

### **The present study**

The present study aimed to test the following hypotheses: Hypothesis 1): people with study motivation are unlikely to use smartphone primarily for social activities; 2) people with bad mood motivation are unlikely to use smartphone primarily for social purposes; Hypothesis 3): Nonlocal students, male, higher grade is less likely to use phone primarily for social activities.

### **Method**

#### **Sample and procedure**

Data were collected from an intermediate school in a metropolitan city in China. A trained graduate

student approached potential participants during psychology class sessions. The potential participants were given instructions which includes the purpose and procedure. The trained graduate student obtained informed consent from the participants and their parents. The participants fill out the same copy of paper-and-pencil survey continuously for 15 days. Towards the end of the study, each participant also completes a one-time questionnaire that includes demographic questions and other questions that assessed their trait characteristics.

### Measures

**Categorical variable.**—The first one was the measurement of smartphone use motivation. It was measured by one item in the questionnaire: “what was your primary motivation to use smartphone yesterday?” The participants were given 6 motivation options to choose from: bad mood, study related, boredom, emergency, unconsciousness, and relaxation.

**Dependent variables.**—smartphone social usage. This was measured using one item on the daily survey. “What was your primary smartphone usage yesterday?” social, gaming, entertainment and study were provided to choose from. The participants can only choose one out of the four. Before analyzing the data, they were recoded into 4 binary variables.

**Covariates.**—Age, grade and residency are all measured as categorical variables in the one-time questionnaire. There are three options for the variable of hukou: local residency, nonlocal residency, and don’t know (the participant didn’t know where his or her residency was). Grade is also measured as categorical variables, giving the participants 2 options: junior grade in intermediate school and senior grade in intermediate school.

### Results

#### Descriptive statistics

Table 1 presents descriptive statistics for the sample characteristics. Study variables and covariates are significantly different across smartphone use motivation. Among participants with the six smartphone use motivations, those who were mo-

tivated to use smartphones because of unconscious reasons reported highest frequency of using smartphones primarily for social activities. Students who use phones for the motivation to study are more likely to use nonsocial usage rather than social usage. Students who are motivated by bad mood are also more likely to use phones for nonsocial activities. Age differs across each group. Those who use phones because of bad moods were reported oldest age verses the other groups. Among boys, the biggest motivation for them to use phone for social usage is study related, and they use phone for this motivation more than girls. Among local students, the biggest motivation is study related.

#### Results from multilevel logistic regression analyses

Table 2 presents the results of the multilevel hierarchical logistic regression analyses with the smartphone usage measure as outcome variable. The smartphone social usage had ICC values (.76) that were above the conventional criteria ( $>.10$ ; Snijders & Bosker, 1994), which required a multilevel data structure. Then, to examine our hypotheses, logistic regression model was analyzed by testing the main effect of motivations on smartphone social usage after considering the grade, gender, and Hukou variables.

After controlling for all covariates, the results provided support for our hypothesis regarding the motivations disparities on smartphone social usage. We found that students who were motivated to use smartphone for study and bad mood had lower probability to use phones for social usage than the reference group, which were the students who use phones because of unconsciousness motivation. Specifically, students motivated by study related motivation ( $OR = 0.07, p < .001$ ) and by bad mood ( $OR = 0.06, p < .01$ ) are much less likely to use phones primarily for social usage than students motivated by unconscious reasons. Similarly, students with nonlocal hukou ( $OR = 0.50, p < 0.1$ ) have lower probability to use smartphone primarily for social usage than students that didn’t know their hukou.

Table 1. – Sample descriptive statistics: Chi-square and one-way ANOVA results (N= 1626)

Variables	M ± SD (Mdn) or%							X <sup>2</sup> (df) or F (df <sub>b</sub> , df <sub>w</sub> )
	Totals	Boredom (N=469)	Study related (N=842)	Contact (N=60)	Unconsciousness (N=163)	Relaxation (N=66)	Bad mood (26)	
habitusage								85.35(15)***
Social	593	208	231	26	86	30	12	
Entertainment	550	121	348	17	37	21	6	
gaming	212	57	113	7	22	8	5	
study	142	43	80	9	3	5	2	
age	13.00±0.81	12.99±0.88	12.97±0.77	13.13±0.83	12.95±0.84	13.27±0.67	13.35±0.89	2.98(5, 1620)*
AgeAt-FirstUsage	9.84±2.28	9.65±2.52	10.06±2.21	9.05±2.31	9.44±1.82	10.03±2.23	10.10±1.63	4.87(5, 1620)***
gender								18.54(5)**
Male	997	300(30.09%)	536	34	79	35	13	
Female	629	169(26.87%)	306	26	84	31	13	
hukou								114.96(10)***
local	641	153	399	10	42	29	8	
nonlocal	534	156	238	24	79	23	14	
Don't know	195	91	59	14	30	1	0	
grade								18.53(5)**
7	807	252	403	32	89	26	5	
8	819	217	439	28	74	40	21	
Social usage								288.34(5)***
Social	1047	275	145	32	98	25	4	
Nonsocial	579	194	697	28	65	41	22	

### Conclusion and Discussion

People who use phone because of bad mood tend to not use it for social purposes. Dealing with social relationships can be tiring and cause people to think too much. It is one of the important factors influencing people's mood. For example, when you have friends around you who is not doing well, they usually become less active online and talk to people. That can because socializing is exhausting, and since they are already in a bad mood when they use the phone, it is unlikely for them to use it for social usage to increase the chance of getting more tired and getting into a worse mood. (The influence of mood on perceptions of social interactions).

Table 2. – Social usage

Variables	Odds ratio	
	1	2
		3
	M <sub>0</sub>	M <sub>1</sub>
Main effects		
Smartphone use motivations		
Unconsciousness (ref.)		
Study related		0.07 ***
Emergency		0.58
Boredom		0.77
Not in study mode		0.34
Bad mood		0.06 **
Covariates		



1	2	3
Grade		
7 <sup>th</sup> grade (ref.)		
8 <sup>th</sup> grade		0.57
Gender		
Female (ref.)		
Male		0.54
Hukou		
Don't know (ref.)		
Local		0.10
Nonlocal		0.50 *
Intercept	0.26	7.86 *

The current study show that smartphone use behaviors differed between local and non-local students. Students with non-local residency, who often do not have consistent housing, may have different behaviors regarding phone usage. Students with local residency are most likely to grow up in the area

since young. It is possible that they have a stronger bond and relationship within the city. When growing up, they may have a more stable friendship with peers around them. On the other hand, students who with non-local residency have a high chance of moving when growing up. The environment they live in may be inconsistent, with constant moving from place to place and high frequency of fitting into a new environment. Therefore, they are less likely to have a strong and consistent bond with people around them due to environmental reasons. As a result, their less and weaker social relationships can lead to a less frequent smartphone usage of social activities.

Overall, it is interesting to see how people deal with phone usage and out of different motivation. Most people never really notice the choices they make when they're picking up their phone as a normal action. But behind these decisions is how complicated factors affect us.

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## Section 9. Philosophy

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Hai Xiang Tang,  
Bachelor in Philosophy, the Department of Philosophy  
Southwest Minzu University

### JUDGMENT AS THE BRIDGE BETWEEN SPECTATOR AND ACTOR: A REFUTATION OF BEINER'S INTERPRETATION OF ARENDT

**Abstract.** Arendt's theory of judgment has puzzled her readers for a long time. Beiner and other scholars believe that Arendt has two different kinds of theories of judgment, and they also believe that the theory of judgment in Arendt's later writings indicates that she has shifted her focus from action to mind. But this view is a misreading of Arendt. Arendt's working always focus on the question "how can we act morally", and there is only one theory of judgment for Arendt.

**Keywords:** Arendt, judgment, reflection, Political Philosophy.

For Arendt's readers, her writings about judgment are often confusing. Her theory of judgment gradually takes shape in her thinking life. When Arendt finally decided to systematically discuss a theory of judgment in *The Life of the Mind*, life did not leave her more time to complete the work. Therefore, what Arendt's theory of judgment is has become a puzzling problem.

Ronald Beiner famously proposes that we can see Arendt's theory of judgment from her *Lectures on Kant's Political Philosophy*. In his excellent article on Arendt's theory of judgment, Beiner says that Arendt actually has two theories of judgment, "practical and contemplative" [9, p. 92]. In Beiner's view, Arendt's thinking about judgment has undergone a turn. Before writing *Thinking and Moral Consideration*, Arendt's thinking about judgment was based on the perspective of *vita activa*. Since that article, Arendt turned to thinking about judgment from the perspective of *vita contemplativa*. Beiner believes that this is because:

The more she reflected on the faculty of judgment, the more inclined she was to regard it as the prerogative of the solitary (though public-spirited) contemplator as opposed to the actor (whose activity is necessarily nonsolitary) [9, p. 92].

In this article I argue that Beiner's view is a misreading of Arendt. I will argue that Arendt has only one theory of judgment from beginning to end. Although Arendt's perspective on judgment has changed, this change is only a development of the same theory of judgment, rather than the development of a different theory of judgment. Beiner's view comes from his misreading that actors and spectators are diametrically opposed for Arendt. And this misreading stems from his one-sided understanding of Arendt's concepts of men-in-plural and reflective ability. In the first part I claim that men in plural not only means human beings living with each other in nature, but also means the ability to talk with oneself. This ability depends on what Arendt calls reflective ability, which also makes people have community

sense, so that they can make judgments. In the second part, I write about Arendt's distinction between common sense and community sense, and it will lead us to the question of how judgment works – which I will write about in the third part. In the fourth part I want to argue that Beiner misunderstood Arendt's distinction between judgment and pre-judgment or prejudice. And in the end, I will argue that Beiner's interpretation of two theories of judgment is a result of a combination of these misunderstandings.

### **Men in Plural**

Arendt's concept of men in plural has two meanings. On the one hand, it means people living among people, and on the other hand, it means the dialogue between me and myself. The description of the former is best expressed in *The Human Condition*:

(T)he human condition of plurality, to the fact that men, not Man, live on the earth and inhabit the world [2, p. 1].

In Arendt's view, we have been a member of the human beings since we were born, and we cannot live alone without others, not only because we will rely on others for material needs, but also because of our mind structure. Our personality can only be built by living with others. Arendt distinguishes three kinds of human activities in *The Human Condition*: labor, work and act. In Arendt's view, labor is only the lowest level activity to meet the needs of life, and it considers nothing except survival itself:

(In labor) where the human body, its activity notwithstanding, is also thrown back upon itself, concentrates upon nothing but its own being alive, and remains imprisoned in its metabolism with nature without ever transcending or freeing itself from the recurring cycle of its own functioning [2, p. 115].

This isolated nature of labor not only shows that it is non-human, but also non-political, since it focuses only on necessity and is unrelated to freedom or autonomy.

Arendt's understanding of work is similar to Aristotle's understanding of production. To work means to produce something. Work, which is different from la-

bor, is not restricted by the necessity of life, but rather is a strategic activity, a means to achieve a certain purpose. The purpose of writing is books, and the purpose of books is to be read, and the purpose of reading is knowledge or just for enjoying. There is always a purpose in work, and the meaning of work is to achieve a certain purpose, but the work itself is meaningless. This teleological activity allows human to break out of the cycle of life and create an artificial world, but the activity itself is meaningless. Strictly speaking, it is still not free or autonomous. Only act can give human dignity and create meaning for human life, because it is totally autonomous. Like Aristotle writes:

(F)or every producer in his production aims at some (further) goal, acting well is the goal, and desire is for the goal [8, p. 87].

For Arendt, the meaning of act is not dependent on purposes, but act itself. In acting, the process itself is the achievement of the purpose, in which the achievement is not the product, but the actor himself, his own life character, his personality. And act is possible only among people, that is, act depends on the plurality of human beings. And we also need:

– With word and deed we insert ourselves into the human world ... This insertion is not forced upon us by necessity, like labor, and it is not prompted by utility, like work. It may be stimulated by the presence of others whose company we may wish to join, but it is never conditioned by them [2, p. 176].

It is the plurality of human beings that enables us to live in a human world and create the meaning of life among people through act.

The other meaning of the plurality, that is, the ability to talk with oneself, mainly comes from Arendt's understanding of Socrates. Arendt believes that the key to Socrates' dialogue was to investigate whether the interlocutor could agree with himself and avoid self-contradiction. Self-contradiction shows that we do not know what our own views really are. And we can try to reach agreement through dialogue with ourselves, that is, through reflection. Socrates' interlocutors often forget about their abil-

ity to reflect. Therefore, in the dialogues with them, Socrates plays the role of the other themselves that they should have talked with. By pointing out the contradictions in their views, Socrates tries to arouse their ability to reflect. This is the meaning of the oracle "Know yourself" that Socrates understood according to Arendt.

Arendt believes that "in thought I am two-in-one" [3, p. 20]. As long as I am thinking, I will inevitably have a dialogue with myself. Therefore, the plurality of human beings can not be eliminated. Even if I live alone, I still live with myself, and thus still live in the plurality. The reason why Socrates insisted on constantly talking with others in the city-state and trying to help them arouse their ability to reflect is based on the belief that "only he who knows how to live with himself is fit to live with others" [3, p. 21]. What Arendt sees here is what we usually call conscience. It's not Kant's practical reason – that is, to judge whether an action is moral based on whether my maxim can become a universal law – but the fact that I have to live with myself that constitutes the basis of our moral judgment.

If I commit injustice, then I will have to live with the myself who did injustice all the time. I can stay away from other thieves, liars or murderers, but I cannot stay away from the myself who is a thief, liar or murderer. Even though we all have the impulse to do injustice for our own profit, no one is willing to suffer injustice, and no one is willing to live with the person who does injustice. It is this inner taste, that is, likes and dislikes that enable us to make moral choices when we act:

I cannot do certain things, because having done them I shall no longer be able to live with myself [4, p. 97].

So far, I have explained how Arendt explored the plurality of human beings from both external and internal aspects (or from the perspective of act and mind), and as I will explain later, it is the plurality of human beings that enables us to have the community sense. However, it seems that Beiner only re-

gards the plurality as arising "from the need for the citizen to address himself to their his fellows" [1, p. 106]. It seems that Beiner only regards plurality as a description of people's need to talk to each other and live together and ignores the internal aspect of this concept. It makes him have to rely on Kant's explanation when analyzing the concept of community sense. Although Arendt has obtained many resources from Kant, Arendt is not Kant, and the concept of community sense that Arendt understands is also different from Kant. Kant only posits the community sense as the necessary condition of aesthetic judgment. But for Arendt, community sense is a mental ability that actually exists as a starting point. Pace Beiner, the plurality of human beings does not stem from the need for a person to communicate with others. Rather, it is only because human beings is plural and have community sense that we can communicate with others.

### Community Sense and Common Sense

Community sense was identified by Arendt when she reformed Kant's theory of judgment. Kant regards *sensus communis* as a prerequisite basis of aesthetic judgment. The pleasure or unpleasure brought by taste is a direct feeling, but whether such pleasure or unpleasure is worth approving depends on *sensus communis*.

Arendt believes that Kant actually distinguished community sense from common sense:

The term "common sense" meant a sense like our other senses – the same for everyone in his very privacy. By using the Latin term, Kant indicates that here he means something different: an extra sense-like an extra mental capability – that fits us into a community [1, p. 70].

But Beiner does not seem to mention this distinction in his article. He claims that:

Arendt appeals to the Aristotelian distinction between *phronesis* and *sophia*: the latter strives to rise above common sense; the former is rooted in common sense, which "disclose to us the nature of the world insofar as it is a common world"; it "enable



man to orient himself in the public realm, in the common world.” This defense of common sense, it should be noted, is a persistent theme in Arendt’s work. Common sense means sharing a nonsubjective and “objective” (object-laden) world with others [1, p. 104].

It seems that Beiner only understands the word “common sense” as its literal meaning and simply regards the word as a description of the fact that we “sharing a nonsubjective and ‘objective’ (object-laden) world with others” [1, p. 104]. But in the passage he cites, what Arendt uses common sense to refer to is actually community sense. It was not until the twelfth lecture of *LKPP* that Arendt distinguishes the common sense from community sense. Before that, Arendt uses the word common sense in two ways, sometimes referring to common sense, sometimes referring to community sense. And community sense is not just a description but a mental faculty that makes us capable of “sharing a nonsubjective and ‘objective’ (object-laden) world with others” [1, p. 104]. We will see these points more clearly as my reconstruction unfolds.

Common sense for Arendt refers to those feelings we have in common. For example, when we hit a table, we all feel pain, because touch is the sense we have in common. But this feeling is private. Even though we all have a sense of touch, we cannot share our pain. Taste and smell also belong to the common senses.

Arendt claims that community sense, by contrast, is an extra feeling, which enables people to enlarge their minds and thinking from the possible position of others. It is also community sense that enables us to talk to each other and convey the private sense we feel from our common senses to others. If there is no community sense, our common sense will not be damaged, but we will not be able to transcend our private sense, and will lose the possibility of understanding others. For Arendt, the possibility of understanding others is only possible in communication or speech, and communication and speech are based on our community sense. The condition of missing community sense is what Arendt called insanity [1, p. 70].

The insane person did not lose his common sense, but he could not make any judgment. He only suffered from various direct feelings. There is no judgment or reflection in the direct sense of happy or unhappy. He is facing his direct experience and being wrapped in it. If we want to make a judgment, such as “This is beautiful” or “This is pleasant”, we must resort to the community sense, which requires us to reflect. Here we can also identify the figure of the actor and the spectator. The actor’s presence in the matter is like that we encounter all kinds of feelings directly by relying on common senses. Because we can’t distance ourselves, we can’t meet the requirements of “impartial” or “disinterested delights”, and we can’t make judgments about it. Relying on community sense, we can put ourselves in the possible perspective of others, and can separate ourselves from the direct feelings to reflect on them. At this time, we become a spectator, examining our own direct feelings and thinking about the possible feelings of others. Only at this time can we make judgments.

### **The Operating Process of Judgment and the Reflective Ability as Guarantee of the Plurality**

Arendt clearly distinguished two mental operations in judgment. The first is the operation of imagination. By using imagination, we are no longer facing the outward object in the feelings we encounter directly. Instead, we face the inner object constructed by imagination, so that we can withdraw from the various feelings we encounter directly and turn from the outward senses to the inner senses.

This operation of imagination serves as the precondition for the operation of reflection – the second operation process of mind – and the operation process of reflection “is the actual activity of judging something” [1, p. 68]. The standard of the operation process of reflection – also the standard of judgment – is “communicability” or “publicness”, “and the standard of deciding about it is common sense” [1, p. 69]. The phrase common sense here is the translation of *sensus communis*, and what Arendt actually refers to is community sense.

According to Arendt, imagination moves us away from the outward objects and the feelings we encountered directly, and transforms them into inner objects to give to our inner sense. And this inner sense is discriminative, it can make us feel pleasure or unpleasure. For the pleasant or unpleasant feelings, people may approve or disapprove, and such approval or disapproval is our judgment. The question is, why does Arendt think “the actual activity of judging something” is “the operation of reflection”? [1, p. 68]

It is reflection that forms the bridge between actor and spectator, enabling individuals to transition between the two figures. That is to say, to make judgment is to turn from the actor to the spectator. Judgment is not the exclusive ability of the spectator, but a kind of mental function that exists universally in individuals. It is the potential that individuals can transform themselves from the actor to the spectator that enables people to make judgment. Just like Kant uses judgment to form the bridge between practical reason and pure reason, Arendt uses it to form the bridge between actor and spectator.

One story we are familiar with regarding reflection is that of Narcissus, who died of despair because he was infatuated with his own reflection in the river. Interestingly, we see a kind of reflection that is different from judgment here. In the process of reflection as judgment, the possible perspectives of others are included, so that I can transcend my ego and move from private sense to community sense. But in the story of Narcissus, however, he was trapped in himself due to his reflection, he could not take any action and finally went to destruction. Here, reflection is not judgment. It is not the bridge between actor and spectator. Instead, Narcissus' concern for reflection itself cuts off the possibility for individuals to transform between the two figures. The figures of Narcissus who is obsessed with reflection and the thoughtless or non-reflective Eichmann show that for a person with intact mentality, the actor and the spectator should be two-in-one.

The reflection as judgment ensures that we can transform between actor and spectator, and it is pre-

cisely this reflection that guarantees the plurality of human beings, which is the most fundamental reason why we can have community sense. An acute reader may think that I have made the mistake of circular argument here, because I seem to claim that: 1. the standard of judgment, that is, of the reflection as judgment, depends on community sense, 2) community sense depends on the plurality of human beings, and 3) the plurality of human beings needs to be guaranteed by reflection. It is necessary for me to explain it here.

Plurality of human beings is an a priori concept for Arendt, or we can say it is an a priori special feature of human beings, and community sense is the embodiment of this special feature in mental functions. But plurality is not always graspable for one despite its a priority. The relationship between plurality and community sense is just like that between the understanding and common sense for Kant. Kant regards common sense as “the common human understanding” [11, p. 173]. Our common sense may be damaged by disease or other reasons, and we may lose our sense of pain or vision or others, our understanding will therefore become impaired. Similarly, community sense may also be impaired, then we may forget our plurality as human beings, or we can say, our plurality as human beings has been covered. What Arendt especially focus on the impact of dialogue and reflection on the community sense.

Community sense enables us to take into account the possible views of others, but we also need to have dialogues with others to ensure the sensitivity and integrity of community sense. Here we will also think of Kant's discussion in *What is Enlightenment* –Arendt has also quoted relevant texts in *LKPP* –that although human beings have reason is a priori, it does not mean that all people can properly use their reason. That is why we need enlightenment, and enlightenment requires us to use our reason publicly. In the process of using our reason publicly, we can learn how to use our reason properly. Therefore, although plurality of human beings is a priori, this plurality needs to be confirmed in reflection and dialogue.

Otherwise, plurality may be covered and community sense may be damaged. At the same time, although the standard of reflection as judgment is community sense, the community sense also needs to be activated through reflection. When I make judgment, my community sense is activated by reflection, so I can incorporate the perspectives of others to make judgments. Without reflection, the community sense will remain in a state of silence. The most famous example in this regard is Eichmann. Without the community sense, reflection can not include the possible opinions of others, so it can only become Narcissus.

The problem is that if we need to talk with others to maintain the integrity of our community sense, then when someone lives in an environment that does not have the conditions to talk with others, for example, when our words are censored, when we might be imprisoned because of our own opinions, or we don't know whether we will be punished or even arrested because of what we said – it seems that our community sense will inevitably be damaged, so that we can not make judgment or reflection. That seems to be what happened in Nazi Germany.

So, living in this environment, do we really have no way out? Can we only wait in silence and imperceptibly for our community sense to be corrupted and our plurality as human beings to be erased? Arendt refused to accept such a pessimistic answer. She returned to thinking or reflective ability again and tried to give a more satisfactory answer.

As I mentioned earlier, the plurality of human beings means that we have the potential to talk to ourselves, and the realization of this potential, that is, the actual activity of talking to ourselves, is reflection. In reflection, I realized that I always live with myself – I also have mentioned the moral meaning of this fact in the previous paragraph. But this kind of morality “is politically relevant only in times of crisis and that the self as the ultimate criterion of moral conduct is politically a kind of emergency measure” [4, p. 104]. What we are facing here is not the question of judgment, but the question of how to act, because the

standard of judgment, that is, community sense, has been in jeopardy because we cannot have an actual dialogue with others, “the question of how to behave in such a circumstance became the most burning issue of the day” [4, p. 104]. When the possibility of our actual dialogue with others becomes slim or even non-existent, we can only protect our plurality of human beings through dialogue with ourselves, and act according to our own criterion. This way is not easy, but at least it reserves the possibility for us to keep our mental intact in a toxic environment.

We can imagine that if Eichmann has the ability to reflect and talk to himself, he may not end up committing such a crime. It is impossible for a person to accept living with a person who sends others into the gas chamber, let alone let the executioner live with his family. Living in an environment like Nazi Germany, if we want to keep our mentality intact, we must force ourselves to reflect constantly. Our thoughts and actions may be incompatible with those around us. Maybe everyone will think that we are wrong, and we may fall into self doubt and bear the spiritual burden all the time. Eichmann chose to escape from this burden. He completely gave up reflection and allowed his community sense to be corrupted. He has forgotten about the plurality of human beings. He completely lost the ability to make judgment, and he was unable to take any appropriate action. Therefore, as Arendt said, he was sincere when he declared his innocence in the trial, but was a foolish sincerity.

### **The Criterion of Action: Prejudice or Prejudgment**

As we mentioned earlier, judgment needs community sense as the standard, and community sense needs us to have a dialogue with others to keep it sound. When the public space is corrupted and we lose the conditions for dialogue with others, we can only rely on the ability of reflection to dialogue with ourselves. Through reflection, I constantly activate my community sense, try my best to protect its intact, and constantly confirm my plurality as human beings in the process of dialogue with myself. Only



in this way can we make judgment and actions in this special situation. But this kind of judgment, that is, taking “self as the ultimate criterion of moral conduct” [4, p. 104], is just an emergency measure. In our daily behavior, our actions are based only on prejudice. Therefore, only when we can't talk with others, “exceptional circumstances became the rule of the land and the question of how to behave in such a circumstances became the most burning issue of the day” [4, p. 104].

Here, we should first clarify the use of the word prejudice in Arendt, so as to avoid misunderstanding. The word “prejudice” in Arendt's writing does not have the negative meaning we usually give it. The prejudice that Arendt said is more like what we call custom or opinion. This is not to say that Arendt confused these concepts, but because in her view, these concepts are fundamentally the same:

Prejudices are not personal idiosyncrasies, which, however immune to proof, always have a basis in personal experience, within which context they lay claim to the evidence of sensory perception. Because they exist outside of experience, however, prejudices can never provide such evidence, not even for those who are subject to them... Consequently prejudice plays a major role in the social arena. There really is no social structure which is not based more or less on prejudices that include certain people while excluding others. The freer a person is of prejudices of any kind, the less suitable he will be for the purely social realm [3, p. 100].

In our daily behavior, what provides the behavioral criterion is not judgment, not reflection as judgment, but prejudice or custom – pre-judgment. When we want to do something, the first thing that motivates or prevents us from doing it is pre-judgment factor – the answer to “what is good and what is bad” that we have been taught by the society in which we live – we always confuse these pre-judgment factors with morality, thus thinking that these prejudices and customs are “moral criterion”. Morality itself has been “collapsed into a mere set of mores – manners, customs, conventions to be changed at will” [3, p. 54].

Real morality requires us to make judgment rather than accept them without thinking. But the moral standards, as long as they are generally accepted by the society, “never dreamt of doubting what they had been taught to believe in” [3, p. 54]. However, in daily behavior, such a criterion of conduct is not necessarily bad. Prejudice, custom or pre-judgment enable us to take the most appropriate action in general and normal situations as quickly and easily as possible:

Man cannot live without prejudices, and not only because no human being's intelligence or insight would suffice to form an original judgment about everything on which he is asked to pass judgment in the course of his life, but also because such a total lack of prejudice would require a superman alertness [3, p. 99].

If we have to reflect on and judge everything, then we will eventually be overwhelmed by this detailed and complicated mental life and become unable to act. Prejudice provides us with the most efficient criterion of action in our daily life. Moreover, in a healthy social environment, we can enlarge our perspective by communicating our prejudice with others, so as to minimize the negative impact of prejudice. “(T)he world opens up differently to every man according to his position in it” [3, p. 14], but we share the same world, we can talk with others, so that the world can be more clearly and comprehensively discovered. Only under special circumstances, that is, as we mentioned earlier, when the public space is corrupted so that we cannot talk to others, will prejudice or pre-judgment criterion of action become dangerous. At this time, we cannot reduce the inertia and narrow perspective caused by prejudice by talking to others, and our pre-judgment criterion of action may also be completely reversed and become extremely immoral. In Nazi Germany, persecuting Jews became an immoral criterion of conduct, but it was still accepted as “moral standard” without thinking. It is in this case that the importance of judgment comes to light. We need to reject the laziness in thought, to reject the pre-judgment as the criteria for our actions, but to make judgement and reflect on



ourselves and regard ourselves as the ultimate criterion for moral actions, so as to avoid falling into the banality of evil like Eichmann.

Beiner notices the relationship between opinion and judgment in Arendt's early writings, but he never mentions prejudice in his article, even though Arendt specially uses pre-judice and pre-judgment to imply the relationship between prejudice and judgment. His neglect of this relationship makes him fail to distinguish pre-judgment and judgment and it causes him think that Arendt uses the concept of judgment in two completely way.

### Conclusion

I reconstructed Arendt's theory of judgment by means of the concepts of men in plural and reflection. In this theory of judgment, we can see that Arendt's writing and thinking did not "turn" as Beiner said. Whether it was Arendt's writing about *vita activa* in her early years or thinking about judgment in her later years, Arendt's core concern was "how can we act morally" from beginning to end. Her thinking about judgment in her later years was also to answer in extreme circumstances, when all morality is reversed and disintegrated, how can we still act morally. It's not simply returning to the field of mental life and giving up the concern for action, as some scholars believe.

Beiner only regards plurality as a descriptive concept, which makes him ignore the rich connotation of this concept and the importance of the ability of dialogue between people and themselves, that is, reflection. This led him to take reflection only as a mental operation in judgment and ignore the role

of reflection as a bridge to connect actor and spectator. In my reconstruction of Arendt's theory of judgment, we have seen that only when the two figures of spectator and actor co-exist through reflection can we make judgments or actions. It is precisely because reflection ensures that people can change perspectives between actor and spectator, people can keep their community sense and then make judgment. If, as Beiner wrote, the actor and spectator are isolated from each other, then I will either fall into the situation of Eichmann or that of Narcissus.

And Beiner also fails to recognize the distinction made by Arendt on the two sources of criterion of act – pre-judgment and judgment. Therefore, Beiner sees that in Arendt's early writings and late writings, there seems to be two different judgments. And Beiner attributes the two different judgments to the actor and spectator who were isolated from each other in his opinion, and concludes that Arendt has two theories of judgment, one about practice, the judgment theory of actor, and one about contemplation, the theory of spectator. But now we can see that the judgment "organizing and summarizing the individual and particular under the general and universal" [3, p. 102] identified by Beiner is actually "a pre-judgment, a prejudice" [3, p. 102]. In daily life, prejudice or pre-judgment serves as the criterion for our actions. Only when the exception that we cannot talk to others has become the norm, we need to introduce judgment and reflection as the criterion of action. From beginning to end, Arendt has only one theory of judgment, it's the judgment about how to act morally.

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