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The debiasing effect of counterfactuals

Daša Strachanová, Institute of Experimental Psychology, Center of Social and Psychological Sciences, Slovak Academy of Sciences, Bratislava, dasa.strachanova@gmail.com

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Abstract:
People are not fully rational and their decisions are affected by factors such as situational context, emotions, and cognitive capacity. Often, the decision-making situation is unclear, and we do not have enough relevant information. In this case we use shortcuts, which can lead to cognitive biases. Cognitive biases can affect our decision-making processes, and we are not able to make the decision in an unbiased way. They are present in a wide range of situations, and they can affect our job, relationships, and decisions about investments. Subsequently, we can often regret our decisions. Our regret is not the only reason for debiasing. A biased decision-making process can also affect the lives of other people, as a direct result of our wrong decisions. The fact that groups and organizations (Kramer, 1994), forensic specialists (Kassin, Dror, & Kukucka, 2013), investors (Baker & Nofsinger, 2002) lawyers (Wistrich & Rachlinski, 2013) or doctors (Bornstein & Emler, 2001) sometimes make their decisions in a biased way can directly affect decisions about guilt/innocence, in/appropriate treatments and influence everything from our finances to our health. That is the real reason for debiasing. Larrick (2004) defined three kinds of debiasing. The first type of debiasing interventions are motivational practices such as incentives or accountability. The second type of debiasing interventions involves cognitive methods like considering the opposite method, training or counterfactual priming. The third type of debiasing interventions are modern technologies such as the *pros and cons* lists or group decision-making. We assume that effective debiasing of cognitive biases should be based on cognitive debiasing interventions. The aim of our study was to investigate the effectiveness of counterfactual priming, as a cognitive intervention, in reducing three cognitive biases: confirmation bias, as the tendency to search for information in line with our assumptions, the status quo bias, as the preference of the current state, and the attribution effect, as the tendency to attribute behavior based more on personality than on situational context. Counterfactual priming should create the “what would happen if” kind of thinking. The participants (N = 202) of our between-subject experiment were recruited online. They solved two tasks on cognitive biases: one before (control group) and one after (experimental group) the experimental manipulation. Before the second task, they read a counterfactual scenario (Galinsky & Moskowitz, 2000) as the experimental manipulation. The counterfactual scenario was about Jane, who could have won a trip to Hawaii, had she not changed her seat. After the concert, Jane is thinking about her gains and losses because of changing the seat. For each bias we used the typical research method. The confirmation bias method was inspired by Snyder and Swann (1978), Strachanová and Valuš (2019) and involved a social domain of speed dating, where participants chose from a list of questions to test their hypothesis about the introversion of a fictitious person. 131 participants, 64 from the control group and 67 from the experimental group, solved the confirmation bias task. Participants had to imagine that Teresa is preparing for speed dating and she will have only a few minutes to get to know the fictitious person better so she should choose/prepare questions she would like to ask on the speed date. Participants got the list of questions (5 neutral, 5 extroverted, 5 introverted) and chose the questions Teresa should ask on the speed date in order to determine her assumption. In line with Strachanová and Valuš (2019), we used the fundamental attribution error. This task was solved by 133 participants, from which 71 were in the control group and 62 in the experimental group. Participants had to evaluate the cause of behavior (situation/personality) of a fictitious co-worker, following a short scenario involving the co-worker. Participants answered using the Likert scale, assessing whether the reason for the co-worker´s behavior was a situational circumstance or his/her personality. The status quo bias task was inspired by Samuelson and Zeckhauser (1988) and used in line with

Dudeková, Kostovičová and Konečný (2017). The task for the status quo was solved by 140 participants, from which 67 were in the experimental group and 73 in the control group. Participants had to choose one of the three investment portfolios, of which one was the default option (status quo) - participants had to imagine that they had inherited property and had to decide whether to keep the investment method as before or change it. We investigated the debiasing effect of counterfactuals on three cognitive biases (status quo, attribution effect, confirmation bias). Although in the confirmation bias participants in the experimental group asked fewer questions regarding introversion, this result was not statistically significant; in the cumulative confirmation bias score counterfactual priming did not decrease this tendency. Similarly, counterfactual priming did not decrease the status quo bias or the fundamental attribution error. In sum, our results show no debiasing effect of counterfactuals in cognitive biases. We discuss the two functions of counterfactuals. Counterfactuals can be upward and downward. Upward counterfactuals have a preparative function, thus thinking of a better result can make us feel bad, but it can improve our results in the future. Downward counterfactuals have an affective function, which can improve coping mechanisms and well-being. It means that counterfactuals can comfort us, but they can cause anxiety and regret as well. Roese (2004) says that downward counterfactuals cause a more positive effect compared to upward counterfactuals. This means that success behavior is influenced by the direction of counterfactuals. The author says that downward counterfactuals (thinking about alternatives worse than reality) make people feel better and upward counterfactuals (thinking about alternatives better than reality) can improve performance. We used mixed counterfactuals in our counterfactual scenario and we primed participants to think about what they lose and what they gain from situations. Subsequent research should examine the effect of counterfactual thinking separately for upward and downward counterfactuals to see its effect on cognitive biases. There are limitations of our research. We did not consider cultural differences in cognitive biases because they are not well-examined. Therefore, in the future a pre-test for cognitive biases methods should be carried out in order to see its functionality in Bulgaria, and the sample size should be bigger. Our research brings new evidence in cognitive biases and debiasing by counterfactual thinking and it expands the field for future research.

Keywords:
Cognitive biases. Counterfactual thinking. Priming. Debiasing. Status quo. Fundamental attribution error. Confirmation bias.

Introduction

Judgment and decision-making are a key part of our lives. Normative models are based on the assumption that the decision-maker has information about all the alternatives and their consequences, rationalizes, tries to maximize benefits, and their preferences are in line with their maximization (Bačová, 2011). However, in solving problems, judging and making decisions in real life, man is not "homo economicus". As a result of mental heuristics – heurists – often exhibit various cognitive aberrations, the elimination of which is usually difficult. In our work we will deal with three selected cognitive biases; the consequences of which can be serious and far-reaching, especially the possibilities of their minimization.

Although there are many cognitive biases, in this study we are going to investigate the confirmation bias, the status quo bias and the attribution effect. A person with a confirmation bias tends to seek, remember, and interpret data in accordance with the original belief (Nickerson, 1998). For example, if a person disapproves of compulsory vaccinations, they search for information on the Internet not in favor of vaccination and not discussing its benefit, and this prevents them from getting a real overview of the subject and from choosing to make informed choices. Furthermore, people who tend to maintain the status-quo prefer the original option (default), despite having information that makes this option less advantageous than others (Samuelson & Zeckhauser, 1988). An example is a person who refuses to switch banks, even though they know that other banks offer much more favorable terms. And thirdly, the attribution effect manifests itself as a tendency to attribute the causes of events to individual characteristics rather than situational circumstances (Jones & Harris, 1967). For example, if our friend does not succeed in a job interview, we assume that they did not do well or make a good impression, instead of coming to the conclusion that they could not have succeeded, despite being well prepared and making a good impression, because of the competition from other candidates.

In recent decades, a large part of research in the psychology of decision-making (Kray & Galinsky, 2003; Galinsky & Moskowitz, 2000; Kahn, Luce, & Nowlis, 2006; Kray, Galinsky, & Wong, 2006; Markman, Lindberg, Kray, & Galinsky, 2007; Morewedge, Yoon, Scopelliti, Symborski, Korris, & Kassam, 2015; Strachanová & Valuš, 2019) has been focused on the reduction of cognitive biases – "Debiasing". Larrick (2004) defined interventions based on motivational practices (incentives, accountability), cognitive methods (counterfactual priming, considering the opposite, training) or modern technologies (pros and cons list, group decision-making). However, extensive studies have led to ambiguous results, when much of the effort to reduce biases has not led to sufficient success, or the methods only function for some variations or to a limited extent (Larrick, 2004). In this research we are going to focus on counterfactual thinking as a cognitive debiasing strategy.

Counterfactual thinking is a mental representation of possible alternatives in the past that are different from the alternative that actually occurred. These are either alternatives better than those that actually occurred or worse than those that actually occurred (Ruiselová, 2009). Therefore, counterfactual priming is based on the consideration of "what would happen if", that is, considering the alternative development of events. There exist two kinds of counterfactuals: upward and downward. Counterfactual thinking has a functional and dysfunctional side. The functional side is the simulation of the direction and it has an affective (downward counterfactuals – improving of coping mechanisms and well-being) and preparative (upward counterfactuals – thinking of a better result can make us feel bad, but in can improve our results in the future) function (Markman, Karadogan, Lindberg, & Zell, 2009). As part of our underlying studies, Kray and Galinsky (2003) found that triggering the counterfactual mindset improves group decision-making in the context of issues where consideration of the various alternatives is crucial. Galinsky and Moskowitz (2000) used the method of counterfactual priming in the framework of three individual problems for decision-making and problem solving. They found that priming helped reduce the confirmation bias and improved success in solving a puzzle, for the success of which creative thinking was the key. However, counterfactual priming has exacerbated performance in the role of deductive reasoning. Effectiveness of counterfactual priming was also tested by Markman et al. (2009). They found that counterfactual mind-set enhanced performance in analytical tasks and also in creative generation tasks. Strachanová and Valuš (2019) used counterfactual priming on three tendencies – selectively seeking hypothesis-confirming evidence, ignoring alternative explanations, and unwillingness to reconsider the default option. In their study counterfactual priming reduced the tendency to ignore an alternative explanation and hypothesis-confirming evidence. We assume these tendencies to be similar to the status quo bias, confirmation bias, and fundamental attribution error.

Aims, hypotheses and questions

Based on the theoretical and methodological backgrounds, we set the following goals and hypotheses to be verified.

Objective 1: Test the effect of counterfactual priming on selected cognitive biases.

Research Hypothesis 1: Counterfactual priming reduces the confirmation bias.

Research Hypothesis 2: Counterfactual priming reduces the status quo bias.

Research Hypothesis 3: Counterfactual priming reduces the attribution effect.

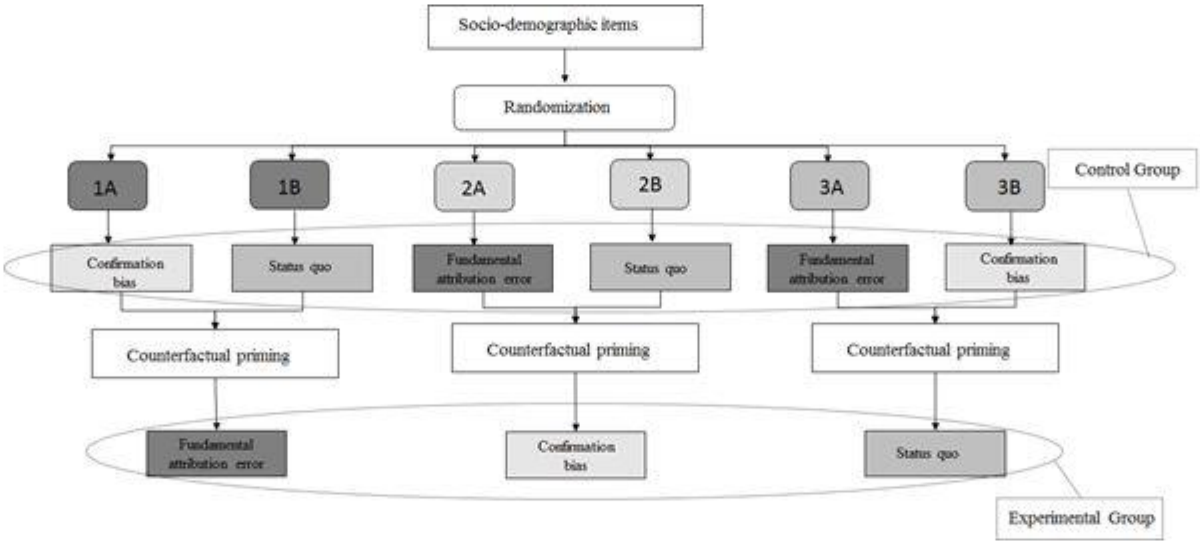
Methods

Participants and research design

Results of Markman et al. (2009) found effect sizes of counterfactual priming from d = 0.5 to d = 0.97. We defined the sample size in line with their results of effect size d = 0.5. We used G-power for calculating the sample size with the smallest effect size of interest d = 0.5 and power 0.80; thus the total sample size was calculated to be at least 102 participants. Using Bonferroni correction, we accepted the limit for the p value of .016. Participants were recruited online by the snowball method. We collected responses from 213 participants, but we excluded (n = 11) participants with incomplete questionnaires, those who responded „no“ in the attention check and participants aged under 18 years. Our final database contained the responses of 202 people from Bulgaria, who passed the control question for attention and met the age limit of at least 18 years. 28.7 % of the sample was male (n = 58) and 71.3% female (n = 144). The age of participants ranged from 18 to 69 years (M = 31.06, SD = 11.172). The group was composed of students and graduates of natural and technical disciplines 29.2% (n = 59), 37.6% of participants (n = 76) studied or graduated from socio-professional departments, and the remaining 33.2% (n = 67) were students or graduates of other disciplines (such as art, and sports).

The effect of counterfactual priming on cognitive biases was investigated through a between-subject 3x2 experiment (Figure 1). The experimental intervention was counterfactual priming, so participants completed one of the two types of tasks before counterfactual priming (control group) and the third task was solved after counterfactual priming (experimental group). Therefore, participants were randomly assigned to one of the six control groups (before counterfactual priming – 1A to 3B), or one of the three experimental groups (after counterfactual priming – 1, 2, 3). Specifically, a participant who solved the task for Fundamental attribution error received tasks in the control groups Confirmation bias or Status quo bias. If the participant solved tasks in the status quo control group (1B), they were part of a control group and also a participant in 2B in the experimental group with the status quo task (3A and 3B). So in our between-subject experimental design we had balanced sample sizes of the control and experimental groups.

Figure 1: Experimental Design



Materials

The counterfactual scenario was based on the model of the initial study by Galinsky and Moskowitz (2000) and adjusted based on the results of the pre-survey. It involved Jane, who attended a concert, and due to a change of seat, did not win a trip to Hawaii. The scenario ended with a reflection of what Jane would have gained if she had resisted changing her seat, and what, on the contrary, would have happened if she had not resisted.

The main stimulus material was 3 problems with cognitive deviations, in addition to which we included the filler tasks.

The problem of the confirmation bias was social (Snyder & Swann, 1978; Strachanová & Valuš, 2019). „Teresa is a single woman without a partner, who is invited by a friend to participate in speed dating (SD = quick date, acquaintance with multiple singles). Teresa is an introvert, who likes spending time at home with a book or a movie and for a partner she would like someone with similar preferences. In the corridor she notices a man who stands alone, scrolls through newspapers and does not seem to want to socialize. Teresa knows that she has only a minute to get to know the person in question and wants to prepare 5 questions because she will not have the opportunity to ask more. She wonders if she correctly assessed this man to be like her - not a social type, but rather an introvert. Which of the following questions should she ask?“ In the context of the so-called "Speed-dating", participants had to choose 5 questions from 10 questions to verify their hypothesis. Half of the questions were in agreement with the assumption, half against it. The propensity for confirmation bias was -5 to +5.

The role of fundamental attribution error (Strachanová & Valuš, 2019), from the work area, consisted of evaluating a colleague: „At work, you have a new colleague with whom you have not yet been able to get acquainted. You know he is very experienced, he performs above average, seems to be highly motivated, he meets deadlines. Sometimes he seems to be friendly and laidback, willingly helping his colleagues. In other cases he is gloomy and closed, and stays away from people. He becomes moody and unpredictable, and his other colleagues do not particularly like him. One day, you have to stay late at work, and you accidentally hear a part of a conversation of this colleague with his mother. You find out that his mother is very sick, and he has to take care of her, which is not easy. A few days later, the leader of your work team contacts you and asks you to evaluate your new colleague." The reasons for the moody behavior of colleagues could be attributed to situational circumstances (0) or personality dispositions (6) on a 7-point Likert scale. There were three questions following the fundamental attribution error task, two of them were distractors and one (question about the reason for co-worker´s behavior) measured fundamental attribution error.

As part of the status quo bias (Samuelson & Zeckhauser, 1988; Dudeková, Kostovičová & Konečný, 2017) from the financial domain, participants, after reading information that they have inherited a portfolio from a distant relative, have to consider what to do with the remaining part of the money. Do they stick with the original option or choose another? „Imagine that you have inherited a portfolio from a distant relative, the bulk of which is invested in a medium-risk company A. You have to consider what to do with the remaining part of the money. Do you stick with the original option or do you choose another? Select one option:

a) Original option – a medium-risk Company A. Forecast for the next 3 years: the chance that your stock will rise by 30% is 0.5, the chance that its value will remain the same 0.2 and the risk that its value will fall 20% is 0.3.

b) Investing in a High-Risk Company B. Forecast for the next 3 years: the chance that the value of your shares doubles is 0.4, the chance that their value will remain the same is 0.3 and the risk that their value will fall by 40% is 0.3.

c) Investing in a low-risk company C. Forecast for the next 3 years: the chance that your shares will rise by 20% is 0.7, the chance that their value remains the same 0.2 and the risk that their value will fall by 5 % is 0.1." Participants expressed the preference for new financial product (0) or default option (1).

Procedure

In the online questionnaire, participants first filled out the socio-demographic data (age, gender, focus of current or completed studies). They then solved the task of one of the three cognitive biases. Subsequently, they read the counterfactual scenario and solved another task of three cognitive biases. Participants with missing values were deleted from the analysis. Data were analyzed in statistical program SPSS. After checking the normality (Kolmogor-Smirno, Shapiro-Wilko, skewness and curtosis), if unconfirmed normality was found, we analyzed cardinal variables using the non-parametric Mann-Whitney U-test. For the nominal variables we used Pearson's Chi square.

Results

We focus on the results of the main part of the analysis.

Status quo bias

The task for status quo bias was solved by 140 participants. Keeping the previous option of investment was chosen by 25.4% ($n = 17$) members of the control group ($n = 67$) and 26.0% ($n = 19$) members of the experimental group ($n = 73$), which represents an insignificant difference, $\chi2$ (1) = 0.008; $p = 0.929$; $V = 0.007$.

Fundamental attribution error

The task for fundamental attribution error was solved by 133 participants. Participants in the control group (n = 71) assumed that the reason for the co-worker´s behavior is the situation (Mdn = 6; IQR = 2) just like the participants (n = 62) in the experimental group (Mdn = 6; IQR = 2). We rated 1-3 as "personality dispositions", 4 as "even" and 5-7 as "situational circumstances". Within the representation of these categories, the control and experimental groups were not significantly different, $\chi 2$ (2) = 5.733; p = 0.057; V = 0.208.

Confirmation bias

The task for confirmation bias was solved by 131 participants. Participants in the control group (n = 64) asked on average 0.39 (SD = 1.715) questions concerning introversion. Participants in the experimental group (n = 67) asked on average 0.25 (SD = 1.941) questions concerning introversion. In the cumulative confirmation bias score there was no statistically significant difference between the control and the experimental group U = 2012.0; p = 0.552; rm = 0,003.

Discussion

In the work we dealt with the reduction of three cognitive biases by counterfactual priming. Our findings did not support the assumption that counterfactual priming reduces the tendency to confirmation bias (Hypothesis 1). Although participants in the experimental group asked on average fewer questions concerning introversion, the difference was not statistically significant. As far as research issues are concerned, we found that priming did not reduce the attribution effect (Hypothesis 3) and did not affect the status quo bias (Hypothesis 2) either.

Regarding the status quo bias, support for the counterfactual mindset did not play a role in the hypothetical decision about investment, similar to the results found by Strachanová and Valuš (2019). The first explanation is in line with our previous findings concerning the domain specificity of counterfactual thinking (Strachanová & Grežo 2018). Secondly, Montibeller and von Winterfeldt (2015) recommend, as a useful debiasing strategy in status quo bias, showing the logic of symmetry of gains and losses. It is also necessary to point out that the preference for voluntary vaccination does not mean the refusal to vaccinate, and therefore, the preference for the "default" option, despite arguments in favor of the alternative, cannot be described as an irrational choice.

A counterfactual mindset helped people to consider neither the possibilities that support the original assumption nor the opposing alternatives, and neither did it neglect the role of situational factors in assessing the behavior of others. Confirmation bias as well as fundamental attribution error are strategy-based biases (Arkes, 1991), therefore, it would be appropriate to focus on further biases from this category and the impact of the counterfactual priming on other research efforts. Priming is a cognitive debiasing strategy (Larrick, 2004), the effectiveness of which could be supported by other strategies, such as incentive action (Tetlock, 1992). Another explanation of the dysfunction of counterfactual priming is discussed by Markman, Karadogan, Lindberg and Zell (2009). They write about two functions of counterfactual thinking: it comforts and inspires a person or it can cause anxiety and feelings of depression. Roese (2004) distinguish two ways of counterfactuals: upward and downward and says that downward counterfactuals cause a more positive effect in comparison with upward counterfactuals and that the direction of counterfactuals can influence success behavior. He says that downward counterfactuals make people feel better and upward counterfactuals can improve performance. Our counterfactual scenario primed participants to think about what they lose and what they gain from situations, so it means we used a mixed counterfactual scenario. Further research should compare the debiasing effect of both (upward and downward) counterfactual scenarios but separately, in order to see its debiasing effect in different cognitive biases.

The limitations of our research are multiple. One of them is the sample size could be bigger in order to capture a smaller effect size than 0.5. Another limitation is that we omitted doing pre-testing tasks for cognitive biases measures in Bulgaria, so we did not consider cultural differences (Leung, 1989; Choi & Nisbett, 1998) in cognitive biases, which are not well-examined. Our experiment brings new evidence in investigating the debiasing effect of counterfactual priming in Bulgaria and gives space for another field of investigation in a little-explored area.

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Statues of Lady Justice in Hungary: Representation of *Justitia* in town halls, courthouses, and other public spaces

Peter Takács, Széchenyi István University, Faculty of Law, Department of Jurisprudence, Győr, Hungary; takacs.peter@sze.hu

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Abstract:
The representation of the idea of justice through the ancient Roman goddess-figure, recently known as Lady Justice, has constituted an essential part of European culture for centuries. This paper outlines these statues in town halls, courthouses, and public spaces in Hungary, and examines some of them in detail. The aim of the study is to draw a general picture of such statues in a Central and Eastern European country, namely in Hungary, to identify the characteristics of these sculptures, reflecting their social and political context, and in some cases to contrast them with that of those which were characteristic in Western Europe. The nature of this study is multi and interdisciplinary, so it applies several methods in exploring its theme; for example, art and cultural history were mixed with reference to social history and legal history. The paper focuses on the legal and political culture – conceived in the cultural context, institutional prerequisites and behavioral patterns as components of law and politics – and treats statues of Justice as part of this culture.
As a way of introduction, the paper gives a brief overview of three murals, and discusses, briefly, the controversy around the authorship of one of them; stating that its attribution to Boticelli is, in all probability, misleading. The paper – after listing the Justitia statue in the town halls and court buildings of Hungary – evaluates in detail the statue of Justice which supplements the highly controversial Ferenc Deák Monument, erected in 1885 in central Budapest. It then analyses another one from1896 made by the finest sculptor of the late 19th century, Alajos Strobl, for the Palace of Justice which was opened in that same year. Finally, the paper gives a general overview of modern sculptures of the past two decades which can be found in Hungarian courthouses. The article illustrates, among other things, the interconnection of artworks and politics, sculpturing and law, and traditional values and modernity. In evaluating the selected representations of Lady Justice, it employs the approaches of political and cultural history as well as legal theory.
For the sculptures in question, this study may raise questions from three disciplines: jurisprudence and law, social and cultural history, and the theory of art. The study is interdisciplinary and focuses primarily on the first and second areas mentioned, and, among other things, examines the cultural-historical functions of a law-related symbol. One of its main assertions is that statues of Lady Justice have been part of the legal culture for centuries, but the representation of justice has undergone changes as significant as the changes of legal systems themselves. On this issue, the study argues that representation is interwoven with concepts of law and justice and the relationship between politics and law. The study goes as far as to penetrate into the field of iconology at the level that E. Panofsky referred to as the pre-iconographic description, which is the first of the three possible steps in this field. At the second step, on the level of iconographic analysis, this study turns towards social and legal meanings, since it is interested in not so much about the aesthetic-iconological analysis of the artwork, but about the socio-legal and legal-cultural meanings of certain cultural phenomena.
From the point of view of legal theory, of ethics and of general social theory, innumerable questions can be, and usually are, asked about the visualization of justice. The most typical questions include: what objects and tools are used to depict Justitia (Lady Justice), and what do they mean when applied to law? Does she have a sword in her hand which she raises as if she were just about to lower it, or maybe hide it behind her? The answer is telling about

the punitive or normative nature of the law. And what if she holds a palm branch (its usual meaning is peace) or Roman fasces (its usual meaning is authority) in her hand, and not a sword? What characteristics of law are expressed by the artist, if any, when depicting her sitting and what, if any, when depicting her standing? If she is sitting, what is she sitting on? A stone? (typical in the Middle Age) Or on a throne? (which refers to the ancient times, but is applied only in modern times) What does it mean concerning the characteristics of law if she lifts the hand holding the scales? It means, of course, that the normative nature of the law is more important than its punitive character. Is she blindfolded, and if so, why? It is – as we all know – about impartiality, but impartiality sometimes marks weakness. What does her clothing look like? Is it ancient, medieval, or modern? Is it simple or colorful? Is she depicted alone or with others, and if so, with the virtuous or with the sinner, with humans or with other goddesses? Is she depicted among "cardinal virtues" of ancient origin as one of them, or with scholastic "theological virtues", or perhaps as one of the four virtues called the "daughters of God"? In our age, it is typical to put this question as well: why the embodiment of justice is a goddess and not one of the gods, namely why is she a female, and in what sense could a goddess be a woman? And if she is really a woman, for of which one of her most important features is beauty, how should the artist portray her female sensuality and womanhood? Is the artist free to depict her as sensually attractive?
One of our conclusions of this study is that raising these kinds of questions in connection with the statues of justice illuminates a possible way of thinking about the specific characteristics of law.

Keywords:
Representations of law and justice in visual arts. Courthouses. Statues of Lady Justice. Ferenc Deák Monument. Sculptures of Alajos Strobl. Decoration of court buildings. Modern public sculptures.

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The representation of the idea of justice[1] through the ancient Roman goddess-figure, recently called Lady Justice, has constituted an essential part of European culture since the late Middle Ages. The representations of Lady Justice through sculptures have spread in three stages in Europe: first, they emerged in churches and chapels, then in town halls, courthouses, and other public spaces and, lastly, they were created as individual artistic works usually for communal use. The meaning of the ancient symbol of Justice has changed many times accordingly: it was a symbol of *virtue*, it was a symbolic *guarantee* of jurisdiction, and it was used as a representation of *social ideals* or particular *political orientations* of a community. Similar tendencies can be observed in Hungary, but because of the destruction of statues and buildings by wars and military occupation in this country only a fragmentary reconstruction is possible.

Overview

There are eighteen statues of *Justitia* and architectural ornaments of artistic value representing her in public spaces in Hungary: five of them can be found in Budapest and another thirteen in rural towns such as Cegléd, Szeged, Balassagyarmat, Békéscsaba, Csongrád, Eger, Győr, Kaposvár, Nyíregyháza and Szélesfehérvár. Furthermore, there is documentary evidence for the existence of statues that later disappeared, were significantly damaged or destroyed. Some of the still existing statues and architectural ornaments can be found in town halls; the majority of them are located in courthouses while four of them decorate public buildings not connected to jurisdiction and law.
One of the statues of Budapest is located in a busy public space in the centre while the other can be found inside the building of a courthouse. The former is placed in front of the pedestal of the 1887 *Ferenc Deák Monument* with which it shares the same fate and values, as well as a lack of appreciation. The latter is the 1897 *Lady Justice* of Alajos Strobl which was originally made for the Palace of Justice but is currently located in a different building in which the

[1] Here I would like to say thanks to the two anonymous reviewers of this study at the journal *Človek a spoločnosť* for the comments and critical analysis, which I have utilized in many ways. If any deficiency or inaccuracies remained in the study, it is, of course, my responsibility.

Supreme Court of Hungary, the *Curia*, has been operating since 1981 after it moved out from the Palace of Justice in 1951. As the court is expected to move back to its original place in the near future, it may result in the statue's return, as well.

Apart from the above-mentioned statues, there are a number of "immovable" visual representations of Lady Justice in the form of frescoes or seccos on buildings, three of which have particular artistic value. One of them is located in Esztergom, two in Budapest: in a museum, and in the former building of Palace of Justice, which was also a museum for a long time, but is expected to become the Supreme Court of Justice again in the near future.

The fresco which is displayed in a Budapest museum has Italian origin. It is the work of the 14th-century Cola Petruccioli (1360–1401), or that of his son, titled *The Allegory of Justice. (Cf. image Nº 1 in the Appendix.)* It had once decorated the wall of the Palazzo Isidori in Perugia, and is currently exhibited in the Museum of Fine Arts in Budapest. The allegory originally constituted a part of a fresco cycle that survived in 11 fragmented parts.[2] It was taken to Budapest, following a careful detachment and removal from the wall and the sale of the parts. It might have been strange, or at least unusual thing even in legal terms to "buy a fresco" in Italy, and take it to Budapest. It was done by Károly Pulszky – the brother of the lawyer and philosopher of law, Ágost Pulszky – who purchased them for the Museum of Fine Art at the end of the 19th century. This Justitia, like the other female figures representing virtues and sins, stands in a Gothic niche, on top of which is a tympanum that shows a rosette of six circles and two triangles of the same center (i.e, the six-pointed figures symbolizing the Holy Spirit). The picture is a typical example of medieval allegories; the figure personifies a virtue without having a specific, real-world human personality. The contradiction is resolved by a text strip that reads: "Col mio giusto fervore sono acta ad aumentarte senza ciancia con questa spada e co la mia belancia" (With my passionate devotion I can make you bigger, without chatter, with this sword and balance). From this we can be sure that the message of the picture is not addressed to a general audience or the common people, but the rulers, emphasizing the usefulness of justice in the exercise of power.

The other mural can be found in Esztergom. It is an *Allegory of Justice* again that constitutes a part of the fresco titled *The Four Virtues*. *(Cf. image Nº 2.)* It was, to the best of our knowledge, painted on the wall of the *studiolo* ("study room" or main hall) of the palace of John Vitez de Zredna by an Italian master whose identity is still uncertain. It gained relatively wide publicity by an infamous professional debate which, in terms of its consequences and effect, ranged from enthusiastic belief to cold rejection. The debate was triggered by the assumption that the creator of the artefact, in whole or in part, was not a certain Albert master of Florence of the 15th century, as it had been supposed and perceived earlier,[3] but the young Sandro Botticelli.[4] This was such a surprising statement that it was immediately contested by many, including the

[2] For its analysis see FEHÉR, Ildikó. Il ciclo di affreschi allegorici del Palazzo Isidori di Perugia. Alla luce delle ultime ricerche e restauri. In *Bulletin Du Musée Hongrois Des Beaux-Arts – Szépművészeti Múzeum Közleményei.* 2000, No. 92/93, pp. 47-65 and pp. 179-188. For an overview of the research in previous decades, see pp. 181-183. See also FEHÉR, Ildikó. Cola Petruccioli's fresco cycle from the Palazzo Isidori in Perugia. In *Arte Cristiana* [Milano], 2007, vol. 95, pp. 111-120.

[3] See BALOGH, Jolán. Magister Albertus pictor Florentinus. In *Annuario dell'Istituto Ungherese di Storia dell'Arte di Firenze* [Firenze]. 1947 [printed in 1948], pp. 74-80.

[4] This position is expressed and represented by the art historian Mária Prokopp, and the conservator Zsuzsanna Weirdl. See PROKOPP, Mária. Un affresco di Botticelli in Ungheria? Una recente scoperta al Castello di Esztergom. In *Italia & Italy.* Luglio 2007 – marzo 2008. [July 2007 – March 2008] p. 16.; PROKOPP, Mária. Nuova attribuzione degli affreschi quattrocenteschi dello Studiolo del Primate del Regno d'Ungheria a Esztergom. In PROKOPP, Mária – WEIRDL, Zsuzsanna – VUKOV, Konstantin (eds). *Az erények nyomában – Botticelli* [In the footsteps of the Virtues – Botticelli]. Budapest: Studiolo Bt., 2009, pp. 155-163 and (in English) PROKOPP, Mária. Botticelli in Esztergom. In *Hungarian Review*, 2011, vol. 10, 2, pp. 80-95.

international community of art historians.[5] To put it more accurately the secco gained wide publicity since the debate had been politicized by the mass media which later inevitably cast a shadow over the professional debate, as well. Nevertheless, some of the professional public had doubts as to the creator of the secco in Esztergom being Botticelli.[6] The contemporary art historian, Árpád Mikó, for example, in a 2015 study among rich references in literature stated: "There is no historical data on Botticelli's trip to Hungary, and the average quality of the frescoes does not support this assumption. There is nothing at all to support this assumption."[7]
The third fresco decorates the ceiling of the so-called "Walking Hall" (the ceremonial hall) of the Palace of Justice in Budapest. It is titled *The Triumph of Justice* and was painted by Károly Lotz, a prominent Hungarian painter of German descent, representative of 19th-century academic style painting. *(Cf. image Nº 3.)* His authorship is undisputed, but it cannot be said that there are no problems around this painting concerning the meaning of the artwork.
Lotz's vibrant composition merely refers to the ideal elements of an ideal world but does not organize them into a coherent whole. It's like a textbook illustration of what Hegel said about allegory. The *allegory* – as we may read in the German philosopher's *Aesthetic* – personifies something, but neither in its substance nor in its appearance is it really a subject or an individual, but an abstraction of a general notion that "takes on an empty form of subjectivity", which can be called only "a grammatical subject". In other words, "even if we give it a human form" it will reach the concrete individuality neither of a Greek goddess, or that of a saint, or that of any real subject."[8] So the problem with Lotz's Triumph of Justice is that its figures are empty forms. It cannot be another way, for allegory is an artistic form essentially belonging to the Middle Ages, and its sign-like emptiness is at odds with both the dynamic nature of 19th-century modernity and historicism or national romanticism. The allegory in the modern age was no longer capable of expressing complex thoughts, only of pleasing the eye.[9] That is why we call this kind of art (purely) "decorative".

Old statues of Lady Justice in town halls and courthouses

The oldest statues of Lady Justice in Hungary are in fact architectural ornaments carved out of stone which are located in town halls built in the 18th and 19th centuries.[10] The ornaments were

[5] See in detail WALDMAN, Louis A. Commissioning Art in Florence for Matthias Corvinus: The Painter and Agent Alexander Formoser and His Sons, Jacopo and Raffaello del Tedesco. In FARBAKY, Péter – WALDMAN, Louis A. (eds.). *Italy and Hungary: Humanism and Art in the Early Renaissance*. *Acts of an International Conference, Florence, Villa I Tatti, June 6–8, 2007.* Firenze: Villa I Tatti 2011, 27, pp. 430-438. According to L. A. Waldman the „pictor Florentinus", namely Magister Albertus was, in fact, a printer in Florence named Uberti (some of his prints are kept by the British Museum), and he visited Esztergom at the time in question.

[6] See JÉKELY, Zsombor. Botticelli in Esztergom? Blogpost on Thursday, March 24, 2011. In *Medieval Hungary*. Available at https://jekely.blogspot.com/2011/03/botticelli-in-esztergom.html (retrieved on 27 August 2019).

[7] MIKÓ, Árpád. Reneszánsz művészet a Jagelló-kori Magyarországon, I. [Renaissance art in Hungary, in the Jagello age] part 1. In *Ars Hungarica* 2015, vol. 41, No. 4, pp. 365-366.

[8] HEGEL, Georg W. F. *Aesthetics. Lectures on Fine Art.* Transl.: T. M. Knox. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998. pp. 398-402.

[9] It is no coincidence that Lotz was the painter of the representative buildings of the late 19th century in Budapest (the National Museum, the State Opera House, the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, and the Parliament), just like the young Gustav Klimt and his brothers did similarly in Vienna. Their works are expressions of civic contentment and satisfaction, but otherwise they have nothing important to say.

[10] The decoration of town halls with statues of Lady Justice was, in part, a reason in itself – the same way it occurred in Western Europe – and in part because prior to the establishment of the modern civil state (see Acts IV of 1869 and XXXII of 1871) jurisdiction had been operating, among other palaces, in the buildings of town halls. For the "confinement" of jurisdiction and the initial role of town halls in arbitration see KENGYEL, Miklós. *Perkultúra. A bíróságok világa – A világ bíróságai* [Legal Culture in Court. The World of Courts – Courts of the World]. Budapest – Pécs: Dialóg Campus Kiadó, 2011, pp. 18-19.

made by German and Hungarian stonemason masters. In the late 19th century, statues of Lady Justice also appeared on and in the buildings of courthouses, of which some are sophisticated works of art.

The first town hall statue is located in Székesfehérvár, above the entrance of one of the buildings of the former *Stadt-Rathaus* which already existed in Ottoman times and whose façade was created in 1712. *(Cf. image Nº 4.)* Above the Corinthian columns decorating the portal of the building, there is an openwork stone balcony with corrugated arches and two statues standing on its two edges: the figures of *Justitia* and *Prudentia* (Justice and Prudence). Around the balcony door, there still is an elaborately ornamented cornice-like stone frame with an open-winged eagle sitting on its upper arch holding a crown and a sword in its claws. The imperial eagle, a reminder of Habsburg times, creates a special atmosphere for the classical representations of virtue. It could thus be argued that the *timelessness* is always placed into a specific *historical* context in Hungary. The stone carvings of the portal were made between 1717 – 1718 by the stonemason master Thomas Walch of Eisenstadt.[11]

After 1738 a statue of Lady Justice decorated the façade of the town hall of Eger, too. *(Cf. image Nº 5.)* It was made by the German stonemason Johan Michael Singer and was transferred in the 20th century – when the façade of the town hall was completely remodelled – to the wall cabin on the façade of the small central palace built by canon József Vágner. It is baroque-style but is still effortless, chiselled and with dynamic-styled clothing, and is characterized by a massive sword that is somewhat unsuitable for a female figure, and may have been latterly “glued” on the side of the figure, in contrast with the scales (the libra) which is most certainly original. It gives the impression that the sword is not held by the figure but is only leaned against her side.

The creators depicted justice on both the above-mentioned statues in a now conventional way: with a sword and scales in her hands and her eyes blindfolded. The latter is a significant detail since other representations of Lady Justice from roughly the same period that were brought to Hungary from abroad – and which are currently exhibited in the Museum of Fine Arts[12] – depict Lady Justice without blindfolds. As representations of Lady Justice with blindfolds became popular across Europe in the 16–17th centuries, it can be argued that creators of Hungarian public sculptures of the 18th century kept pace with the age.

During the 19th century, several Hungarian courthouses were located in separate buildings which were often decorated with statues of Lady Justice. Apart from the statues of Alajos Strobl – discussed in detail below – there are some ten architectural ornaments of this kind from the period until the First World War.

Two of them are located in Nyíregyháza, where the town hall *(cf. image Nº 7)* was built in the 19th century (the classicistic ground floor in 1841 and the eclectic-neo-renaissance floor in 1871) but the South wing of the building was delivered to the county court *pro forma* in 1872. To date, there are two statues of Lady Justice on the two edges of the façade above the balcony overlooking the square. *(Cf. image Nº 8.)* One of them holds a sword while the other has scales and a laurel in her hand; one wears a hair slide while the other has a crown on her head. They were attached to the building in the early 1870s; according to those believing in superstitions, they enabled an acquittal in the infamous trial called the blood libel at Tiszaeszlár, most of whose hearings were held in this building in 1883–1884.

[11] Due to the damage made in the original in 1956, the statue, in its current form, is a replacement similar to the original. It was made in 1960 by Ernő Szakál, on the basis of the original. The door itself was renovated in 1989. See MAGONY, Imre. *Székesfehérvár szobrai* [Statues of Székesfehérvár]. Székesfehérvár: Ma, 1995, 2004, p. 157.

[12] They are as follows: a pen drawing titled *Allegory of Justice* by an unknown artist (221 x 165 mm, 1550), Giacomo Piccini’s etching titled *Judith or Justitia* (283 × 354 mm, 1658) and the oil painting of Luca Giordano titled *Disarmed Justitia* (168 x 268 cm, c. 1670).

In the late 19th century, the gable of the neo-renaissance Palace of Tribunal (Court of Appeal) in Szeged, completed by 1882, was decorated with a statue of Lady Justice. *(Cf. image Nº 10.)* As is widely known, this building was the seat of the counter-revolutionary government in 1919, with Michael Horthy serving as minister of defence. The creator of the architectural ornament is unknown; however, it is most likely to have been made on the basis of the drawings of architect Viktor Bachó. Significant features of the sculptures made of galvanized sheet include the main figure of Lady Justice, her uniquely decorated clothing, a hooded gown, and the fact that the scales in her left hand is missing. The latter is a significant detail because her posture suggests that she must have been holding one once. The other two female figures of the composition set up in a triangular shape are hard to identify: one of them holds a legal code while the other has a scroll in her hand. They are visibly figures associated with law and jurisdiction; based on her atoning posture, the one on the left symbolizes *Equity* or *Grace* while the one on the right represents *Law*. The ornament eloquently illustrates that although the material giving body to the form and carrying substance is highly significant, it does not necessarily determine the form; even tin can be used for making impressive statues.

One of the most impressive and lightweight statues of Lady Justice in Hungary is located in Cegléd; above the entrance of the building of the district court where citizens seeking justice are greeted by *Justice* and *Prudence. (Cf. image Nº 9.)* Its creator is unknown. It is a simple and successful stone carving whose beauty is reinforced by two contrasts. On the one hand, the chiselled statues are placed above the portal of a not necessarily elegant building which used to be neglected and is often hidden by the leaves of trees (although, the building was renovated well in 2015). On the other hand, due to the fact that the statues are likely to have been carved out of cheap stone between 1910 – 1912, they are slightly worn and fragmented; symbolizing both age and timeless beauty.

In the early 20th century the Palace of Justice in Kaposvár was also decorated by a statue of Lady Justice. *(Cf. image Nº 6.)* Although the sitting – or "enthroned" – female figure wears a seven-pointed tiara, her features are less chiselled. Nonetheless, this is not a distracting detail given the statue's location at a three-storey height on the building's gable and the fact that only her silhouette is truly visible. Although the statue is hard to notice from the entrance, it becomes apparent from a distance and clearly decorates the biggest and, despite its eclectic style, appealing building of Kaposvár. Its creator is unknown; however, if anyone, the composition – i.e., the sitting figure – is most likely to have been inspired by Alajos Strobl. A frequent observation regarding the statue made between 1906 and 1907 is that – similar to its fellow statue in the town hall of Székesfehérvár – the broadsword is held not in her right but in her left hand.

The Lady Justice of Balassagyarmat is also placed at several storeys' height; however, it is not situated on the building's gable but on its façade. *(Cf. images Nºs 11–12.)* There are two vast, chiselled, ca. two-metre-high figures on the richly decorated façade of the courthouse built between 1911 – 1912 in late eclectic style. The statues give the impression that they are standing on some sort of guard post watching those arriving. On the left side, there stands a "guardian of law", a personification of the Roman *praetor*, while the representation of justice, *Lady Justice* is found on the right side. Even though their creators are unknown, it is a more or less established fact that they worked under the guidance of master builders Chressel and Gaál from Brasov.

In order to find a location for the former royal Ministry of Justice, a decision was made to construct a new palace sometime after 1910. It was going to be built in Budapest in the part that is currently located at 16 Markó Street (in the building where the Supreme Court, the *Curia*, convenes today). The construction of the building commenced in 1913 and was completed by 1914; however, its delivery could not take place due to the outbreak of the First World War and had to be postponed again, this time due to the Aster Revolution in 1918. In spite of the ominous beginnings, the building emanates serenity and power. On its main façade, on the cornice above the four-column, high portico there stands two stone-carved figures: *Praetor* and *Lady Justice* (no image is included here in the Appendix).[13] In contrast to the ones in Balassagyarmat, this Praetor and Lady Justice do not face those arriving – since it would be impossible in the densely built centre – but stand as if they were guarding the building. However, if this was the intended purpose of their designer and creator, we have to say that they did not succeed in achieving it. The former Ministry of Justice operated in the building only until 1945 as it later housed the Ministry of Chemical and Heavy Industries. Later on, in 1981, the Supreme Court moved into the building, together with the Supreme Prosecutor's Office. In 1983, the Lady Justice of Alajos Strobl was moved to this building and has since been confined in its narrow hallway.

A highly controversial statue: the Ferenc Deák Monument

One of the statues of Lady Justice in Budapest, which in itself is not very well known, but is, in fact, a complementary element to one of the best-known and fairly controversial monuments, is the creation of Adolf Huszár.[14] It is the monument of the significant Hungarian politician and statesman, Ferenc Deák, located in the centre at the Pest bridgehead of the Chain Bridge. *(Cf. images N^os^ 13–15.)* Both the monument and its creator share the same tragic or at least unfortunate fate: the creation – due to its representation of the main figure, Ferenc Deák – was "ridiculed" by the contemporaries and the creator received strong criticism. These might have played a part in his early death at the age of 42, leaving his works unfinished.[15]

Even though his statues were fiercely debated, Huszár was a successful artist of his age. He was the creator of several monuments in public spaces along the banks of the Danube on the Pest side, such as the statue of József Eötvös (1879) at the head of the Chain Bridge, and the statue of Sándor Petőfi (remodelling of Miklós Izsó's plan, 1882) at the beginning of the Duna-korzó (promenade). His speciality was, however, genre statues including the marble statue titled Venus and Amor in the hallway of the Gellért Bath.

The erection of the *Ferenc Deák Monument* was decided upon by Act III of 1876, although it took 11 years to finally erect it. Due to Adolf Huszár's death in 1885, the moulding of the statue and the two supporting figures including that of Lady Justice took place after his death, following his plans. The two supporting figures were completed by other sculptors. The place of the monument was chosen to be the square overlooking the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, the now Liberty Square. Three statues were planned for the square: one of István Széchenyi on the side of the square near the Academy (it has been standing there since 1880 and was created by József Engel), one of Ferenc Deák on the other side of the square, and a third depicting the king's equestrian statue in the middle. As one of the former names of the square suggests, the reason for the third statue was that in the year of the Settlement (the so-called Compromise of 1867) here stood the "coronation hill" where Franz Joseph I of Austria, in coronation gown and on horseback, made the traditional four slashes with his sword toward the direction of the four points of the compass (the four orientations). As is known, the latter statue was never completed.

The monument of Ferenc Deák is indeed a curious work of art. Deák sits "enthroned" aloft like a ruler, which was certainly not part of his complex personality. Doing politics, gaining

[13] Images of these statues are available at https://www.kozterkep.hu, see pages of 27267.

[14] Adolf Huszár (1843–1885) was a popular sculptor of his age. He was born in the then independent village of Svätý Jakub (Jakabfalva), near Banská Bystrica. According to his original profession, he was an iron foundryman, but later he studied at the Vienna Academy, and he settled in Pest in 1871. One of his early statues – titled *Smiling boy* – is shown in the Ernest Zmeták Art Gallery in Nové Zámky.

[15] On his life through the eyes of his contemporaries, see for instance the article titled Huszár Adolf (1843–1885) [Adolf Huszár (1843–1885)], *Vasárnapi Újság* [Weekly magazine on Sundays], 25. January 1885 (vol. 32. no. 4), pp. 61-62.

influence, or exercising power were certainly to his liking, but he clearly did not wish to rule explicitly despite the statue depicting him this way. This is because the statue was modelled after the Maria Theresa Monument in Vienna which depicts the Empress sitting.[16] The question of whether Deák should be represented "standing or sitting" divided the contemporaries too. The issue incited not only journalistic but also academic debates which were related to the question of whether his late contemporaries wished to see Deák as the "rhetorician" or as the "wise man of the nation". His personality supposedly did not match any of these; for it most closely corresponded to the "politician" in the positive sense as a community-builder, even though this equally connotates, to some extent, to tricks and dexterity, cunning, and sometimes intrigue.

The monument includes four supporting statues below the sitting figure of Deák: Lady Justice at the front, Nurture and National Progress (known by the contemporaries as State Wisdom) on the right side, Settlement (or Compromise of 1867) on the left side, as well as Patriotism at the back. Due to Huszár's death, the latter two figures were created by his pupil, Ede Mayer (1857–1908), based on Huszár's plans. The statue of Lady Justice was completed by 1885 and received outstanding criticism at a national exhibition. The monument is a peculiar work of art due to some discrepancies between the main and supporting figures: while the figure of Ferenc Deák is portrait-like emanating dignity and serenity, the four supporting figures are idealized, dynamic and – except for the figure of Lady Justice – full of tension. The figure of Lady Justice is powerful, almost robust as if it was created intentionally for a dynamic age. Her figure is not "goddess-like" but rather resembles a "mature woman". Her accessories are conventional: scales in her left hand, a book – presumably a legal code – instead of the usual sword in her right hand. She has a gloriole (a halo-like crown, or crown-like halo), the usual sign of persons chosen by God. Her heavy build and slightly stern look are somewhat compensated by her fine clothing. Although the statue does not demonstrate dignity, its overall impact – in contrast with the other three figures – suggests attitude and power.

Art historian and art philosopher, Lajos Fülep (1885–1970) wrote almost everything significant about the formal problems of the statues in his satirical review published in the periodical *Nyugat* in 1918. He argued that the course of Hungarian sculpture in question "was at the service of politics and mass snobbery forgetting or not even getting to know the tasks of art. [...] [The old sculptors] undertook the same tasks as contemporary ones but did that with more modesty and taste, more stylistic sense and education. The often-taunted Ferenc Deák Monument of Adolf Huszár, this otherwise academic and boring monument, fits – with its compact mass – organically into its space in an appropriate architectonic environment near the old Lloyd building and the mouth of the Chain Bridge. In fact, looking over from Buda, the Castle Hill in clear winter mornings, it creates the illusion of monumentality with its steady silhouette. At least from a certain point of the globe, in a certain season of the year and at a certain hour of the day. Similar views which cannot be claimed about its fellow statues".[17]

[16] This detail is a thing of great importance since its creator, Caspar Zumbusch (1830–1915) – the prominent representative of the German academic memorial sculpture, a lecturer (and so Huszár's teacher) at the Vienna Academy – submitted an application for the creation of the Deák Monument while already working on the Maria Theresa Monument. Although it was Adolf Huszár's application that won and Zumbusch's came second, the winner was only awarded the "first prize" which did not yet amount to receiving the mandate. Hence, every politician could have a say in the construction of the monument. Huszár himself had originally planned to depict Deák standing. More precisely, after making two plans of standing figures – when he learned that the jury had made its decision and would only commission him if he deviated from the plan – he prepared another plan, this time with a sitting figure. Perhaps it is no coincidence that this statue, regarding its main curves, resembles that of Zumbusch.

[17] FÜLEP, Lajos. Magyar művészet. Szobrászat [Hungarian Art. Sculpture]. In: *Magyar művészet. Művészet és világnézet [Hungarian Art. Art and Worldview]*. Budapest, 1971, p. 76 (originally: Magyar szobrászat [Hungarian Sculpture], *Nyugat*, Issue 1918/10).

Professionals consider these sharp criticism to be still valid today. In his review of the statues along the banks of the Danube, the contemporary art historian, József Mélyi (b. 1967) – after quoting Fülep in agreement – notes that the only positive aspect of the statute – namely, that when looking at it "in a certain season of the year and at a certain hour of the day", "from a certain point of the globe" ("from the top of the Castle Hill on the other side of the Danube") it makes the impression of monumentality – has lost its validity.[18] Due to the current traffic control around the square, the statue is impossible to approach and is hidden by trees from spring to autumn. Critics would argue that this obstruction is perhaps not such a loss.
The most multifaceted analysis of the monument – that examines it in the context of it its creator's career path and personal fate – has been written by one of the wittiest contemporary art historians, Ildikó Nagy (b. 1940) who traced back the *formal* mistakes to *content-based* ones.[19] Without explicitly stating it, she suggested that the main reason for Huszár's failure (which might have caused or at least contributed to his death) was[20] that he had *lied*. To put it more precisely: he had idealized. And who idealizes and does it wrong (the way it often occurs), necessarily lies. The main question is whether it was a small or a big lie.[21]
The four supplementing statues were an obvious attempt to symbolize the historical work of Deák. At least this is what can be assumed from the historical-idealizing style of academic sculpture. On these grounds, *Lady Justice* conveys the message that in the body of work of Ferenc Deák, *justice* was an organic supplement to other ideas and values – namely, *settlement (compromise)*, *nation* and *patriotism* –; furthermore, the latter were united by the former. However, unfortunately, this is not the case. Deák was undoubtedly good at making compromises (whether these compromises were good or not is another question), in manipulating others and in mediating between different interests and groups. These were the values that made him a key figure in the Austro-Hungarian Settlement (Compromise, 1867) and the national progress. However, it is highly questionable whether he thus served justice. As Ildikó Nagy argued, "Deák was the hero of patience and the 'wait and see' method which are not divine virtues. [...] [The statue] failed at expressing the virtues that Deák himself embodied – reconciling differences, smart manoeuvring, and clever compromises. In fact, it was not allowed to. The ancient art that was set as a norm did not acknowledge these ideals. A historical hero cannot automatically replace a mythical one. The requirement is in itself contradictory."[22]
This problem persists not only in the context of Deák but also in that of Lady Justice; whatever the relationship between *truth* and *justice*, *lie* or at least *equivocation* definitely does not match *justice*. And as it appears, the monument does equivocate. What is the message of the monument? That the Austro-Hungarian Settlement (Compromise) of 1867 should be evaluated

[18] MÉLYI, József. A torzuló Duna-korzó – Duna-parti szobrok I [The Distorted Duna-promenade – Statues along the Banks of the Danube I], *Artmagazin*, Issue 2010/2, pp. 16-23.
[19] NAGY, Ildikó. Az emlékműszobrászat kezdetei Budapesten. Szobrok és szobrászok [The Beginnings of Monument Sculpture in Budapest. Statues and Sculptors]. *Budapesti Negyed*, 2001/2–3 [Vol. 9, 32–33.], pp. 191-218.
[20] According to Ildikó Nagy "his contemporaries agreed that the early death of Huszár was caused by the Deák statue; the spiritual crisis caused by much dithering, judging and most importantly by the dissatisfaction with himself". NAGY, I. *Az emlékműszobrászat kezdetei…,* pp. 191-218.
[21] The artist's failure and possible "fall" are connected not only to the degree of "aesthetic" lie but to the character, substance, and consequences of idealization as well. This is revealed by asking what the relation is of "aesthetic lies" of *this* monument to the political reality of *that* country in a *given* time. Putting this kind of question, we are in the field of *legitimacy* (being accepted and acceptable) and *legitimization processes* (making accepted) of a particular political regime, as to how much and in which ways could this or that artworks promote the legitimacy of this or that political system; in this case helping the acceptance of the Austro-Hungarian Settlement (Compromise) of 1867. I note that the evaluation explicated in the text of this study reflects my own somewhat skeptical views, on this and not that of the political elite of the 19th century Hungary.
[22] NAGY, Ildikó. *Az emlékműszobrászat kezdetei…,* p. 217.

in the light of justice rather than in the light of European politics or Hungarian power relations. This is, however, a clear mistake.
The biggest problem is that this statue of Lady Justice in its historical concreteness does not symbolize a thing that would be relevant to Deák. From the slightly poor but still abundant repository of legal iconography, Huszár could have chosen the usual symbol of the *praetor* or *lex* that would have been closer to the politician who had often been over-praised in legal circles. Something Deák was directly involved in was *law* rather than *justice*. This was the reason why Gyula Andrássy, who did not participate in the delivery of the monument, sent a decorative wreath with the following inscription: "To the man who rediscovered the creative force of law in our century".[23] One could argue that this is the point: law and justice are closely related. However, their relationship in the Hungarian reality is more problematic than in an ideal world, and this is probably the reason why the statue of Lady Justice of the Deák monument – in spite of its robust power, all its unique beauty, and chiselled nature – has been welcomed with caution.

Classical Goddesses: The Three Statues of Lady Justice by Alajos Strobl

The most widely acclaimed statue of Lady Justice in Hungary, both in terms of aesthetics and legal symbolism, is the one created by Alajos Strobl.[24] This refers to the statue he completed by 1897 since few are aware of the fact that Strobl created two other statues of Lady Justice.
The first was a small-sized, 46-cm-high silver statue whose concept anticipated the latter statue, as the goddess is represented by a sitting female figure. *(Cf. image Nº 22.)* However, the figure has different clothing and hairstyle, a softer gaze, her sword is in her lap rather than with its tip resting on the ground and sits in a different chair with her feet resting on a stool. The silver statue stands on a marble pedestal. Its aura does not even approximate that of the latter creation. The statue was linked to jurisdiction as it was given as a present to Royal Chief Prosecutor Sándor Kozma by the prosecutors in 1882 for the tenth anniversary of the foundation of the prosecutor's office. For a long time, the statue had been on permanent exhibition at the Hungarian National Gallery.
The second Lady Justice of Strobl is currently located in the building of the Curia (formerly: Supreme Court), on its ground floor. In the near future, it is expected to be returned back to its original location in the Palace of Justice.

The Palace of Justice in Budapest

The highly monumental and representative but at the same time reserved and balanced building, designed by Alajos Hauszmann (1847–1926), is one of the finest creations of Hungarian

[23] N. N. Deák szobra [The Statute of Deák]. In *Vasárnapi Újság.* 2 October 1887 (vol. 34. no. 40.) pp. 655-666, at 666.

[24] Alajos Strobl, Liptóújvári (1856–1926) was a leading figure in Hungarian sculpture at the turn of the century. He studied in Vienna under the auspices of Caspar Zumbusch. He was one of the busiest memorial sculptors, receiving orders from the government, from the church, and from private persons for forty years. He also served as a teacher at the Royal College of Fine Arts in Budapest. In 1913 he was received into nobility, with the forename "Liptóújvári". In younger years his studying of Greek-Roman art strongly influenced his style, but he also followed the then-current Western styles (Impressionism, Eclecticism, Art Nouveau), and connected them in a somewhat eclectic way. Later he developed his own individual style which became the official formal style that could be classified as a mixture of academism and historicism. On his life and work see BEŇOVA, Katarína – BIZUB, František – GAŽÍKOVÁ, Zuzana. *Alojz Stróbl [1856 – 1926]*. In BEŇOVA, Katarína – GAŽÍKOVÁ, Zuzana (Eds.). Liptovský Mikuláš – Bratislava: Galéria Petra Michala Bohúňa, Liptovský Mikuláš v spolupráci so Slovenskou národnou galériou, 2007. esp. pp. 4-36., KIRÁLY, Erzsébet – PAPP, Júlia (Eds). *A magyar művészet a 19. században. Képzőművészet* [Hungarian Art in the 19th Century. Visual arts]. Budapest, Osiris Kiadó, 2018. p. 1003, and SZUCHY, Tibor. *Liptóújvári Stróbl Alajos. 1856–1926.* Budapest: Budapesti Királyi Magyar Pázmány Péter Tudományegyetem 1941, pp. 24–106.

architecture. It was built between 1893 and 1896 and is considered to be a worthy fellow of the period's European palaces of justice.[25] These buildings – beyond the intention to fulfill the *functional* demands of procedural law in the 19th century – were to represent the modern civil state in whole or in part and had *representative* functions everywhere.[26] It is not a coincidence that they were called "palaces" (*Justizpalast*, *Palais de Justice*, *Igazságügyi Palota*). The building constructed for the Royal Curia of Hungary, the Royal Court of Appeal of Budapest and the Crown Prosecutor's Office – which is denoted as having the features of "Roman style" in the technical description but is in fact of eclectic neo-renaissance style – is a rich depository of symbols related to law and jurisdiction.

Description and Assessment of the Statue

In the technical description of the building, Alajos Hauszmann describes and evaluates the statue with the following words: "Entering the large hallway, the sitting statue of Lady Justice is located in the central arch [the five loggia-like side ports] in front of the entrance, at the height of the first floor. The statue was carved out of white [in fact, slightly bluish white] Carrara marble based on the plan of Professor Alajos Strobl.[27] The figure is [was] placed on a high pedestal structured on the ground of the first floor and decorated with statues. Strobl did not choose the conventional Lady Justice as a model but proceeded from a poetic perception: it modelled a young and beautiful female figure giving the impression of chastity with simple, unsophisticated motion and her clothing fitting her body tight. This noble understanding manifested in simplicity is what best characterizes the statue and shows her master's great power."[28] *(Cf. images Nos 16 and 20 – 21.)*

The floor area of the 3-metre-high and 12-tonne-heavy statue is 4 m^2. A work of art with such vast dimensions can only prevail in a spacious place like the so-called "Walking Hall" of the Palace of Justice with its floor area of 40 x 18 metres and height of 23 metres. Such a large space obviously required a vast statue of Lady Justice.

The figure of Lady Justice was carved out of a single marble block in Carrara (Tuscany). The indeed beauteous, noble-looking woman holds the usual accessories in her hands: a gold-plated broadsword in her right hand (which was occasionally taken out from there; facilitating the reference to the special relation between law and politics) and the scales of truth in her left hand (which also disappeared from there from time to time). Her left hand leans on a huge legal code as if it was some kind of an armrest. Her rested arm and hand give the impression that the libra was only later included in the artist's conception. The crown on her head recalls the creation of F. A. Bartholdi titled *Liberty Enlightening the World* or, with its widely-known name, the *Statue*

[25] The late 19th and early 20th century signified the peak of the "palace of justice" building across Europe. The best-known and most monument building is the *Palais de Justice – Justitiepaleis* (1866–1880) of eclectic style in Brussels. Further examples from this period include the *Royal Courts of Justice* (1870–1882) in London, the *Reichsgericht* (1895) in Leipzig and the *Justizpalast* (1890–1897) in Munich. Hungarian examples include the buildings of courthouses in Szekszárd (1892), Székesfehérvár (1910) and several other Hungarian towns.

[26] For the buildings in Budapest that were built for representative purposes in the 19th century (the Parliament, the Palace of Justice, the renovated Buda Royal Palace, the building of the Central Statistical Office, the Hall of Art, the Museum of Fine Arts, the Museum of Applied Arts, the Geological Institute, the Comedy Theatre of Budapest and the Grand Hotel Royal), see the selected texts, titled "Épületek a reprezentációnak [Buildings for Representation]". In: *Budapesti Negyed,* Issue 1995/4, 35–64. For issues regarding the representation of court buildings, see KENGYEL, Miklós: *Perkultúra* [Legal Culture in Court], *ibid.* (2011), pp. 15-53.

[27] Alajos Strobl was a teacher of the School of Fine Arts (Royal Model Drawing Apprenticeship School) which had a sculpture school, called *Mulberry Garden* (Epreskert). It had been established by Strobl who has turned it into a scenic spot of 19th century Budapest.

[28] HAUSZMANN, Alajos. *A Budapesten épített törvénykezési palota ismertetése*. [Description of the Palace of Justice built in Budapest] Budapest, n. p., 1897, pp. 7-8.

of Liberty in New York, created between 1870 and 1885.[29] As the seven spikes of the crown traditionally represent the seven seas and seven continents, it must have also been used to symbolize universality in the case of Lady Justice. The goddess of justice was placed by Strobl on a *sella curulis*, an ancient throne-like high-backed chair, which was the prerogative of only a few in line with ancient privileges. This throne – which used to be known as the ivory chair due to its material – was made of yellow polished marble.[30] The clothing of Lady Justice resembles ancient clothing, with a gown resting on her lap.

The reason for the statue's success is the fine *interplay* that the sculptor established between the different *contrasts*. The creature represents an ideal of emphatically *ancient origin* with ancient accessories such as the *sella curulis*, sword and the scales; however, the look in the woman's eyes and her features are undeniably *modern*. Thus, the sculptor conformed to the architect. The Palace of Justice itself is also simultaneously ancient (in a historicizing sense) and modern. According to the architect-publicist of the period, Marcell Komor, Strobl "conceived the spirit of the entire building: he expressed the spirit of the day in an ancient context".[31] Similarly, the face of the female figure reflects *fine* and at the same time great *willpower* that is traditionally perceived as a characteristic of men. Some thus consider it to be somewhat masculine, with a stern look. According to the majority view, the whole figure projects *power* while being *soft* at the same time (although there is no doubt that the word "chastity" used by Hauszmann seems like an exaggeration in the case of a woman of such age today). This Lady Justice is a *fragile* but at the same time *emancipated* person. Moreover, she is *autonomous* and *independent* (in a sense that she stands by herself and is "fine by herself"; something that is not necessarily a characteristic of women) and at the same time a *social woman* who knows how to manoeuvre in the salons of her age. The dimensions of the statue are *vast* while the whole figure is *chiselled*.

Thus, it is no wonder that the contemporaries were fascinated by the statue; it also won a Grand Prix at the 1900 World's Fair in Paris.[32] The success can be attributed to both the statue and the Palace of Justice. Some of the contemporaries naturally noted that "the new home of justice" was very expensive, unnecessarily luxurious, too decorative and so forth, while some claimed that despite the glamour, in a political context it was fragile. It was not solely jealousy that made the contemporaries say so: they feared that politics would abuse its power and expropriate jurisdiction. Indeed, law and politics had an adventurous relationship in 20th century Hungarian history and the fate of the statue was, in a certain sense, a reflection of Hungarian politics in the 20th century.

The Fate of the Statue

The vicissitudes of Strobl's Lady Justice can be considered to have a symbolic value. The 1949 Hungarian constitution of the Stalin era abolished the organs that the building of the Palace of Justice originally housed: the Hungarian Royal Curia, the Royal Court of Appeal of Budapest and the associated prosecution authorities. The new organ that replaced the former, the Supreme Court of the Hungarian People's Republic, held its first meeting in the Palace of Justice (on November 18th 1949); however, it was moved out of the building in 1950 – together with all its furnishing, paintings and statues (including the statue of Lady Justice), its whole library and

[29] A very similar tiara can be found on the statue of Lady Justice decorating the gable of the building of the courthouse in Kaposvár.

[30] The throne was originally planned to be moulded of bronze and the broadsword of gold; however, the former was eventually carved out of marble in Carrara.

[31] Cf. KOMOR, Marczell. Az új Igazságügyi Palota [The New Palace of Justice], *Vasárnapi Újság* [Weekly magazine on Sundays], 25. October 1896 (1896/43), p. 710.

[32] B. MAJKÓ, Katalin – NAGY, Ildikó (Eds.). *Stróbl Alajos és a szobrász mesteriskola.* [Alajos Stróbl and the Master School of Sculptors]. Budapest: Magyar Képzőművészeti Egyetem, 2006. p. 62.

archives. In 1951, the court moved into the building of the former administrative court on Fő Street; however, due to the narrow indoor space, it could not take the statue of Lady Justice. Later on, in 1980, it moved into the building of the former Royal Ministry of Justice on Markó Street where it regained the statue in 1983.
The building of the Palace of Justice was allocated to the Institute of Hungarian Labour Movement that, in 1949, opened the Museum of History of the Hungarian and International Labour Movement there (and was operating there until 1956). The new owner preserved the furnishing of the former court only in the council chamber overlooking Szalay Street because Mátyás Rákosi was convicted in this chamber in 1935 and an exhibition was installed in 1953 on that topic. The building later housed the Hungarian National Gallery, then, temporarily, the National Museum, and since 1973, the Museum of Ethnography. It also hosted the Institute of Labour Movement of the former MDP (which later on became the Institute of the Party History of MSZMP and currently is the Institute of Political History) and temporarily a department of the National Archives of Hungary.
Strobl's statue was lifted off its place by a crane and was transported from the building in 1951. *(Cf. image Nº 17.)* In order to move the 12-tonne-heavy statue, the female figure had to be separated from the throne. The throne – along with the supporting figures – later disappeared while the figure of Lady Justice was placed under the open air in the garden of the Károlyi Palace (Petőfi Literary Museum). *(Cf. image Nº 18.)* In the 1970s, the statue appeared at the Pest County Court (today, the Budapest Regional Court of Appeal), at the intersection of Thököly Road and Hungária Boulevard. It seems as if the statue was travelling around in Budapest like a ghost. According to László Prohászka who conducted research on statue's fate, the Lady Justice "was drowning in constant petrol vapour at the intersection of Thököly Road and Hungária Boulevard. [...] since Strobl did not create the statue for being exhibited in public spaces [...], the weather and exhaust gases soon started to cause damage to it".[33]
In the course of its vicissitudes, the broadsword fell out of her hand and her scales disappeared. In the 1980s, around 1983, the statue was relieved: it was transferred and placed into the building housing the Supreme Court and the Supreme Prosecutor's Office. *(Cf. image Nº 19.)* After its restoration, just like women "made out of the right kind of material", it regained its strength. It blossomed and still flourishes in its original beauty.[34] In fact, the narrow space does not allow its original artistic virtues to prevail. Nonetheless, politicians and heads of justice in the political context – presidents, prime ministers, attorney generals – regard it as a fine background and, for some mysterious reason, like to take photos in front of it. They stand in front of the statue just like students of law or Japanese tourists – not knowing that they are dwarfed by it. And the imperatives regarding the relationship between law and politics were not even mentioned here.

The Third Statue of Lady Justice by Alajos Strobl

Even though the hardships, even ordeals, of the statue are undoubtedly remarkable – which have not ceased by the time of this writing –, they are not as sad as the history of Alajos Strobl's third statue. *(Cf. image Nº 23.)* It was a 160–170-cm-high marble statue created between 1904 and 1910. In essence, it was a smaller or "improved" version of the second statue of Lady Justice, and it does not exist today. This statue differed from the second one both in terms of its size and its material. The marble used for this statue was – according to its descriptions – colourful and of a different kind. In some respects, Strobl honoured and followed the symbolist

[33] PROHÁSZKA, László: *Szoborsorsok* [The Fate of Statues]. Budapest: Kornétás Kiadó, 1994, p. 25.
[34] The complete restoration of the statue took place only in the 1990s. In 1994, when the book *Szoborsorsok* [The Fate of Statues] was published, the *diadem* (crown) was missing from her head and the scales from her left hand. Cf. PROHÁSZKA, László. *Szoborsorsok*, p. 27.

Max Klinger who colourful Beethoven Monument is created for the so-called Secession Building in Vienna was a worldwide sensation and had an impact on Strobl's work too. Art historian Dorottya Gulyás evaluated the statue as follows: "among Hungarian sculptors, it was probably Alajos Strobl who most consciously applied polychromy originating from the ancient artistic heritage. [...] Between 1904 and 1911 he created a polylithic version of his statue of Lady Justice from the 1890s. [...] The version of the figure of the Roman goddess of [justice] made out of Carrara marble of seven different colours was installed in the decorative staircase of the royal palace in 1911. Unfortunately, her appearance can only be evaluated through contemporary records since it was simply dismembered and removed by contractors during the indoor construction works of the palace after the Second World War".[35]

Our Contemporaries: Modern-Day Statues of Lady Justice

In the second half of the 20th century, no statues of Lady Justice were created in Hungary. There was no demand for them. Although buildings of courthouses were erected, none of them were decorated by traditional symbols.[36] In 2004, legal historian István Kajtár (1951–2019) rightly argued that "wall paintings and plastic creations in buildings [of courthouses] created between the turn of the (20th) century displayed the entire symbolism related to jurisdiction: most of the time they depicted Lady Justice along with the figures of Law and Legal Rule. [...] The jurisdiction retained many of these relics, even in the hardest times. According to a [...] 1993 decorative album, the later generations, in contrast to Europe, did not enrich this symbolism".[37] Shortly after these sentences had been written, the situation changed and Hungary has been enriched with several representations of Lady Justice in the past one and a half decades: both significant and less significant ones. Two of the more significant ones are related to traditional buildings, one decorates a new building while another one replaced an earlier statue that had been destroyed long ago.

The first has been decorating the garden of the District Court of Békéscsaba since 2004. *(Cf. image N^o 25.)* Looking in the garden from outside, the representation of justice gives the impression of being "behind bars": a quite frightening impression but it is easy to familiarize with it from inside the fences. The style of the statue of Attila Mészáros (b. 1964) titled *Justícia* [sic!] tries, on the one hand, to conform to the eclectic building of the court built in 1927 and, on the other hand, differs from that in certain aspects; with its dynamic and lively silhouette, it slightly compensates the building's weary architecture. Its material is "on bronze patinated plastic" the glow of which has unfortunately been dimmed by the sun in recent years. Its dimensions are small relative to the building, thus making the impression that the figure is slightly weightless. Its soft and effortless curves are inspired by the poster titled *Spring* of

[35] GULYÁS, Dorottya. Polikrómia a századfordulós magyar szobrászatban [Polychromy in the Hungarian Sculpture at the Turn of the Century], *Ars hungarica*, Vol. 42, Issue 2016/1, p. 83. ("Polylitic" is a [multicoloured] form of polychrome whereby colourfulness is achieved through the employment of stones of different colours and other materials rather than through painting.)

[36] There are two exceptions to make to this assumption. One of them is located at the District Court of Siófok and was built in 1978 under the plan of architect László Elekes. This is where *The Symbolic Relief of Hungarian Legal History* was installed in 1979. The artwork, which does not imply, from an artistic point of view, much elevation, was made by an unknown artist. Cf. KÁLLAY, István – STIPTA, István – et al: *Bírósági épületek Magyarországon. Court Buildings in Hungary. Gerichtsgebäude in Ungarn.* Ed.: DERCSÉNYI, Balázs. Budapest: HG & Társa Kiadó, 1993, p. 188. The other exception is the 1989 peculiar Lady Justice of sculptor István Máté which constitutes a part of a monument. It is peculiar since it does not hold a sword, scales or palm branch in her hands; only her blindfolded eyes disclose her identity. The bare-breasted woman can be found in the Castle Garden of Gyula and constitutes a part of the army officer's memorial of the Revolution of 1848/49 – together with three other virtues and symbols.

[37] KAJTÁR, István. *Bevezetés a jogi kultúrtörténetbe* [Introduction to Legal Cultural History]. Budapest – Pécs: Dialóg Campus, 2004, pp. 90–91.

Alphonse Mucha. Mucha and representation of justice? Certainly – given the fact that in the early 2000s there was no tradition that the statue's creator could follow - until then not a single statue was created on this subject in Hungary for 76 years. However, it is still peculiar that the entire figure shows more resemblance to the graceful young women of Mucha than the goddesses embodying an ideal.

The statue is, in fact, a *girl-like* Lady Justice: it depicts a young girl around the end of her puberty holding scales aloft, and a sword. With her exciting curves, she makes a slightly Art-Nouveau-like impression. Accordingly, she is playful rather than serious: she does not demonstrate the *power* attached to justice and the possibility of *coercion* manifested in jurisdiction. It is perhaps not a coincidence that the sword is held in her hand that is lowered behind her body as if she intended to hide it. The composition leads the observer's eyes to the scales held aloft. The girl with childish beauty turns her face towards the scales as well and looks at it as if she was not only to *hold it aloft* – as it is expected from a goddess – but also to *look* and *wonder* at the result. It is almost as if it were only the scales and the sword that suggest that she is the goddess of justice – and of course the fact that the statue is located in the garden of a court. It is slightly contradictory that an innocent-looking, joyful young girl looking forward to the beauty of the future in her cardboard dress, with her coat thrown in front of her, wearing sandals resembling beach sandals is sitting in the garden of a serious institution where decisions are being made about people's freedom, rights and wealth. The entire figure is casual and ethereal – as a matter of fact, too casual to convey a serious message. The "order of the world" definitely cannot be ensured by this girl, not to mention the *pereat mundus.*[38]

The other statue of Lady Justice was created by László Bánvölgyi (b. 1962) and has been located in the building of the Szeged Regional Tribunal (Court of Appeal) since 2005. *(Cf. image N^{o} 25).* In this case, justice is represented by a young woman, slightly older than the one in Békéscsaba, with some determination and seriousness in her eyes. At least it makes an impression that she is occupied by something important even though she probably does not have an idea of what it is, yet. She wears a nicely pleated, light dress reaching to the ground. She has a headband on her forehead (reasons for that are unknown), holds a sword in her lowered right hand and there is a libra (scales) in her left hand held aloft.[39] It thus suggests that in legal issues, the regulation and judgment of actions (represented by *scales, balance*, or *libra*) is more important than coercion or punishment (represented by *sword*), although both are indispensable. In respect of iconography, the small statue is perfect. However, the way the female figure holds the scales is not that favourable. Women – one could argue – do not hold anything like this, hung on two fingers – except the keys of sports cars. The scales, on the other hand, whose pans resemble two finely made seashells with its beam and the arms being decorative straps, can be regarded as favourable: it is unique but not individualistic and fits the entire figure. As a matter of fact, it remains the case even when one has the feeling that these scales will not sway more than it looks like.

At first sight, the Lady Justice of Szeged gives the impression of a not too ostentatious, chiselled and decent masterpiece. A closer look, however, reveals that there is something wrong about it.

[38] The reference evokes the well-known phrase attributed to Melanchthon: *Fiat iustitia, et pereat mundus* (Let justice be done, though the world may perish).

[39] Needless to say, the position of the sword and the scales implies – consciously or unconsciously – conceptual considerations regarding justice on different statues and pictorial representations. In this respect, Mészáros and Bánvölgyi's solution probably looks compelling to sculptors, as well. It needs to be noted that it is no coincidence that Hungarian media statements in the first half of the 1990s, which were made in the spirit of retaliatory justice, published, more or less unexceptionally, the *Lady Justice* of Raffaello (1509–1513, Vatican Palace) as an illustration of the statue. Raffaello's Lady Justice holds the sword aloft ready to smite. As is known, it did not take place during the 1990s and later on (cf., the so-called fusillade trials, the Biszku trial, etc.) it was generally perceived to be later.

Its place is already slightly disturbing: namely, that it stands in a poorly lighted place of the building hosting the Szeged Regional Court of Appeal, in front of a conventional, presumably expensive but highly unremarkable curtain. (As a matter of fact, it looks much better in front of simple and cheap blue drapes on the artist's own website.) Based on its environment, one could assume that it depicts a young woman of marriageable age of a middle-class family. The real problem with the statue is that, except for the usual accessories, it lacks the pervasive characteristics of Lady Justice: transcending worldly matters, distance, consistency and humane rigour. It shows much more resemblance to a nice *Fräulein* than a goddess. Her hairstyle, of the latest fashion, might give the impression of being slightly messy in contrast with the timeless ideal of the statues of Lady Justice. A look at other statues of the artists reveals the answer to the question. This Lady Justice hardly differs from Bánvölgyi's Saint Barbara. They are similar in terms of their clothing, hairstyle, the way they hold their heads and their posture, even though the latter's headband looks almost like a crown. Judging from their faces, their model must have been the same person. Barbara involves a kind of spiritual elevation and mental timelessness. The features inherent in it are absent from Lady Justice. What this Saint Barbara thinks or says is thought and said *sub specie aeternitatis*, while this Lady Justice conveys the sole message of "it is time to get married". Despite this slightly sarcastic criticism, the statue is a specimen of chiselled works of art.

The third statue of Lady Justice in the buildings of Hungarian courthouses is located in Győr, in front of the modern building of the Regional Tribunal (Court of Appeal). This was created in 2006 by Ferenc Lebó (b. 1960) and can be argued to be the most successful one. *(Cf. image Nº 24.)* Its success is based on the fact that its creator chose the composition, proportions, age, shape and clothing of the goddess personifying the female figure as well as the place of the statue correctly – even though the latter is highly likely to have been decided upon by architectural designer Zorán Patartics. A not negligible feature of the composition – i.e., the posture of the figure – is that the female figure stands on a column-like platform with partly outstretched arms. Hence, it resembles the classical statues of Lady Justice such as the one standing on the peak of the dome of the Central Criminal Court, the *Old Bailey*, in London and the *Statue of Justice* on the entrance gate of the Dublin Castle.[40] The semicircular curve of the Lady Justice in Győr – with her right hand slightly lowered and her left hand aloft – makes a bit unusual but not disturbing, unique impression when compared to the above-mentioned ones. A nice supplement to the semicircle bent or changing pace on the shoulder is the fact that the position of the sword is not vertical but slightly bent. However, the angle of the emphatic sword and the necessarily vertical scales undoubtedly direct the observer's eyes to the pedestal of the statue; namely into nowhere.

This Lady Justice wears a modern, long dress with shoulder straps instead of an ancient-style veil, robe or toga. The dress is nicely pleated evoking the lengthwise grooves of *cannelures*, i.e., classical columns – as highlighted by the creator himself at the ceremonial delivery of the building.[41] The dress of the female figure is slightly tightened on her breasts. It thus presents the womanhood of the young goddess without over-emphasizing it. Her hairstyle is classical but not very exciting; her face is full of beauty but not in a sensual way – or to put it differently, not in a man's eyes. One of the hardest tasks pertaining to the representations of Lady Justice is to represent a woman beautifully, in a way that would not be attractive and would not awake physical desire if it was real. One of the main virtues of the statue lies in its position. To put it

[40] For reasons of space, statues of Lady Justice outside of Hungary cannot be outlined here; however, it must be noted that this solution, which represents elevation in the two above-mentioned cases and refers to the presence of a higher system of values – partly because the statues were placed high –, has served as the classical form of representations of Lady Justice for decades.

[41] Cf., the speech of Ferenc Lebó at the delivery of the building, quoted in BICZÓ, Zalán. *A Győri Ítélőtábla története* [History of the High Court of Győr]. Győr: Győri Ítélőtábla, 2007, pp. 160-161.

more precisely, it lies in the fact that it is created to conform to the masterpiece of minimalist architecture – intentionally avoiding the biggest mistake of Hungarian public space sculpture: the independence of the artwork from its environment. At least, it does its best to achieve this goal. For instance, it is deliberately column-like. Favourably, on the respective side of the building, the columns are interrupted by "a floor" of closed walls giving a vertical rhythm to the horizontal structure. However, on account of its size relative to the vast block of the building, it is lost in space. Approaching the entrance stairs, one has the impression that it disappears. Following ancient ideals and traditions, the statue quasi "communicates" with the columns, although this is not represented in a historicizing way. It thus accords with the building.

Finally, recent statues of Lady Justice in Hungary include a carved statue that was returned to the gable of the town hall of Jászberény and is the reconstructed version of an old, fallen statue resembling the original. *(Cf. image Nº 27).* The original of the statue had been made for the town hall of Jászberény in the Hungarian Reform Era and was guarding the town and its order for a long time. The building was constructed in neoclassic style under the plans of Mihály Pollack. Its founding stone was laid in 1838 and its keystone in 1844, while it was extended in 1914 and 1931 in eclectic style. The statue of Lady Justice had been standing on the roof of the building in 1844[42] until it was demolished by a storm in 1947.[43] Although the roof was restored in 1973 and the building was renovated in 1982, the statue was not replaced – to the distress of local patriots. The statue, that had been part of the town for 103 years, symbolized many things beyond the righteous order for the locals: for some it invoked the glorious past – i.e., for them the statue referred to the age when the town had had a blood court – while for others it symbolized legality and in general, the rule of law. A young local painter who, based on his age, did not have the chance to see the statue with his own eyes, painted a kind of nostalgic picture of the main square in the early 2000s depicting the town hall with the statue of Lady Justice on it. As a result, the preservationists of Jászberény initiated the reconstruction of the town hall in 2012 so that the statue can be returned to the building.

The old statue was reconstructed from the available sources by the experienced sculptor György Máté (b. 1946) from Jászság and was used as a model for the new version by the stone-cutter, Tibor Tóásó. The parts made of metal, namely the broadsword and the scales, were moulded by sculptor Béla Szabó Imrefia (b. 1952) using a very unique, so-called Roman scales model with a pan on the one and weights on the other side. Its uniqueness lies in the fact that no such scales (libra) was used in the symbolism of Lady Justice, perhaps not even by the Romans, since its aim is not to determine the weight of something but rather to compare the weight of the things placed in the two pans. The idea that there *should* be two pans on the balance sheet is related by many authors[44] to the ancient legal maxim and requirement of the *Audite et alteram partem* (Listen to the other party!). The reason for the sculptor's idea was probably very practical: his intention to avoid the destruction of the 2.5-metre-high and more than 3-tonne-heavy Lady Justice by the wind. The statue itself is slightly robust: the figure is not effortless; it lacks feminine charm, grace and ethereal beauty – perhaps because it would have been invisible at a three-storey height, on the top of the building. This makes the masculine look, unique hairstyle and indefinable tiara as well as the corpulent or expressively fat body-shape of the figure acceptable. Despite these issues, the entire work, in its overall impact – in its "then

[42] Cf. BAGI, Gábor – BATHÓ, Edit et al.: *Jászberény története a reformkortól a harmincas évekig* [The History of Jászberény from the Reform Era to the 1930s]. PETHŐ, László (Ed.). Jászberény: Jászsági Évkönyv Alapítvány, 2015, p. 26.

[43] See ANKA, László – ÁCS, Tibor et al.: *Jászberény története a harmincas évektől az ezredfordulóig* [The History of Jászberény from the Reform Era to the 1930s]. PETHŐ, László (Ed.). Jászberény: Jászsági Évkönyv Alapítvány 2017, p. 348.

[44] As one of them see RESNIK, J. – CURTIS, D. E. *Representing Justice…*, pp. 289-290.

and there", namely when looked at from the square in front of the building – is in place. Hence, it makes a positive impression. Hopefully, this will remain unchanged for the next 103 years.

Conclusions

The conclusions that can be drawn from the rather diverse phenomena presented here are rather diverse ones, as well. These may be partly those connected to social history, partly those connected to iconography and iconology (including some aspects of legal semiotics), and partly those concerning legal culture.

From the point of view of social history we can say that the patterns of the Hungarian representations of Lady Justice (Justitia) follow mainly the Western European patterns, but with some delay and fragmentation. Because of historical reasons, only a fragmentary reconstruction is possible, and the main tendencies can only be identified in the light of Western European trends. We can also infer Western patterns from the fact that some statues express or imply a balanced relationship – reciprocity, complementarity, and mutual assumptions – between law and politics, and law and state. This might be a historical reality mainly in the trends of Western Europe, but it is not always the case in Eastern Central Europe.

From the point of view of iconography,[45] I stress here three points: the possible meanings of the *blindness* of Justitia, the relation of justice as a *virtue* to *other virtues* in these representations, and the consequences of the *female characteristics* of Justitia as a goddess.

The first iconographic conclusion can be drawn if we consider that during ancient times and in the Middle Ages and during the 19th and 20th, Lady Justice was not depicted blindfolded. Representing her blindfolded was rather an exceptional phenomenon in the period between the 16th and 18th centuries – despite the fact that this still has a huge impact on everyday thinking and in popular visual arts. In the classical Greek antiquity, Justice was imagined – as Erwin Panofsky observed – with piercing and awe-inspiring eyes, whereas in Egypt the chief justice was shown eyeless in order to illustrate his impartiality, and his colleagues handless; meaning they could not take bribes.[46] The blindfolded representation of Justice first appeared in 1494 and became common only during the 16th and 17th centuries in Western Europe, and during the 18th century in Hungary. The blindfolded Justitia first appeared on a woodcut for the book of the humanist and theologian, Sebastian Brant's (1457/8–1521) satirical allegory in German verse, titled *The Ship of Fools (Das Narrenschiff).*[47] This book was one of the last summaries

[45] Iconography is considered here as the pre-school or preliminary stage of iconology. As I have already alluded, this study penetrates into the field of iconology only to the level that the art-historian, Erwin Panofsky (1892–1968) referred to as the pre-iconographic description. On the second level of iconographic analysis, it turns towards social and legal meanings instead of moving to the third stage - the iconological interpretation - since it is interested in not so much about the aesthetic-iconological analysis of the artwork, but about the socio-legal and legal-cultural meanings of certain cultural phenomena. On the theoretical questions see PANOFSKY, Erwin. Iconography and Iconology: An Introduction to the Study of Renaissance Art. In PANOFSKY, Erwin. *Meaning in the Visual Arts: Papers in and on Art History*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1955, pp. 26-54. On its basic concepts see STRATEN, Roelof van. *An Introduction to Iconography. Symbols, Allusions and Meaning in the Visual Arts.* Milton Park, Abington, Taylor and Francis 1994 (originally in Dutch: *Inleiding in di Iconografie*. Muiderberg, Couthino, 1985, revised 1991). On the so-called "dictionary fallacy" of iconology see GOMBRICH, Ernst H. Aims and Limits of Iconology. In GOMBRICH, Ernst H. *Symbolic Images*. London: Phaidon, 1972.pp. 1–25.

[46] See PANOFSKY, Erwin. *Studies in Iconology. Humanistic Themes in the Art of Renaissance.* Abingdon, Routledge, 2018 [originally Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1939, later New York, Harper Collins (Harper Torchbook) 1962] p. 105.

[47] Its modern English edition is BRANT, Sebastian. *The Ship of Fools.* Translated by Edwin H. Zeydel. New York: Columbia University Press, 1944 (new paperback edition: New York, Dover Publication, 1955). For the role of Albrecht Dürer in illustrating the book, see WINKLER, Friedrich. *Dürer und die Illustrationen zum Narrenschiff.* Berlin: Deutscher Verein für Kunstwissenschaft (Forschungen zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte 36), 1951.

of the traditional medieval worldview, one edition of which was illustrated with images by Albrecht Dürer. The blindness of Justitia in this work could be attributed to a fool has blindfolded her eyes with a cloth. As the legal historian, Ernst von Moeller (1867–1944) observed more than one hundred years ago, originally it was not a symbolic attribute, but rather an incidental negative fact, an obstacle created by human folly.[48] Blindness was always associated with evil – noted by Erwin Panofsky as well – "expecting the blindness of Homer, which served supposedly to keep his mind unvitiated by sensual appetites and blindness of Justice which was meant to assure her impartiality. Both these interpretations [that of Homer and Justice], however, are foreign to classical as well as to mediaeval thought; the figure of blindfold Justice, in particular, is a humanistic concoction of very recent origin."[49] By assuring her impartiality (if she needed such an assurance, at all) blindness has acquired a symbolic meaning. Among public sculptors, it was the Swiss Hans Gieng who first represented Lady Justice with blindfolds in Bern as part of the *Gerechtigkeitsbrunnen* (Fountain of Justice) in 1543.[50] Blindfolding Lady Justice also spread in painting and in courthouse decoration,[51] but in spite of this it retained some of its negative connotations for the modern audiences: it was partly a sign of weakness, partly a sign of a possible non-commitment to human factors in the world order. The act of blindfolding Justitia is – as the contemporary researcher of the early modern European tradition, Valérie Hayaert has put it – "a paradoxical gesture" since it might mean a disability, a trick, or even a momentaneous disregard of the evidence put before her eyes.[52] Blindfold is in itself polysemic: it might mean sightlessness, too. Maybe this contradictory feature was one of the reasons why blindness was soon changed back after became the convention. European and Hungarian depictions of Justitia in the 19th and 20th centuries represent justice again without wearing a blindfold. One of the reasons for this may be that the guarantee of impartiality – after the division of power and the system of checks and balances were instituted – was no longer provided by the personal characteristics or virtues of the judges but by the system of established institutions.

The second conclusion, partly of iconographic nature, can be drawn when we observe what other virtues are portrayed with Lady Justice. Observing universal art history and today's global art we see that the most frequent companion in this regard are *Prudentia*, *Pax*, *Clementia*, *Pietas*, and *Veritas*.[53] Quite a variety of virtues. These and other similar virtues fall into four

[48] MOELLER, Ernst von. *Die Augenbinde der Justitia.* Schwann, 1905, quoted by Adriano Prosperi. See PROSPERI, Adriano. *Justice Blindfolded. The Historical Course of an Image.* Leiden, Brill, 2018, p. 36. Blindfolding a goddess is, in a way, putting her similar position to Fortune. See on this problem PANOFSKY, Erwin. Good Government or Fortune? The Iconography of a Newly Discovered Composition by Rubens. *Gasette des Beaux Arts*. Ser 6, 108. 1966, pp. 305-326.

[49] PANOFSKY, E. *Studies in Iconology…,* p. 60.

[50] The colourful (painted) statue of Hans Gieng generated such a great impact that numerous other statues of similar nature were made in a short period of time: as a replica (in Solothurn in 1561; in Lausanne in 1585; and in the towns of Boudry, Cudrefin and Neuchâtel) or as an individual artwork inspired by it (in Aaru in 1643; in Biel/Bienne, Burgdorf, Brugg, Zürich and Luzern in the 17–18th century). For some details see HOFER, Paul. *Kunstdenkmäler des Kantons Bern*. Volume 1: *Die Stadt Bern.* Basel: Birkhäuser, 1952. pp. 315-320.

[51] See: with special attention to American courthouses, RESNIK, J. – CURTIS, D. E. *Representing Justice...*, pp. 91-105.

[52] See HAYAERT, Valérie. The Paradoxes of Lady Justice's Blindfold. In HUYGEBART, Stefan – MARTYN, Georges et al (Eds.). *The Arts of Law. Artistic Representations and Iconography of Law and Justice in Context, from the Middle Ages to the First World War*. s.l., Springer, 2019, pp. 201-221.

[53] For a classical example of *Justitia* and *Prudentia* see the statue of Leonard Kern above the portal of the townhouse of Nuremberg (1620), for *Justitia* and *Pax* the relief of Johann Schütz on one of the stuccos of the town hall of Leutkirch in Baden-Württemberg (1740–1741), for *Justitia* and *Clementia* the portal of the St. Michael Wing of the Hofburg in Vienna, for *Justitia* and *Pietas* the ornamentation of the Brama Wyżynna (Upper Gate) in Gdansk (1586–1588), and for *Justitia* and *Veritas* the less successful 2007 statue of Audrex Flack in front of the courthouse of Tampa, Florida.

distinct groups: the cardinal virtues of ancient origin (*Justitia*, *Prudentia*, *Forditudo*, *Temperantia*), the theological virtues of scholastic thought (*Fides*, *Caritas*, *Spes*), virtues that have been termed as "daughters of God" by medieval theology *(Justitia, Veritas, Misericordiae, Pax),* and virtues concerning the application of law and other general norms *(Equitas, Pietas, Caritas, Gratia).* How often do these appear next to Lady Justice in Hungary? The most common companion to *Justitia* is *Prudentia* the same way as in other countries. The second most common are *Equitas* and *Gratia,* and it is telling that there is no Justitia representation that is presented with the three theological virtues, or one of them. This could be called even "natural" at the time of the birth of the modern state. What is noteworthy is the fact that in Hungary (although there are two paintings[54] imported from Italy that could exemplify this) there are no sculptures which would depict Justitia along with the virtues of the third group (*Veritas, Misericordiae, Pax*); that is, the virtues that have been termed as "celestial virgins" or "daughters of God". The reason for this is presumably that those theological trends[55] that reinterpreted the Christian catalogue of virtue in the late Middle Ages were not in effect in Hungary. The most notable of the lack of the four girls is that of Truth *(Veritas)*, the lack of which is obvious because in everyday thinking people tend to imagine *Justitia* and *Veritas* as connected.

And a third iconographic conclusion can be drawn from the *female* character of the Justitia statues. This feature raises three kinds of questions. 1. Why it came about that this virtue has been portrayed in the female form since the time of antiquity? 2. What is the relation of this characteristic to social reality? 3. What are the consequences of this femininity on the artistic features of the statues? As to the first question, the answer is relatively simple: in ancient Greek mythology, and then in the Christian theological system formed by it, the heavenly, or "the divine" origin virtues, norms, and orders were conveyed by female beings to the people – partly because women were often viewed as symbols of care, maternal protection, and virtue. As to the second question, we have to say that the question is poorly formulated, since this allegory, like many other allegories of constant ideals, is not derived from social reality, but, at most, social reality is shaped to some extent by this ideal or virtue. Since Justice alludes to judging and judgments, and by this way to judges it constitutes, however, a sheer contradiction because that the allegory of it has been captured in the form of a woman, whereas the idea of the bodies of actual judges was, until recent times, captured in bodies that were exclusively or mainly male. The same contradiction is faced by those who claim, in a sense perhaps unjustifiably, that legal judgments must be rational, while feminine existence interacts with the role of emotions and passions. Reason and passion can easily be confronted in the empire of the law, but it would be wrong to say that only one or only the other can be represented by female creatures.[56] In particular, this study contributed to clarifying the third question and answers by showing that Lady Justice is not a woman as such, but a goddess; a female deity. From this, as I have shown,

[54] One of them is the oil painting, titled *Justitia et pax osculatae sunt* (*Justitia* and *Pax embracing each other*), the other is its counterpart, *Allegoria misericordiae et veritas obviarunt sibi* (The Meeting of M*isericordiae* [Mercy] and *Veritas*). Both are the works of the Italian painter, Pompeo Batoni (1708–1787), and are on display in the Gallery of the Benedictine *Pannonhalma* Archabbey. Thes were handed over to the Abbey in 1833 from a private collection.

[55] See on this KLINEFELTER, Ralph A. The Four Daughters of God. A New Version. = *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology.* 1953, Vol. 52, no.1, pp. 90-95. (As for its antecedent see H. Traver's book: TRAVER, Hope. *The Four Daughters of God. A Study of the Versions of this Allegory, with Special Reference to Those in Latin, French, and English.* Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania, Bryn Mawr College, 1907.)

[56] The most well-known work of art in this respect is the painting by Gustav Klimt entitled *Jurisprudenz* (*Jurisprudence*, 1903/07), designed for the University of Vienna, in which both passion and rationality are portrayed by women; and women are at home not only in the dark hell (in the world of sin and punishment) but even in the exalted heaven (where the standards of the good conduct reside); it is true that they are in the former place in order to punish a man.

much is to come regarding the characteristics of this female. She should be neither too young nor too old, neither inexperienced nor matured. She must be full of beauty but not sensually attractive, graceful but not weak, vigorous, but not violent. This means that there is an ideal point where the beauty of the female being is revealed by the artist, but the sensually appealing elements are omitted from the depiction. Of all of the creators of the contemporary statues of Justitia in Hungary there is only one case in which this expectation is accomplished. Around this point, the most important thing – as everywhere in art in general – is to have a balance and a good sense of measure.

Finally, this study also has a conclusion concerning the legal culture, including courthouses, and their decoration with Justitia statues. From this study, it is obvious that such decoration of public buildings, town halls and courts is a feature of the modern age. Although the statues themselves convey an ancient and medieval tradition, this mode of decoration itself is a typical feature of modern times. As we move towards the end of the modern age, we see that such depictions are increasingly being abandoned, particularly in administrative buildings, but more recently in court decorations, as well. Not because of some sort of negligence or of saving resources, but because the medieval tradition is less and less compatible with newer styles of postmodern architecture, such as the so-called minimalist style. This is illustrated by the fact that in the last twenty or thirty years, no such statues were erected, either independently or for decorative purposes, in Hungary, except for those mentioned in this paper.

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Appendix

1. Cola Petruccioli: *Allegory of Justice* (c.1390)
Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest

2. Unknown painter: *Four Virtues* (c. 1490)
Esztergom Castle Museum of the Hungarian National Museum

3. Károly Lotz: *Triumph of Justitia* (detail), 1896
Palace of Justice, Budapest

4. T. Walch: *Allegory of Justice*
Székesfehérvár, old town hall, c. 1717

5. J. M. Singer: *Allegory of Justice*
Eger, façade of the town hall, c.1738

6. Unknown stonemason: *Lady Justice*
Kaposvár, on the roof of Palace of Justice, 1906

7. Nyíregyháza, town hall,
later the county court, built 1841-1871,
with two statutes on its gable

8. Unknown master: *Two Lady Justices* on the gable of the building of town hall, later the county court, in Nyíregyháza

9. *Justitia* and *Prudentia* at the courthouse entrance, Cegléd, 1910–1912

10. *Justice* and (behind autumn leaves) *Equity* and *Grace* (or *Law*) at the top of the court building Szeged, 1882, made of galvanized sheet

11. Courthouse in Balassagyarmat with personification of *law* and *right legal order,* 1912

12. Personification of *law* and *right legal order* in Balassagyarmat*:* *Praetor* and *Lady Justice* at the gable of the building, by unknown stonemason

13. *Ferenc Deák Monument* designed by Adolf Huszár, in central Budapest, 1887

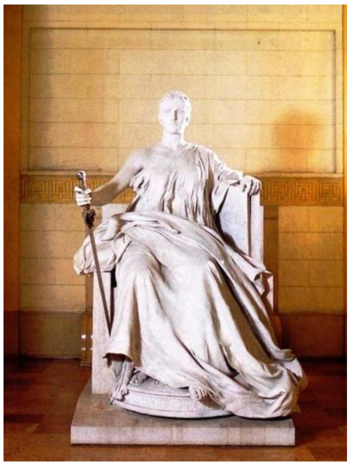
14. Lady Justice at the front
of the Deák Monument

15. Lady Justice with gloriole,
law book and scales, garbed in ancient vesture

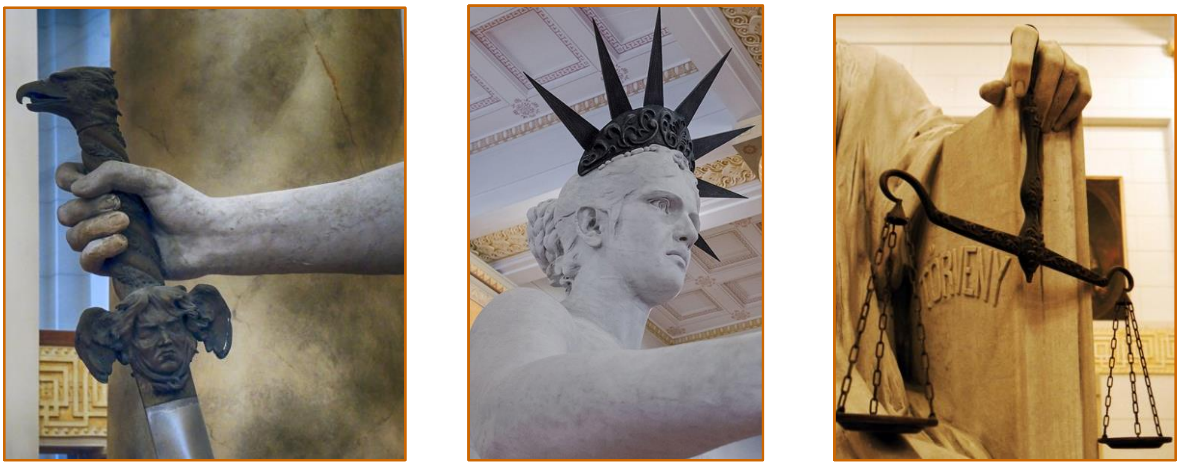
16. *Lady Justice* by Alajos Strobl *in her original place*, the Entrance Hall of the Palace of Justice, in 1896

17. Strobl's statue with ropes, waiting to be taken down and transported, in 1951

18. Strobl's statue during the years of 1970, in the open air



19. Strobl's statue in the courthouse of Supreme Court, 1985



20. Details of Strobl's *Lady Justice*

21. A classical and modern representation of the ancient goddess: *Lady Justice* by Alajos Strobl, 1896

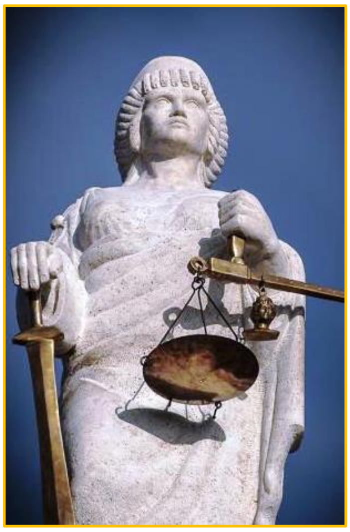
22. Strobl's first statue of justice, 1882, National Gallery, Budapest

23. Strobl with his third statue of justice, with a colorful copy of the second one (destroyed in 1945/46), and with the artist's model, c. 1910

24. Lady Justice made by the acknowledged contemporary sculptor, Ferenc Lebó, 2005/06, erected in front of the modern building of Regional Tribunal (Court of Appeal) in Győr

25. A „girlish" Lady Justice made by A. Mészáros, 2004, in Békéscsaba

26. Lady Justice as a young woman by L. Bánvölgyi, 2005, in Szeged



27. The reconstructed old statute by György Máté, 2012, in Jászberény

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Sentiment analysis of the user comments with the theme of migration posted as interactive content on the Hospodárske noviny website

Iveta Balážiová, Department of Mass Media Communication and Advertising, Faculty of Arts, Constantine the Philosopher University in Nitra, iveta.balaziova@ukf.sk

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Abstract:
This paper reflects on the current discourse on migration in the Slovak digital environment. Given the need to examine the perception of migrants, and using the analysis of comments and posts, it captures social events. It views migration from the perspective of online readers of the Hospodárske noviny daily who send their feedback through interactive tools and actively respond to the media news and stories labeled with the "migrants" tag. The new authentic digital content is thereby considered a specific type of content – the so-called "user-generated content" (UGC). From the reader's perspective, it is one of the ways to show interest in the posts and/or news articles and express one's opinion. On the other hand, UGC also belongs to some of the highly influential tools that can affect the thinking and perception of other readers of UGC. Because UGC is largely involved in shaping the attitude of the online public and formation of public opinion, this type of digital content needs to be analyzed and steered in the desired way through an effective impact on users and/or contributors of digital content. The aim of our research is to find out how the active online readers of Hospodárske noviny view migrants in their non-anonymous comments. Using the content analysis method, and implementing the analysis of sentiment in the non-anonymous user comments (linked with their profiles on Facebook), we analyze (A) the specifics of online readers of the Hospodárske noviny daily and (B) the polarity of user comments posted by the online readers as a specific type of UGC. The sentiment of comments was measured with ternary classification, dividing the individual items into classes of positive (+1), neutral (0) and negative (-1) sentiment in the "men" and "women" category. The data were collected on the hnonline.sk website in the period 1.1.2019-5.1.2019. The data collection period was defined as one calendar year – 2018 – but descriptive statistics was also used on the comments added in 2017 to provide a broader insight into the perception of migration by the active readers. All in all, we collected 148 non-anonymous comments in 2018, out of which ¾ were male and ¼ were female. We characterized the active readers as persons involved in the communication process by posting comments to the articles tagged with the "migrants" tag and publicly adding unique user comments. The research results also suggest that active readers include men with accentuated negative emotional attitudes towards migrants who express their opinions in the comments on average once in every two news articles tagged with the "migrants" tag. The most important finding of the study is that a sizable group of active visitors of HNonline.sk perceived migrants very negatively. We also noted a difference in the user reactions between men and women. While women had a greater tendency for impartiality of opinion on the subject, men acted as the proponents of a more articulated and polar opinion on the positive - negative scale, with a proclivity to negative opinions. One of the possible explanations is that men (forming the majority of the Hospodárske noviny readership) are exposed to the digital media content more frequently, and the media that portray the migrants and refugees significantly negatively and stereotypically (Štefančík & Lenč, 2012; Mesežnikov & Bútorová, 2018; Žúborová & Borárosová, 2016; Hlinčíková, et al., 2014) have a strong impact on

the formation of their opinion. The results also show that a significant affirmation of the negative opinion on the subject of migration was observable during the course of the analysis, which is demonstrated by an increasing frequency of negative comments. The number of female comments with a negative sentiment increased by 2.5% in 2018, and the number of male comments with a negative polarity rose up to 15%. Conversely, the number of neutral comments during the analysis period decreased (in males by 17.6% and in females by 1.9% of the total number of analyzed comments). It is also important to note that men contribute to the discussion more often than women, and therefore are more significantly involved in shaping the attitude of the rest of the readers in some way, both in terms of frequency and opinion on a matter. This also indicates that the attitude of male readers of Hospodárske noviny is more intense and articulated and therefore potentially more resistant to change. The prevalence of negative comments may impact the perception of migrants by other recipients who show an interest in the views of the active readers of this daily. On the other hand, the active contributors may potentially be affected by the media image of migrants. The study also suggests that the individual impacts should be examined to come to a better understanding of the issue and analyze the causal or correlational nature of these relationships. Overall, the conclusions of our research on the negative perception of Slovak recipients against the migrants and refugees are consistent with other research studies (e.g. Mesežnikov & Bútorová, 2018; Žúborová & Borárosová, 2016; Lee & Nerghes, 2018; Spálová & Szabo, 2018) focusing on the research of migration and its perception by specific social and target groups. The present paper suggests that society is facing a difficult task to shape a more favorable attitude of the majority population to migrants for their easier integration into society. The changes in the current state of perception of migrants by the readers will be all the more demanding because of the great impact of active media readers and contributors on the development and shaping of attitudes.

Keywords:
Migration. Migrants. User comments. Hospodárske noviny. Sentiment analysis. Website. Interactive content. User generated content (UGC).

Introduction

The issue of migration is frequently discussed in the Slovak media. Various news portals or dailies express their views on the current discourse. This is probably also due to the fact that for the past 17 years the overall number of migrants has grown rapidly worldwide. In 2017 this number was 258 million, which is 3.4% (United Nations, 2017) of the total population.Although the EU countries have recorded a relatively high increase in the number of migrants, the Slovak Republic is not a target country for migrants according to the International Organization for Migration (IOM) (IOM, 2019). The proportion of migrants to the total population in Slovakia was at 30.9.2017 a mere 1.92% and at 31.12.2018 2,2% (IOM, 2018; IOM, 2019). In comparison with other countries of the European Union, there is a very slow and continuous growth of migrants in Slovakia. Despite the emergence of a number of organizations to help migrants and provide public education in the form of educational workshops and expert discussions, and despite the fact that the majority society could have a deeper personal experience with them, the attitudes of Slovaks to migrants are described as negative and stereotyped (Hlinčíková, et al., 2014) in a number of research projects. An example being the qualitative research conducted in 2011-2012 by R. Štefančík, and J. Lenč. With the help of eight focus groups in the research file of young people aged 16-23, these authors found that the perception of migrants by young people is negative, stereotypical and with elements of rejection (Štefančík & Lenč, 2012b). The research conducted by IOM in 2009 pointed to less favorable attitudes of the Slovak population to foreigners than to national minorities. The most important factors in the formation of attitudes were race and prejudice (Vašečka, 2009). According to Spálová and Szabo (2018, 351), the reinforcement of bias happens mainly through the media-distributed discourse, which “can negatively affect the process of integration of refugees in the EU”, which explicitly refers to the importance of the media in creating the attitudes of the population to migration. This is in congruence with the opinion of the Center for Research Ethics and Culture (CVEK), which states that the creation of negative attitudes towards migrants in Slovaks is significantly fueled by the media, creating a negative media image of the foreigners in the public eye (Hlinčíková, et al., 2014). According to Štefančík and Lenč (2012a), the resulting negative stereotypes of Slovaks against migrants are caused by the perception of the media coverage, because the media have the power to decide how and which social issues will be discussed by the public. They claim that if negative information prevails in the media, or when the journalists describe the migrants unilaterally and stereotypically, portraying male migrants as terrorists, fanatics or criminals, and women as prostitutes, then one can expect that such a unilateral view on migrants will also be taken by the recipients of the media outlets. Our research is focused on the very recipients of the media news. The aim is to find out how migrants are perceived by active online readers of the Hospodárske noviny daily. This aim will be achieved by analyzing the sentiment polarity of non-anonymous user comments posted to the media articles with the "migrants" tag.We chose Hospodarske noviny as one of the Slovak dailies for several reasons. First, this daily is perceived as a non-tabloid and/or serious news outlet, presenting objective information to the readers. The objectivity of this daily was evaluated on the background of its overall perception in the online environment as a serious and non-tabloid daily along with other competing dailies in the same category (Pravda, Denník N, SME) (Antimonopoly Office of the Slovak Republic, 2016, Article 87; Lipták, 2014; Mafra Slovakia, 2012). An important reason for choosing this daily is the ability to post non-anonymous user comments, which makes it possible to determine the specifics of its readership, including gender and affiliation to Generation Y, based on the user profiles on Facebook. Other competing dailies from the "serious media" category in Slovakia (e.g. Pravda, Denník N, SME and others) either do not allow any user comments to the news articles on the official website, and therefore disallow UGC content, or the publication of such posts is anonymous and therefore potentially less reliable and more demanding in terms of analysis of the specifics of online readers. Another significant fact is the tagging of media articles with tags, which makes it possible to filter out the articles focused on migration. All the above reasons led to the decision to analyze the user-generated content on the Hospodárske noviny website (hnonline.sk). Due to the systematic nature of our paper, the theoretical section will be dedicated to a) user comments as a specific form of UGC (user-generated content) and OWOM (online word-of-mouth), b) sentiment analysis, which allows examining user comments in a methodical way, and c) the characteristic of this daily and specification of its readers. Subsequently, following the determination of research aims and problems, we will analyze the individual comments and determine how migrants are viewed by active online readers.

User comments and their relation to the elements of interactive content, user generated content and Online Word of Mouth

User comments can be defined as a specific way of communicating with the readers who are interested in discussing the subject of a published posted/news article. From the reader's perspective, it is an appropriate way of expression of interest in the post, and an expression of their opinion on the subject matter (Brieses, 2016). User comments on web platforms are possible thanks to the interactive content elements that allow a greater involvement of the recipient in a bi-directional dialogic communication (Rose, 2017). Thanks to the interactive feature of adding user comments to news articles, products or blog posts, the newly created content is considered to be a specific type of UGC - "user generated content". It is defined as any content (textual, visual, audiovisual, etc.) formed by the users and published on the digital platform (Sebastiani, 2018). According to Kohtes (2014), UGC is one of the forms of OWOM (Online Word of Mouth), which has other characteristics, such as high credibility. It is the very credibility of the source that determines the significant impact of OWOM on the purchasing decisions and the subsequent sale of the product, whether media or physical (Kohtes, 2014). Kohtes adds that the credibility of OWOM is explained in particular by the importance of knowledge of the opinions and sentiment expressed by other users.It follows from the above that user comments can be considered a highly influential tool that has an impact on how other visitors perceive and assess physical or media products. These comments are also a valuable source for the analysis of attitudes, perceptions and opinions of their authors, which makes them the subject of scientific research.

Sentiment analysis

With the development of UGC on the web platforms, the organizations and commercial and media companies increased their efforts to use the publicly available opinions of users for their decisions. User comments have thus become a valuable resource for the analysis of opinions, attitudes, feelings, perceptions, opinions or preferences of a subject representing a variety of products, services, public figures, organizations, and topics. Opinion on the said subjects can be captured by analyzing sentiment (also known as opinion mining). According to the literature, sentiment is defined as an "emotionally accentuated attitude" because it is one of the ways of expressing attitudes (Boroš, 2001, 16). Lacko (2016) understands sentiment as a subjective expression of will or mind, which has a positive or negative character. Sentiment analysis is defined as an analysis of mood. Liu (2012) describes it as an area of study of opinions, attitudes, evaluations and emotions of people to entities, events or topics. It is used to quantify the general opinion on a given subject or entity (Pang & Lee, 2008). In terms of categorization, it can be included under NLP (natural language processing) (Lacko, 2016; Pang & Lee, 2008). This is perhaps also due to the fact that the unstructured text placed in heterogeneous sources can be used in sentiment analysis to mine for useful information, which is necessary in decision-making (Lacko, 2016). This makes it a technically difficult but practically a very useful task. The primary task of sentiment analysis is to capture the polarity of the entities (Liu & Zhang, 2010). The polarity of views, ideas and attitudes present in the texts can be expressed numerically as a certain type of rating or range (Kohtes, 2014), which indicates the possibility to quantify UGC sentiment. Sebastiani (2018) defined this quantification as estimating the prevalence of classes related to the sentiment in the UGC items (for example, tweets, product reviews and user comments). Classification is closely related to quantification, and it may take the form of binary classification (positive, negative sentiment), ternary classification (positive, neutral, negative sentiment), or serial classification (Sebastiani, 2018). The positive, neutral and negative sentiment is also referred to as the polarity of sentiment or opinion orientation (Liu & Zhang, 2010). The said analysis of the overall sentiment expressed by the author of the content, and the subsequent classification of the text as positive, neutral or negative, is termed sentiment polarity classification (Pang & Lee, 2008).Sentiment analysis can take place at different levels: at the level of words, sentences or entire documents. Sentiment analysis of one single user comment is considered as an analysis at the document level because the entire document is considered the basic information unit.

Hospodarske noviny as an influential mainstream daily

Because of the aim of our work, it is necessary to specify the selected mainstream daily in which the user comments will be analyzed.

Characteristics of Hospodárske noviny

Modern Hospodárske noviny have been operating on the Slovak media market since January 1993; the first issue of the newspaper was published already in the period of socialism in 1899 (Babitzová, 1999; Mafra Slovakia, 2018). Even at the beginning, Hospodárske noviny profiled itself as a serious and credible daily bringing objective facts and actual information from the field of economics, finance, politics, and sports. (HNonline, 2019). The daily has a printed form, which is issued 5 times a week by Mafra Slovakia, which in addition to Hospodárske noviny also publishes other specialized titles of predominantly vocational nature (the Strategie monthly, Obchod monthly, Horeca Magazine bimonthly, Diabetik, Rungo, Zdravotnícke noviny and other newspapers) (Mafra Slovakia, 2019).

Characteristics of the Hnonline.sk website

Hospodárske noviny also includes the digital platform HNonline.sk. The web says it is the "most read business daily in Slovakia, which provides the highest amount of information from the local and foreign economy. It offers comprehensive news, trends and stories from home and abroad about companies and entrepreneurs" (HNonline.sk, 2019). Within the digital platform, the individual articles are labeled with tags. The assigned tags represent the keywords related to the topic of the article. From the user's perspective, their importance lies in finding all the media articles bearing the respective tag, allowing us to focus on the specific topic or area of interest.The publication of media articles in the online format is rather a one-way communication flow from the source to the recipient. To increase the participation of the readers in the communication process, the administrators of the online media platform allow the readers, among other things, to add comments to the articles. The interactive element of adding a comment offers two ways of publication - anonymous (comment under the name Ján Novakk), or non-anonymous, with the publication of the name and surname of the author through the integration of Facebook. In addition to adding a comment, the reader can print the article, share it on social networks or send it by e-mail.

Specification of the Hospodárske noviny readership

Owing to the specific profiling of the newspaper, the readers want to acquire high-quality, current, highly reliable and credible information from the world of domestic and foreign economics, finance and business markets (HNonline.sk, 2019). In terms of a percentage, according to the MML - TGI national survey of consumption, media and lifestyle, the readership of Hospodárske noviny in 2018 covered about 3% of the Slovak population (Median SK, 2018). This reader segment is not very broad, but it is characterized by its interest in economics and public affairs (Babitzová, 1999). Given the specificities of Generation Y, which includes the online readers of Hospodárske noviny, this group can be characterized as follows. Generally, it is a generation of readers who grew up with digital technologies at the time of a dynamic development of social networks (Koníčková, 2018). Reading online newspapers is very natural for this generation, which also includes the publication of own content under own name linked to the account on the social network. As is clear from the positioning of Hospodárske noviny, the readers are interested in public affairs at home and in the foreign countries, which is also in congruence with the characteristics of Generation Y.

Sentiment analysis in the user comments on the subject of migration in the online version of Hospodárske noviny

Research problem and research aims

The primary aim of our research is to find out how active online readers of Hospodárske noviny view migrants in non-anonymous comments. As a matter of priority, we want to find out whether the perception of active online newspaper readers is positive or negative in the area. The above primary objective was divided into the following partial objectives:

- Specify the active online reader who comments on the media texts tagged with the "migrants" tag

- Measure the sentiment polarity in non-anonymous user comments posted on the media article, in which the polarity will be measured as positive, neutral and negative. Under sentiment, we understand the "mood" of the published post

Subsequently, we formulated the research problem: Perception of migrants by active readers of Hospodárske noviny in non-anonymous user comments

Research questions

The above research problem is further elaborated in the following research questions:

VO1: What are the specifics of active online readers?

The first research question concentrates on the characteristics of the "opinion holder". In general terms, we could specify this reader as a person who is actively involved in the communication process by publicly posting unique user comments to the published articles and expressing his/her opinion on the topic. This characteristic is very general, without specifying other demographic or behavioral characteristics. By answering this question, we define the specifics of online readers, especially:

- Gender as a basic demographic characteristic, on the background of which it is possible to capture the basic gender differences

- Rate of comments to the Hospodárske noviny online media articles as a behavioral characteristic, which allows to capture the readers' activity and/or regularity

By specifying the above characteristics, it would be possible to better identify the individuals who wish to participate in the communication process at HNonline.sk. The identification of the characteristics of active users is a prerequisite for better targeting of the marketing and media reports. Such targeting on the given group results in a more significant impact on the readers with a specific perception of migrants.

VO2: Do the active online newspaper readers view migrants positively or negatively?

Based on the theoretical part, one of the following polarities may dominate in the reader comments: positive, negative, or neutral. The sentiment polarity analysis can significantly indicate the attitude of the users to the topic (Boros, 2001), which can then be translated into action. According to Nakonečný (2000, p. 132), the *"attitudes determine the course of action, and/or are consistent with the course of action where the situation allows."* In the broader context, both positive and negative perceptions of the migrants by the online newspaper readers may partly reflect how the members of society will view the integration of migrants (Hlinčíková, et. al. 2014).

VO3: Is there is a difference in the perception of migrants in the user comments between men and women?

In psychological discourse, men and women may perceive the individual facts differently, with different polarities and intensity. This may be crucial in setting the communication message to one or both target groups of readers depending on the extremity of the "emotionally accented attitude" towards migrants.

VO4: How has the neutral sentiment in the user comments on migration evolved in time?

Sentiments are one of the manifestations of attitude (Boroš, 2001). According to Nakonečný (2000), neutral attitudes are present particularly in issues the subject knows nothing about. In this context, neutral sentiment may indicate the neutrality of views of the opinion holders. With the increasing number of media information, the number of neutral sentiments could also decrease, which would also reflect the possible impact of the media on the recipients of media messages.

Method

To answer the research questions and perform a systematic collection of data, we primarily used the content analysis method, including the analysis of sentiment polarity. The sentiment analysis method generally allows us to study attitudes, beliefs and emotions pertinent to the given themes and subjects (Liu, 2012). This results in capturing the sentiment polarity, which Liu and Zhang (2010) termed "opinion orientation". The research material consisted of user comments on the online media articles in the Hospodárske noviny daily with the "migrants" tag. The reason for selecting this daily was its objective and serious reputation in the Slovak media environment (Antimonopoly Office of the Slovak Republic, 2016; Lipták, 2014; Mafra Slovakia, 2012). It is also the only non-tabloid daily in Slovakia that allows the posting of non-anonymous user comments by linking the users with their Facebook accounts.The use of news articles with the "migrants" tag and the user comments published under such articles indicates a deliberate selection in relation to the pre-defined objective of our work. After having filtered out all the media articles on migration with the help of, and reviewed each article separately with the identification of user comments, the comments were recorded into the record sheet. The comments were collected on the HNonline.sk website in the period 1.1.2019 – 5.1.2019. We analyzed all user comments added in the 2017 and 2018 calendar years. All in all, we collected 148 non-anonymous comments during the analyzed period in 2018, ¾ of which were male and ¼ female. We only analyzed those comments where it was possible to identify the author through Facebook. Using the Facebook profiles and accounts on the social network, we also verified the authenticity of the authors who actively contributed to the debate on the website, as the number of fake accounts on the social network has risen in the recent years despite the efforts to de-activate the fake accounts upon registration or block the existing fake accounts (Facebook Newsroom, 2019). The accounts with fake profiles are defined by Facebook as "accounts where someone is pretending to be something or someone that does not exist." (Facebook, 2019, op. 9/10/2019). These accounts typically show abnormal behavior, and can be tracked down relatively easily. (Egele, et. al., 2013). The most reliable way to verify the authenticity of an account on Facebook is its consistent user behavior over time, including a relatively consistent URL of the given Facebook profile and the user name in the profile (Egele, et al., 2017). The fake Facebook profiles typically lack assigned usernames, which are often replaced by numerical values and/or the username does not correspond to the name in the URL address (Elwood, 2017; Gray, 2018). The interconnection of comments with the Facebook account allows us to check whether the posters are real or whether the comments are sent from fake accounts. After having verified the authenticity of Facebook user profiles, the analyzed research material was sorted into the following analytical categories:

- Author's gender (male, female)
- Polarity sentiment in the comments (positive, neutral and negative)

The author's gender was identified based on the link to Facebook. Polarity sentiment was determined based on the emotional charge of the comments using the ternary classification divided into positive (+1), neutral (0) and negative (-1) class. In content analysis, the comments followed the quantification procedures of frequency categories (polarity sentiment, frequency of posting) and dichotomy, i.e., presence/absence of an indicator (gender, polarity sentiment).To increase objectivity, the sentiment analysis was also supported by an online tool "Sentiment analysis for the Slovak language”. Using an algorithm and percentage calculation, this tool allowed us to objectively classify the texts into different classes. The comment posted by Libor Řezníček is an example of positive sentiment: "The migration of humans and animals is a natural process, it is a form of freedom of expression. Unlike animals, however, people must also adhere to the laws. The laws should regulate this process with a sense of reality and should not be ´barbaric´.“ This comment was posted to the media article published on 11.18.2018 under the title in a video, Fico criticizes the Global Pact for Migration: Migrants bring enormous risks. Another example is the user comment by Simona Plajková „Things are happening“, which carries a neutral sentiment because it is just a statement without a positive or negative emotional charge. This comment was posted to the article titled Trump resists the crying children in cages, Republicans are at a loss, published on the hnonline.sk website on 06/20/2018.

Results

As stated above, we collected a total of 148 non-anonymous comments in 2018 and 4 non-anonymous comments in 2017 during the analyzed period. In addition to the analysis of user comments in 2018, we also deliberately analyzed the comments from 2017 at the level of basic frequencies. This seemingly unrelated step is the foundation and starting point for any further analysis set out below in our paper because it shows us the readers' interest in the topic of migration in the longer term. These results show the duration of the trend, and/or the beginning, progress and anchoring of the topic from the perspective of readers who keenly engage in the presentation and formation of the image of migrants and thus contribute to the shaping of attitudes towards them. Using the calculation of basic frequencies, we can determine the development of comments in time and some behavioral specifics of the active readers regarding the frequency of user comments. The below chart shows the total number of comments divided into the individual months.

Chart 1: Development of the number of comments with an identified author in 2017 and 2018

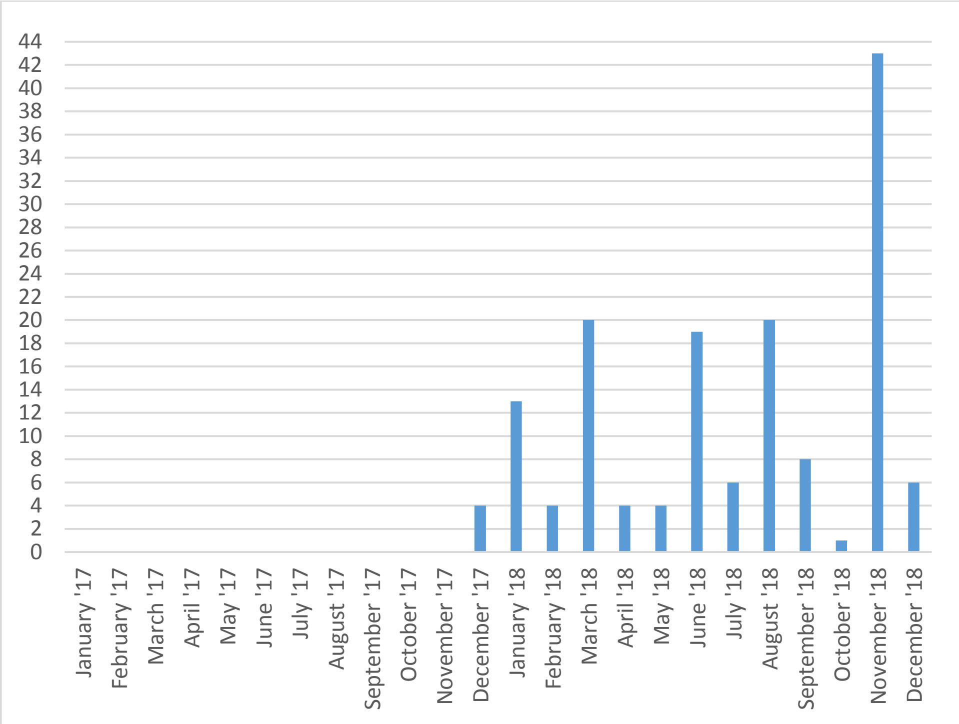
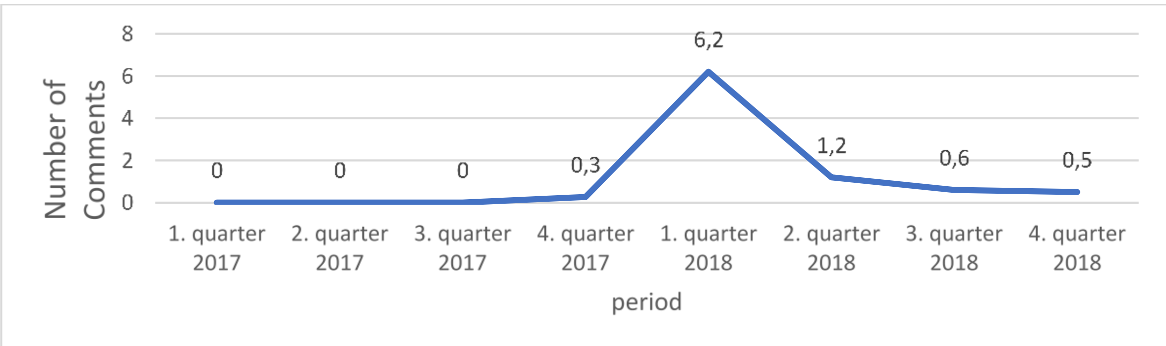


Chart 1 shows that the media articles on the topic of migration encouraged the readers to add a comment as late as December 2017. From this month on, the topic was regularly discussed throughout 2018, indicating the existence of a community of readers with information about the issue. The results indicate that migration continues to be a topic discussed by the readers and motivates them to broaden their knowledge in this field and/or boosts their active participation in the discussions on migration as presented by the media. Next, we investigated in which period the migration issue was most discussed in terms of UGC and how often the users added comments to media articles. To calculate this, we used the "average number of user comments to a media article". We show the data per individual quarters of the respective years 2017 and 2018.

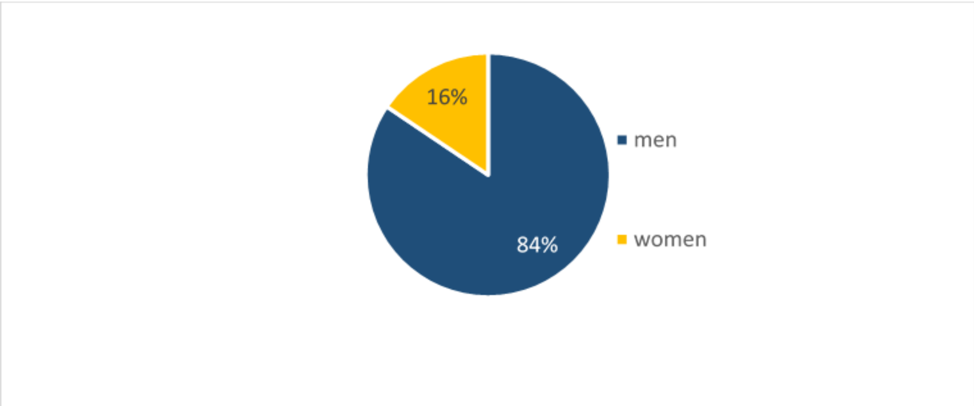
Chart 2: Development of the average number of comments with an identified author to media articles in 2017 and 2018



Source: own research

According to the chart, the readers began to discuss the topic already in the 4th quarter of 2017. The total involvement of the readers was low. On average, every third media article was commented on. The topic was most discussed quantitatively in the 1st quarter of 2018 with six comments per article. After this peak, the topic was discussed by a close community of readers who are interested in migration and comment on migration actively in their comments. On average, the current users comment on every other article labeled with the "migrants" tag. This behavioral specificity characterizes the contemporary readers of Hospodárske noviny. The frequency of comments to the news articles as a behavioral characteristic is a partial answer to the first research question. Both above charts refer to the fact that in 2017 the readers were rather passive in relation to the topic. All subsequent analyses will therefore concentrate only on the user comments in 2018. We first analyzed the demographic characteristics of active readers which, like the previous results on the frequency of comments by the readers of the given daily, can define the active contributors.

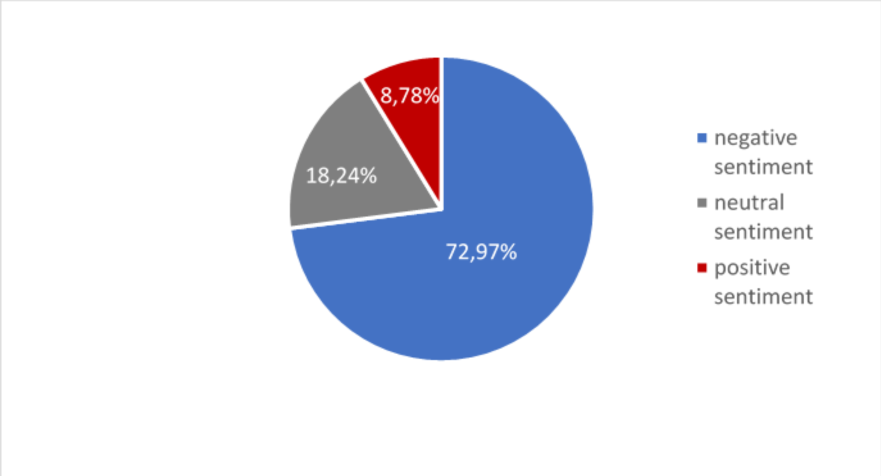
Chart 3: Share of the active commenting community of readers



Source: own research

According to the findings in 2018, the community of active online readers consisted of men (¾) and women (¼). After the development of user comments in time and specification of active readers of Hospodárske noviny, we have performed the sentiment analysis. The overall sentiment in the non-anonymous comments divided into ternary classification classes (positive, neutral and negative) is shown in the following chart.

Chart 4: Sentiment analysis in the comments to online articles in Hospodárske noviny with the "migrants" tag in 2018



Source: own research

The analysis of sentiment polarity in the user comments showed that 72.97% of the comments includes a negative sentiment. Positive sentiment prevailed in 8.78% of the users and neutral in 18.24% of the comments. An overview of detailed results of the analysis is shown in Table 1.

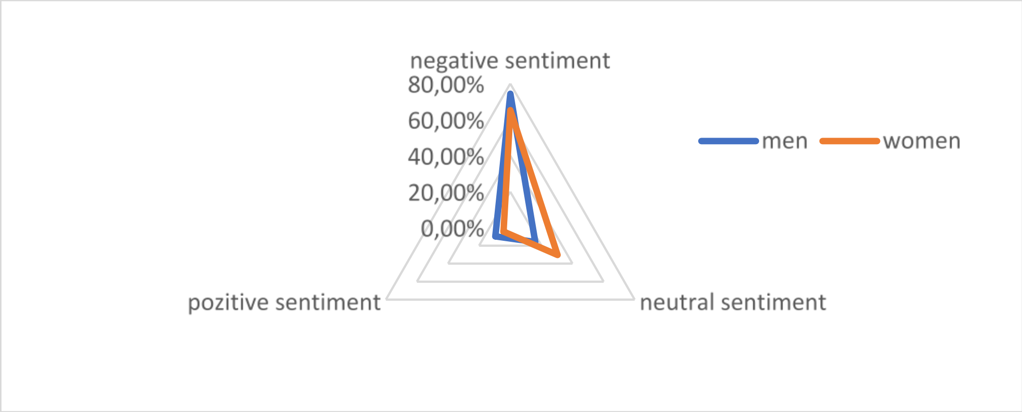
Table 1: Sentiment analysis in the Hospodárske noviny user comments on the subject of migration by user gender

	Number of Comments in %		
	negative sentiment	**neutral sentiment**	**positive sentiment**
men	74.4%	16.0%	9.6%
women	65.2%	30.4%	4.4%

Source: own research

Negative sentiment was dominant in the comments in both sexes: in 65.2% of women's comments and in 74.4% of men's comments. Neutral sentiment was identified in 30.4% of the comments by women and 16% of the comments by men. Positive sentiment was present in 9.6% of the comments by men and 4.4% of the comments by women. The above score is visualized in the following chart.

Chart 5: Sentiment analysis in the Hospodárske noviny user comments on the subject of migration by user gender



Source: own research

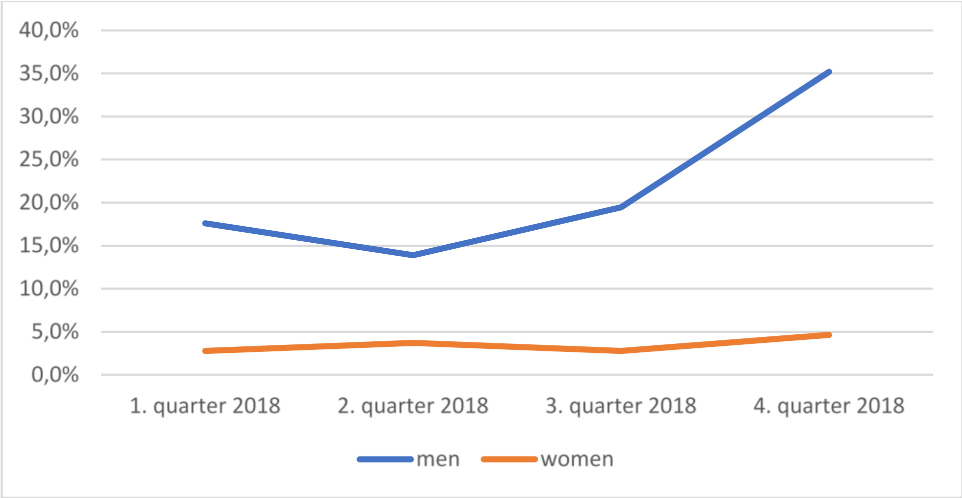
According to the chart, neutral sentiment is clearly represented in women's comments. In comparison with men, women add fewer comments with positive and negative sentiment, while men are more likely to express their polar views. The polarity of collective sentiment as one of the ways of expressing a position on the subject, therefore, can have varying degrees of intensity. The following graph shows the intensity of "emotionally accentuated attitude", which is calculated from mean values of positive (+1), neutral (0) and negative (-1) sentiment of the comments in the "men" and "women" category.

Chart 6: Continuous display of collective sentiment by gender

Source: own research

The continuous display of collective sentiment by gender shows that the accented emotional attitude towards migrants in women is not as pronounced as in men on the scale (-1) - 0 - 1. The women achieve the value of -0.61 on the scale, while the average value of collective sentiment in men is -0.65. There is a 4% difference in the relative indicators between the two sexes. Despite this difference, the dominant sentiment in the comments by both sexes is negative. The number of negative comments could change during the analyzed period, which may indicate the development of collective sentiment in time.

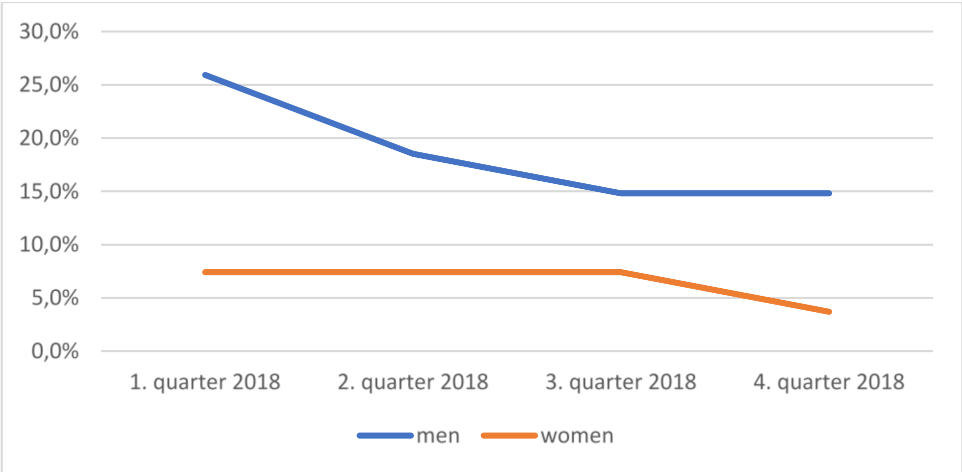
Chart 7: Development of negative sentiment comments on the topic of migration in 2018



Source: own research

The above graph shows the evolution of the number of comments with a negative sentiment in 2018. According to the chart, the negative sentiment in the user comments markedly changed in men. While in the first quarter of 2018, almost 20% of male comments had a negative sentiment, in the fourth quarter it reached 35% of the total amount of analyzed research material. The negative sentiment in the user comments in women did not significantly change in time. During the year, the number of women's negative comments only increased by 2.5%.We also analyzed the development of neutral sentiment.

Chart 8: Development of neutral sentiment comments on the topic of migration in 2018



Source: own research

The results of sentiment analysis show that the share of comments with neutral sentiment during the period of analysis decreased in both sexes. During the year, the number of comments with a negative sentiment decreased by 17.6% in males and 1.9% in females.The development of sentiment in the positive comments is not shown because we identified just a few positive comments in 2018 (a total of 1 comment in women and 12 comments in men), and this result has a very low informative value in the visual assessment of the development of sentiment in time and in relative indicators. To analyze the positive sentiment of user comments in the Hospodárske noviny daily in time, it is necessary to collect the data from a period longer than one calendar year. The study points to the possibility of other analyses of positive sentiment in the user comments over an extended period of time.

Discussion

To measure the perception of active online readership of the Hospodárske noviny daily on the topic of migration, we used sentiment analysis of non-anonymous user comments. We found that the issue of migrants was first discussed by the HNonline.sk users in December 2017, while during the next calendar year, it was discussed each month (Chart 1) without exception.Based on the demonstrable community of readers interested in the topic of migration, it was possible to specify the active online readers the first research question relates to. With the help of our analyses, we might characterize these readers as men (Chart 3) actively involved in the communication process by posting comments to the articles tagged with the "migrants" tag and publicly adding unique user comments. Their opinions are expressed in the comments to every second newspaper article on this topic (Chart 2). Subsequently, we analyzed the sentiment polarity in the user comments to find out how the active readers perceive the migrants presented in the media texts. According to the results, the sentiment analysis showed that in 2018 the active readers perceived the migrants negatively in ¾ of the cases, which also answers the second research question. Only 9% of the analyzed comments had a positive polarity and 18% were neutral (Chart 4). Although the perception of migrants is significantly negative in both sexes (Table 1) men showed a 4% greater intensity of negative "emotional accented attitude” than women (Chart 6) according to the measured values. According to the results, women have a greater tendency to impartiality of opinion on the subject. This is also evidenced by the fact that neutral sentiment is more clearly represented in the user comments of women by 14.4% compared to men (Table 1; Chart 5). Women also added fewer comments with positive and negative sentiment, while men typically assume one of the two polarities (Chart 5). That also means that there is a difference in the perception of migrants in the male and female user comments, which answers our third research question. Based on the results of our analyses, we can also conclude that the analyzed issue was most discussed in the first quarter of 2018, with an average of 6.2 to comments per media article (Chart 2). During this period, men and women added a larger number of neutral comments (Chart 8) and a lesser number of negative comments (Chart 7) compared to the other quarters in the year. At the end of the year, there was a significant increase in the comments with the negative sentiment (Chart 7), and a decrease in the number of neutral comments (Chart 8), which means that the opinion holders reinforced their positions during the analyzed period. Thus, the collective sentiment as an "emotionally accentuated attitude" is more extreme. According to Nakonečný (2000), the extreme attitudes are more resistant to change, and thus it will be more difficult to affect the change of attitude of the active newspaper readers.

The increasing number of media messages and repeated exposure to the negative image of migrants portrayed by the media can also be an explanation why the neutral sentiment decreased over time. According to Nakonečný (2000), the neutral attitudes indicate the neutrality of the view-holders. Given the number of media messages and repeated exposure to the said media image, the neutral position could have changed to one of the polarities. As in the previous case, the development is more pronounced in the male readers even in the case of a neutral stance. The results of the study, which show significant gender differences and/or stronger intensity of negative emotional attitudes of men towards the migrants along with a greater frequency of negative user comments by the males on the Hospodárske noviny website, can be explained as follows: Men make up the majority in the Hospodárske noviny online community and they comment on migration more often than women. In a sense, men are more intensely exposed to the presented media image, which significantly contributes to shaping the attitude of the recipients, notably in terms of distal topics such as migration (Spálová & Szabo, 2018). Several studies show that migrants and refugees in Slovakia are depicted in a strongly stereotypical, dismissive and negative way in the media both in the media coverage discourse and in the discourse of political leaders (Žúborová & Borárosová, 2016; Hlinčíková, et al., 2014; Spálová & Szabo, 2018; Mesežnikov & Bútorová, 2018). Even foreign research shows a significant predominance of negative sentiment in the comments and reactions of the users (Lee & Nerghes, 2018). This indicates the negative framing of migrants and refugees in the Slovak media and abroad, and generally points to a negative image of the migrants in society. The presented media image with a negative emotional polarity is also properly reflected in the perception of recipients (Štefančík & Lenč, 2012a), which in the case of Hospodárske noviny is mainly composed of men. For this reason, the negative attitudes towards migrants could have been strengthened over time in the group of male readers, which make up the dominant target group in Hospodárske noviny.This means that on the background of the negative media image of migrants and refugees and frequent reception of media content, the male recipients show a more intense perception, and consequently, formation of attitudes and/or the strength and stability of an emotionally accentuated attitude towards the migrants. The greater involvement of men in the presented social life is also reflected in the statements found in the user comments. This relationship, however, needs to be further examined, which opens up space for other studies.

Research limits

The proposed research design allows the data collection for the documentation of collective sentiment polarity in the user comments without the possibility of an explicit demonstration of the impact of the negative comments on the perception of migrants by other passive recipients of the media reports in this daily. In addition, there is no proven correlation between the perception of migrants in the media outlets and the perception of migrants in the comments of active readers of the analyzed daily. The measured differences should also be examined further in the long term, and the results should be statistically validated with appropriate methods. This opens additional space for text analysis in the media articles tagged with the "migrants” tag. The sentiment in the individual posts, as well as the information itself, may have an impact on user comments which were posted based on the media impetus.

Conclusion

The media play an important role in the process of increasing the integration of migrants into society, which can have a substantial effect on the general public. Using the image created by the media, the media effectively shape the opinions, attitudes and opinions of their audiences. One of the dailies affecting the Slovak public is Hospodárske noviny; its active readers were the subject of our research. The aim of our research was to find out how active online readers of Hospodárske noviny view migrants in non-anonymous comments. Based on the results of the analysis, we conclude that the active readers of this newspaper view migrants negatively, which is reflected in their comments to the media articles. We also found varying degrees of sentiment in the user responses between men and women because, according to the results, women showed a greater tendency to impartiality of opinion on migration. Men tend to assume one of the polar stances (positive – negative), with the negative polarity dominating. We also noted a significant affirmation of the negative opinion on migration in time in the analyzed period, which is demonstrated by the increasing frequency of negative comments. Conversely, the number of neutral comments during the analysis period decreased (in males by 17.6% and in females by 1.9% of the total number of analyzed comments). The results also show that men contribute to the Hospodárske noviny discussion more often than women, and therefore are more significantly involved in shaping the attitude of the rest of the readers in some way, both in terms of frequency and the negative opinion on a matter. The prevalence of negative comments may impact the perception of migrants by other recipients who show interest in the views of the active readers of this daily. These comments may subsequently impact the perception of migrants by other recipients who are interested in the views of active readers. From the perspective of marketing, user comments as one of the subsets of online WOM have a significant impact on shopping decisions and the formation of attitudes and mindsets of the recipients (Kothes, 2014). In a broader context, the identification of sentiment polarity in the comments made by active online readers may largely indicate the orientation of opinion of all online readers including the passive ones. This extends the space for further research questions focused on the relationship between user-generated content in response to the media outlets and the perception of the topic by other readers.The negative polarity of collective sentiment in the user comments can also be affected by the media news/texts in the given daily. The possible impact of the daily on the active recipients of the media reports is reflected in the present analysis. According to it, the increasing number of media information caused a decrease in the number of undecided neutral sentiments on migrants and an increase in the number of polar comments. During the year, the active readers of this daily reinforced their negative view of the migrants, which in a wider context may be a partial explanation of the less favorable situation in the full integration of migrants into society, which is described in the publication by Hlinčíková et. al. (2014). It will be all the more difficult for the media to change the existing perception of migrants of the readers. The creation of a positive image of migrants in the selected target groups requires that the media no longer predominantly publish negative information and portray migrants stereotypically: i.e. men are terrorists, fanatics, or criminals, and women are prostitutes (Štefančík & Lenč, 2012). These are two more variables that open space for further research into the perception of Slovak media coverage. The demonstration of an explicit impact of the media messages on their readers is crucial to the subsequent change of perception of the migrants by the recipients of the media messages. The change in the perception of migrants by the media with the subsequent formation of a positive media image of the migrants will act in favor of a more positive public perception and increase their adoption into the society. The contribution of this work is its theoretical insight into the issue of migration, which is portrayed negatively, stereotypically and dismissively in the Slovak media, as well as in analyzing the current status of perception of migration by the active readers of one of the serious dailies in Slovakia. The negative media reports and the negative attitudes of the readers of these media reports are interrelated, however, it is not clear whether in a causal or correlational way. This suggests that it is just not enough to change the media discourse with the aim to shape the perception; it is also necessary to effectively influence the attitudes of the recipients of the media reports, especially those who are actively involved in spreading the digital user-generated content. It is this very group of users that, in addition to the very media, significantly influences the attitudes to migrants in other readers.

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The Overcoming of the Romantic Author in the Context of Contemporary Information Society

Vojtěch Novák, Department of Electronic Culture and Semiotics, Faculty of Humanities, Charles University in Prague, voitanovak@gmail.com,
ORCID: http://orcid.org/0000-0003-3734-9516

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Abstract:
This text presents the concept of the romantic author in a broader context. Firstly, it points out its roots connected with antics (Bennett, 2005), then it describes its pre-concept, which is rooted during the rise of the typography (Ong, 2005), and finally it directly concentrates on the era where this concept is truly formed (Abrams, 1958). Based on these opening statements, the author of this text defines the concept of the romantic author in the sense of an individual sovereign creator in the context of western traditional authorship. Then the text points out its main goal to concentrate on the selected concepts, in order to demonstrate the contemporary overcoming of the author who is grounded in the western tradition. The author of this text uses an interdisciplinary approach in order to describe the topic, but primarily he prefers the approach of the media epistemology, based on which he classifies the subject of his interest in three key categories: firstly, he defines the concept of the romantic author in terms of its birth and its non-global character; secondly, he is oriented on the metaphor of the death of the author (Barthes, 1984), which Carpentier (2011) considers as a starting point for the weakening of the sovereign authorial position in order to present fantasies, which reflect this shift; and thirdly, he is concentrated on the term produsage (Bruns, 2008), where the author eventually (not just metaphorically) disappears, and points out the necessity of the produsage liberation from its techno-optimism. The article then presents two different approaches which reflect the actual overcoming of the romantic author in the sense of an individual creator in the context of the contemporary information society. The first one (Balve, 2014) refers to the birth of typography, which he describes in relation to the authorship in terms of speculative historical narration, and further he strives to keep this idea in the sense of genuine authorship, while he simultaneously points out its ideological construct. In contrast, the second approach (Sutherland-Smith, 2005) inclines to the overcoming of this idea, because it is no longer valid, and prefers establishing a so-called new order (Myers, 1998), which would simultaneously reflect this shift in the context of the World Wide Web. The author of this article prefers this second approach, because this very concept allows us to liberate the concept of traditional authorship from its obsolescence and to point out its very real overcoming. The text then comes to the second key point, constructed by the previously mentioned media epistemology, and clarifies the author/viewer convergence with the reference to Carpentier and his utopian and dystopian fantasies. Carpentier classifies them into three categories: firstly, into the modernist concept of the cultural professional, who symbolizes a nostalgic effort to keep the obsolete order; secondly, into a still modernist form of the author/viewer convergence, which is dystopian or utopian (produsage); and thirdly, into the postmodern, late-modern or fluid-modern form while he refers to the utopian participatory fantasy (Pateman, 1970) as the most preferred approach. The author of this text ultimately doesn't agree with Carpentier and prefers the concept of produsage as the only type of fantasy which captures the very real overcoming of the sovereign individual romantic author. The author then points out the necessity of liberating the produsage from its modernist utopian ideas and the need to accept the author/viewer convergence in full range (via produsage) and to put it into the context of contemporary

postmodern society. Then the author comes to the third key point and is specifically interested in produsage in the context of neo-Marxist theory as another example of its limitations, which could be taken as the new form of exploitation (Brown & Quan-Haase, 2012). Therefore, Brown and Quan-Hasse see a certain connection between the *produsers* and factory workers who used to be exploited by capitalist industrial factory production owners. However, these authors also point out the differences between *produsers* and factory workers and they consider the ability of *produsers* to control the artefacts as one of the most important factors. The author of this article points out the overestimating tendencies of this aspect while referring to the decentralized nature of artefacts, which helps him to liberate this term from another utopian essence. Simultaneously, he points out that the contemporary overcoming of the individual romantic sovereign author is necessary to be understood rather as an option, which appears during web 2.0 era, than as a necessity which is always valid in absolute terms. In this sense, the author refers to the gallery products constructed in the form of traditional western individual authorship, which we face in the contemporary information society. In the last part, the author concludes by returning to the methodology of media epistemology. The author points out several paradoxes which emerge from the findings mentioned in the article. In reality, the romantic author is overcome in the context of contemporary information society, but formally, we are still able to face his nowadays version via the gallery visits or (simply) by the efforts to keep him alive in the world where he has already disappeared. According to the author of this article, the only way to fully accept this disappearance is to accept the author/viewer convergence by the produsage, which has to be liberated from its exaggerated utopian expectations.

Keywords:
Authorship. Information society. Romantic author. Convergence. Web 2.0. Produsage.

1. The Concept of the Romantic Author

The concept of the romantic author is generally rather specific and problematic. We can find the roots of its origins long before it became established. Bennett (2005, 36 - 38) connects these roots with a poet of antiquity who held the position of a mad seer or a prophet on the edge of a society, but was feted as an individual who was in contact with other-worldly wisdom that was presented through his artistic work.

The pre-concept of the romantic author in the sense of an individual creator is generally connected with the rise of typography; which is the finalized version of the written word, assigns a printed text to the concrete author, and simultaneously evokes the need to protect this authorial product through which it settles the basic condition for the establishment of copyrights: “Typography had made the word into a commodity” (Ong, 2005, 129). The establishment of typography creates the impression that the words of individual authors are becoming a part of private property, which also creates a reasonable aversion to plagiarism[1] leading to the protection of commercial interests connected with single prints (Ong, 2005, 128-129).

In relation to the romantic author, we find his roots in ancient times, and his pre-concept during the birth of typography, but his very real definition as an individual original creator is, of course, not established until the arrival of Romanticism. This kind of originality is then reflected in a specific style, where the author introduces his inner self: “ (...) poetry is imitation, style is the man (...) it is the matter which mirrors the world, and the manner which mirrors the man” (Abrams, 1958, 231).

[1] As for example Suvák (2019) in relation to Aischinés suggests, we may find the references about plagiarism in ancient times as well, but these are still connected with the contemporary ancient pre-romantic interpretation of this term, which is not suitable with regards to the tradition of individual authorship. In the sense of plagiarism, as understood currently, it is the concept of the Western individual author connected with the establishment of typography that is significant for the interests of this paper.

In this paper I use the concept of the romantic author as an individual original creator in the sense of the traditional Western concept of authorship, where the author takes the sovereign position and is fully connected with his authorial product (and they both are inseparable). This sovereign position of the author had been naturally a subject of discussion even before the internet era, especially in literary theory, nevertheless, even there we are dealing only with a formal weakening of this position, but not with its very real disappearance, which (as we will see later) eventually happens in the context of information society. The ambition of this paper is not to create some sort of diachronic review of several types of weakening of the sovereign authorial position, because this is not even possible due to the limited capacity of these lines. Instead, I will concentrate rather on selected studies which reflect the overcoming of this position in the context of the contemporary information society. In the case where I refer to the selected concepts of a weakening of sovereign position of romantic author, I am doing it only to gain further knowledge of a context which I use in order to describe the current-day situation. And this is the very one, which I am in this paper concerned with.

This article is also based on an inter-disciplinary approach; however the main position of my research is grounded in media epistemology. As much as it is not possible to adequately describe the current situation in the information society by using obsolete scientific texts, we cannot just rely on contemporary texts claiming that they are sufficient enough to ignore the previous ones. Therefore, I use three key points in order to describe the subject. First (as seen above), I present the concept of the romantic author in the sense of traditional individual authorship, which I later question in terms of a global universality. Second, I refer to the metaphor of the death of the author (Barthes, 1984) in the concept of Carpentier (2011) who considers this Barthesian metaphor as a starting point for the author/viewer convergence in order to present socially-constructed fantasies, which reflect this change in the context of today. Third, I talk about the produsage (Bruns 2008) as the concept where we face the very disappearance of traditional individual authorship in the contemporary information society. It should be clear now, that all these key points significantly relate to the subject of an author and to the shifts of his/her role during a historical time. Therefore, I will use the method of genealogy[2] in order to describe the shifts of the author/viewer to form constructions according to the topic structured into the key points mentioned above. The first one stands for an authorial sovereignty, the second one presents the conception where the sovereignty is weakened, and the last one reflects its overcoming.

2. Genuine Authorship vs New Order

Johannes Balve (2014) also points out the importance of birth of intellectual property during the era of typography establishment: “The origin of the protected authorship derives historically from Gutenberg´s revolutionary invention to produce copies of an original text by means of a new technology” (Balve, 2014, 82). However, Balve connects the rise of this protection with the growing numbers of copies and disseminations, while claiming that because of them it was the main goal (beside the less important economic aspects) to protect the individual thoughts of the authors from plagiarism (Balve, 2014, 82-84).

I strongly disagree with such a claim from Balve´s speculative historical narration, because this statement ignores the fact that the main purpose for this endeavor was to protect the

[2] I use the genealogy with reference to the approach of Michel Foucault who uses this method in order to describe the construct of the subject in relation to the issues of sexuality (Foucault, 1978) and imprisonment (Foucault, 1977). It should be even more clear then, why I don't have an ambition to follow the traces of a continuity, because Foucault also, as Fišerová (2016, 16) suggests, prefers a discontinuity.

commercial investments which were connected with the prints. Even though his interpretation is affected by this speculative approach, he is absolutely right when claiming that currently there isn't any clear global agreement about adhering to the rights connected with individual authorship (Balve, 2014, 83). According to Balve, the idea of individualism is in socio-cultural and philosophical terms connected especially with Western societies (particularly North European and Anglo-American) where lies the idea of individual authorship, whereas Eastern societies (particularly Asian) are far less determined by this idea, because most of them are grounded in the tradition of collectivism (Balve, 2014, 83-87).

While selecting this study, I wanted to show that the concept of traditional authorship always was, in the sense of the individual (romantic) author, strongly connected with Western intellectual tradition and couldn't be understood as a global universality, nor from the times it was established. Additionally, Balve points out how problematic it is to keep the idea of individual authorship currently, where several of them collaborate (also on the internet), and he considers such a genuine idea to be an ideological construct. However, at the same time (quite surprisingly) he doesn't want to abandon this concept and rather prefers to stay with the idea of genuine (individual, romantic) authorship; standing by its protection because of its genuineness - at least in relation to academic literature (Balve, 2014, 89-91).

For comparative purposes, I select another author who doesn't agree with this ethnocentric perspective. First, Sutherland-Smith (2005) points out the strong connection of the concept of the romantic author with Western intellectual tradition as well: "The Romantic concept of authorship emerged from developing legal notions of the author as the owner of a text in England in the mid-fifteenth century. This 'traditional' view conceived of the author as an individual creator of an original work" (Sutherland-Smith, 2005, 16).

Sutherland-Smith further claims that any interventions in an original product, which would destroy this idea of traditional authorship, are considered (by this tradition) to be an example of plagiarism, but (in spite of Balve) she simultaneously criticizes this ethnocentric perspective, which she considers to be too much under the influence of the Western construct of individual property (Sutherland-Smith, 2005, 19-26). Myers (1998, 13), as Sutherland-Smith (2005, 19) mentions, talks about the necessity of 'New Order' that would also include non-Western as well as a 'techno-literacy' perspective. Sutherland-Smith refers to this notion claiming that the traditional perspective is necessarily limited, especially in the present globalized world (not just Western), particularly in relation to today's information and communication technologies and to the tangled web[3], which allow this global connectivity to happen. "Nowhere is this more apparent than in the textual environment of the World Wide Web and the Internet" (Sutherland-Smith, 2005, 19).

As we may see, while Balve strives for keeping the traditional concept of the romantic author in the sense of genuine authorship (even while realizing its nature is built upon an ideological construct), Sutherland-Smith invites us to break with this concept because this is what she considers to be realistically untenable and totally overcome in the context of the globalized information society. I naturally incline to this position just in order to be able to abandon the first key point of the epistemology mentioned above. It is, in fact, the only way to get to the second key point which allows us to abandon the frame of this ideological construct and to have a better look at the overcoming of traditional authorship.

[3] See the connection with the name of the article *The tangled web* (author's remark).

3. The Convergence of the Author and Viewer

With regards to the untenability of the sovereign position of the romantic author, I will focus here on the concept of his metaphorical death, which in the context of today's information society abandons the framing of a non-scientific metaphor and eventually becomes real.

As mentioned above (as the second key point), Carpentier (2011) considers this Barthesian metaphor as a starting point for his further thoughts about the convergence of author (producer) and viewer (consumer or reader). From the Barthesian post-structuralist defined point of a viewer's interpretation, where a reader (or a viewer in broader terms) becomes the active creator of a text or a media content via his interpretation (but he is still formally separable from the author at the same time), we are shifting towards the world of new media and the produsage (Bruns, 2008), where the position of the author and the viewer becomes, in fact, inseparable (Carpentier, 2011, 183 - 184). So Bruns' term produsage consists of the convergence of a producer (author) and user (reader or viewer) shortened through the term *produser*.

In the article, Carpentier formulates this theoretical assumption: " (...) identities (or subject positions) are not stable or homogenous, but contingent and diverse, and fed by social fantasies" (Carpentier, 2011, 185).

I would like to introduce these fantasies, because I will be working with them further in the text. Carpentier (2011, 185) basically classifies them into three types. The first one is the modernist fantasy of the cultural professional which basically separates the author from the audience consisting of amateurs. The second one, which is modernist as well, is the democratic-populist fantasy based on the death of the author, which is situated in the antagonistic position to the first type. The clash of these two modernist types generates the third one, which Carpentier mentions as the participatory fantasy situated in the postmodern, late-modern, or liquid-modern era.

In my opinion, it is necessary to point out that even the starting point consisting of the metaphor of the death of the author, which is a part of the Barthesian post-structuralist approach, is not in fact created in a postmodern, but still in a modern context. It would be false to think that the idea of 'post' automatically generates the connection between the thoughts that are fundamentally based on it. The post-structuralist metaphor of the death of the author undoubtedly questions the previous structures, but, on the other hand, still remains in the tradition of modernity.

The first modernist type of cultural professional fantasy, according to Carpentier, evokes a certain type of nostalgia for its supporters in the sense of the possibility to delineate the formerly separable positions of professional authors and amateur audience. However, he also points out that falling too much into this nostalgia may also cause frustration, because the audience (and its members) will never behave according to the demands or elements (Carpentier, 2011, 190-193)[4] which define cultural professionals and their characteristics of production. In this sense then, the viewers and the members of the audience are perceived as the enemies of clearly delineated positions of subjects (Carpentier, 2011, 197-198).

In contrast, the democratic-populist fantasy, as the second type of modernist approach, substitutes the hierarchy of subjects with the idea of their absolute equity, which means the

[4] There, Carpentier describes these elements in detail.

equity of the authors and viewers, the professionals and amateurs, and the audience and individual creators. Moreover, this fantasy has got two variations. The celebrative-utopian, as the first variation, takes the idea of absolute equity between the subjects as the objective ground for the realization of the very real shape of democratic society. However, the second one, the anxietatic-dystopian, takes that equity as a threat to the position of the cultural professional via user-generated content (Carpentier, 2011, 198).

The fantasy of the cultural professional tries to protect his dominant position because of nostalgic reasons through ignoring the convergence of the author and viewer (based on the metaphor of the death of the author) and together with the anxietatic-dystopian variation of democratic-populist fantasy (which doesn't ignore the convergence, but rather takes it as the threat of cultural professional) seeks to keep those positions of the subjects (the author, viewer, amateur and professional) in an obsolete, separable, hierarchical order. However, the celebrative-utopian variation of the populist-democratic fantasy doesn't admit this option for separable subjects and regards it more optimistically. Carpentier classifies both of these fantasies into a modernist theoretical approach and claims that because of this antagonistic settlement they become quite problematic through creating an undesirable tension within the democratic tendencies (Carpentier, 2011, 199). Therefore he points out the participatory fantasy (Carpentier, 2011, 199-201), which he prefers because it offers the option to formally separate the subjects based on their level of participation, and as a starting point for this approach he refers to Pateman (1970, 70-71). Carpentier prefers this theoretical approach because thanks to it we are losing the tension of the antagonistic modernist fantasies and we are still able to keep these participating subjects (without the necessity of their disappearance). However, he also admits that the realization of this approach is still captured within the utopian boundaries, because the idea of the option, where we could differentiate the exact level of a subject's participation, is in absolute terms more idealistic, than realistic (Carpentier, 2011, 199-200).

Nevertheless, Carpentier considers the participatory fantasy to be a breeding ground for the development of democratic ideas, because this fantasy doesn't allow generating another modernist fantasy (which would only create deeper tension) and doesn't admit the option of the modernist separation of cultural professionals from the process of shared authorship, where they have to share their symbolic power with the other participants (Carpentier, 2011, 200-201). The clash between those approaches in relation to the contemporary situation of shared authorship (either in the view of modernist, postmodernist, late-modernist or liquid-modernist fantasies) is, however, still present without the possibility to generate the overall winner (Carpentier, 2011, 201).

Personally, I prefer the term produsage, because (and paradoxically) only thanks to this concept there is an option to realize that we are definitely losing the sovereign position of the author who is shifted towards a produser on the dynamic platforms of World Wide Web. This convergence of the author and viewer, which transforms both of them into mutually inseparable positions based on produsage, could be understood as utopian, but exactly (and a bit paradoxically) thanks to this inseparability provides the best concept which adequately describes the contemporary situation on the Web – where this inseparability has a status of a key characteristic, rather than a status of a mistake. Therefore, I don't agree with Carpentier who prefers the postmodern participatory fantasy, because while staying with the idea that we are able to differentiate the level of participation among subjects, he refuses to admit that on the platforms of World Wide Web, this idea is not possible to maintain anymore. As a way out, I prefer the need to admit the convergence of the author and viewer in the full range through produsage and to try to liberate this concept from its techno-optimistic tendencies. As we will see later, the produsage brings (despite the ambiguity mentioned above) another problems in the context of neo-Marxist theory, which should persuade us that it is not possible to understand this concept just through the democratic-populist or techno-optimistic perspective.

4. From Industrial Production towards Produsage

Brown and Quan-Haase (2012) are trying to design a new method of approach towards the study of produsage, while referring to Karl Marx (1938/1880)[5] and to Italian autonomists and critical theorists, in order to find the method in these theories which could be used in the current context of social media and produsage (Brown & Quan-Haase, 2012, 488-489). The autonomists follow up the concepts earlier defined by Marx, and they are connected with him through his similar interest in industrial production and in the improvement of workers´ position within this system which is designed according to the industrial interests; though both of them are using different strategies to achieve it (Brown & Quan-Haase 2012, 490-491). In this battle for a better position of industrial workers, we could find there the parallel in relation to the produsage.

As the factory owners were dependent on workers (and their work), so are the owners of social media platforms dependent on the activity of produsers (Brown & Quan-Haase, 2012, 491). In the environment of web 2.0, the rising power and activity of produsers, who are a part of a certain community, even raises the market value of the social media platforms, where the produsers are concentrated (Brown & Quan-Haase, 2012, 494).

Based on my opinion, this moment is very important in the context of our topic, because there we could see that the concept of the romantic author is overcome not only in the perspective of an individual sovereign production, which is spread among the collective activity within the community of produsers, but also in the perspective of the financial rewards connected with these products, which are created during this production process. From a Marxist and autonomist perspective, a produser does not receive any financial reward for his work, and his overall activity in the form of a user generated content leads only to an increase in the market value of the platforms. The produsers provide the content to the owners of these platforms for free, therefore they are being exploited.

However, even though the produsers are being exploited by the owners of web 2.0 platforms as well as the workers by the owners of industrial factories, it would be false to think that their positions are completely identical: "While workers in the industrial era had predefined and predictable work hours, Web 2.0 sites and services consist of a fluid and loosely-connected network of produsers" (Brown & Quan-Haase, 2012, 496).

We could find other theoretic differences while we are (based on the recommendation of *A Workers Inquiry 2.0*) concentrating on the very results of produsage, which means on the artefacts[6] (Brown & Quan-Haase, 2012, 498-499). The authors of this text claim that the artefacts are the results (and reflections) of especially non-capitalistic subjective needs and consciousness of produsers (not of the platform owners). From a Marxist and autonomist

[5] *A Workers´ Inquiry* is the name of the original questionnaire and thanks to it we may see the obvious connection with *A Workers´ Inquiry 2.0.*
[6] Bruns Especially talks about the artefacts as the contemporary results of produsage and points out their never finished nature (Bruns, 2008).

point of view, the final products do not have such a social-political dynamic, because the workers are not connected with them mentally, but, on the contrary, they are alienated from those products. Brown and Quan-Haase further claim that in case of produsage, it is the autonomous members of the web 2.0 community who regulate their collaborative participation, while industrial workers are directed by the authoritative industrial owners. In comparison to produsers, the industrial workers do not have any power and control over the final product and they are subordinated to the industrial interests in the sense of monotonous capitalist production[7] rather than characterized by diverse and creative activity which is just connected with the produsers (Brown & Quan-Haase, 2012, 500).[8]

Nevertheless, I would like to point out that in the Brown and Quan-Haase conception, we are there also, in reality, dealing with a significant overestimation of the produsers´ ability to have a self-dependent control over the artefact, because these artefacts do not necessarily stay in just one place (they are not necessarily centralized), but they could be disseminated across the network (to become decentralized) to the point, where the produsers totally lose control over them. On the one hand, this loss of control over the product (artefact) relates to the position of an industrial worker again, on the other hand, it doesn't eliminate other key differences between him and produser which were mentioned previously. Unlike the industrial workers, the produsers do have a chance to form the artefact to a certain level, but it would be false (or utopian) again to think that they have the artefacts totally in control.

This is actually the reason why I talk about the topic of several approaches towards the subject of the author in terms of media epistemology, because the construction of this subject is not just a matter of a coincidence. In order to describe this construction, Foucault uses the term dispozitiv as a social praxis which is considered to be quite common in a specific historical era, e.g. in relation to sexuality (Foucault, 1978), and which is always connected with a certain type of institution, e.g. prison (Foucault, 1977), that is constructing the subject via its power.[9] In relation to our topic, we may see that the dispozitiv of typography and its subsequently developing legislation helps to form the subject of an individual author and his rights, but (on the other hand) the dispozitiv of web 2.0 helps to destroy his authorial sovereignty and forces him/her to accept the role of the produser, who is being exploited by the powerful owners of the dynamic platforms. To put it simply, the dispozitiv of web 2.0 does not allow the author to stay in the position of an individual sovereignty (even if he/she would like to) and this is exactly the reason why he/she is, thanks to the produsage, irretrievably overcome. Therefore, we should be very attentive when talking about the subject of produsers and their artefacts. Ultimately, the thoughts about what could be brought by produsage in the future are without a doubt very important and stimulating. As the authors claim: “As a result, the artefacts are both a critique of the present and evidence of what may be possible in the future” (Brown & Quan-Haase, 2012, 506).

No matter where exactly the produsage is going to lead us, it is still quite safe to say that it has already divested us of the concept of the romantic author in terms of a sovereign individual creator. At the same time, it is very important to realize that apart from the environment of web 2.0 platforms, we are still able to encounter the individual author in terms of a cultural professional. To put it simply, even in the era of the information society,

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[7] According to Bierhanzl (2017), the problem of the alienation of creators (exploited workers) from their creations (products they don't own) is the topic for several thinkers who are influenced by Marxism.
[8] There, the authors describe the differences between workers and produsers much more in detail.
[9] There, we could see the connection with the genealogy mentioned above: “ (...) Foucault´s genealogical period is contiguous with his analysis of power” (Charvát, 2016, 26).

we have the option to go to a gallery and encounter the authorial exhibition which is presented in the spirit of the Western concept of individual authorship. Then, it would be too much of an exaggeration to take the overcoming of the romantic author in context of the contemporary information society quite literally or in absolute terms. By analogy, it would be quite similar to think that we couldn't find any trace of agriculture in industrial society just because the agricultural society had been replaced by the era of industrialization.

Nevertheless, it does not change the fact, that these authorial gallery creations have the status of finished products, not the status of never-finished artefacts of produsage. As well as facing the convergence of the author and viewer on web 2.0 platforms, we are facing the convergence of the medial content consisting of dynamic pieces, which could be evolved by produsers[10] and thanks to it they are eventually losing their finalized form of a product that is related to the nature of gallery framing. Today, we should understand the overcoming of the individual creator as the new option, not as the absolute force. This new option is very significant, because it causes the very real disappearance of the individual creators and their products for the first time. On web 2.0, we are not losing the option to present the anonymous creations, but we are losing the option to present the authorial products. The creators merge into inseparable produsers and their products into never-finished artefacts.

5. Summary

In this article, we focus via media epistemology on three key aspects connected with the topic of the overcoming of authorial sovereignty in order to be able to generate the conclusion. In relation to the findings mentioned above, we are facing then the obvious paradox: where we would like to consider the concept of the romantic author in sense of an individual creator as a universality, we are simultaneously facing his ethnocentric Western character built upon the ideological construct of the genuine authorship; and on the other hand, where we would like to consider the concept of the romantic author as it was overcome, we are facing the intentionally nostalgic ignorance of the death of the author or the anxious bias from his convergence with other produsers.

We also came to the conclusion that even at the beginning, the concept of the romantic author wasn't universally accepted by far, and even in the context of the contemporary information society, we are not able to claim that this concept is absolutely overcome or eliminated. However, not having the possibility to provide a clear-cut answer about this topic is not a mistake, but a characteristic gained from the nature of the findings mentioned above. Even though the contemporary concept of the individual romantic author is already overcome, we can't deny that we are not able to be confronted with several cases of the traditional authorship away from the environment of the web 2.0 dynamic platforms. In addition, the concepts, which do not deny the overcoming of the author/viewer convergence, are eventually influenced by the utopian and dystopian tendencies.

This is the reason why I think that it is necessary not to deprecate the produsage just because of its modernist tension (because any other fantasy does not offer the very real disappearance of the author) and to try to understand it without overwhelming enthusiasm, which means to liberate this concept from its utopian techno-optimism and from its overall populist construct built upon the idea of the realization of the democratic tendencies by (contemporarily exploited) produsers. In other words, the original modernist based fantasy of produsage

[10] This is one of the reasons why Jenkins talks about the participatory culture and the culture of convergence (Jenkins 2006).

should be liberated from the utopian idea of total equity among the produsers, but meanwhile it is necessary not to forget about their convergence, which causes the disappearance of the sovereign position of the author thanks to the inseparable positions of the produsers. Further, it is necessary to cast away the democratic-populist ideas and to confront them with the reality of exploited produsers and to abandon the overall techno-optimism, even by accepting the decentralized nature of the artefacts, which takes away the option for produsers to have them in absolute control. This is the way how to liberate the produsage from its modernist captivity in order to be able to take it without overestimating its impact in the contemporary context of postmodernism. Last but not least, let's not forget that the participatory fantasy mentioned above is due to its insurmountable utopian nature not suitable for the very real understanding of the overcoming of the sovereign author. Only through this approach are we able to realize what exactly the very real overcoming of the sovereign individual authors and overall traditional authorship could bring to (or take away from) us in context of the contemporary information society.

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Miroslava Bozogáňová (2018). *Vnímané bezpečie a jeho sociálno-psychologické kontexty.* Bratislava: Wolters Kluwer SR s.r.o. 143 pp. ISBN 978-80 8168-769-3

The monograph "Vnímané bezpečie a jeho sociálno-psychologické kontexty" [Perceived security and its socio-psychological contexts] is one of the outputs of the VEGA project no. 2/0172/15 The Perception of safety in the context of personality and work. It was published with the financial support of the Slovak Scientific Grant Agency and the Grant Agency for PhD Students and Young Scientific and Educational Staff of the University of Prešov. The main aim of the book is to provide a comprehensive and integrative view of the construct of perceived security, namely it's cognitive, emotional, and behavioural dimensions within socio-demographic variables (gender, age) and perceived problems in the neighbourhood, and to provide information on the relationship of gender roles with the level of perceived security. It is considered to be especially topical as ´we are daily witnessing tragic events, crimes - murders, robberies, and other negative phenomena that distort our perception of reality and create a picture of a dangerous world´ (p. 7).

The author, Mgr. Miroslava Bozogáňová, PhD. is currently working as a research associate at the Psychology Department in the Institute of Social Sciences of the Centre of Social and Psychological Sciences, Slovak Academy of Sciences. One of her main research interests is the topic of security and safety from the psychological point of view which has led to the publishing of several papers or chapters between 2013 and 2018 covering the topic of safety perception, including her dissertation thesis.

The book is designed to give theoretical background along with the results of the author´s own empirical research. The former is covered by the seven chapters with a summary chapter that emphasizes the most important points, and a conclusion of the most significant results of the research conducted in this field. The latter is organized in two parts: the first one includes a description of three follow-up studies, the second one focuses on the verification of the social-psychological model of safety perception (Van der Wurff et al. 1989) with the ambitious goal of creating a holistic model that could explain part of the variation of perceived security.

The theoretical part of the book covers the explanation of the basic concepts in the field of perceived security and the role of vulnerability, selected socio-demographic variables - gender and age - and is followed by neighbourhood and preventive behaviour. The author defines the perceived safety as a multi-dimensional construct that incorporates an emotional, cognitive, and behavioural dimension. In accordance with this approach, perceived safety includes cognitive safety assessment, fear of crime, and preventive behaviour. The central place belongs to the connection of gender and perceived security. A well-known fact about women's lower perceived security is interpreted by the author in the context of gender stereotypes, gender roles and differences in socialization in terms of gender; with an emphasis on the fear of crime. The author deals in the fourth chapter with the inconsistency of the results in the research of the importance of age regarding perceived safety. Since perceived safety has been studied for a long time only with respect to socio-demographic variables, the inclusion of psychological constructs can be positively evaluated. Specifically, the author's viewpoint follows the social-psychological model of Van der Wurff et al. (1989) which examined these variables in relation to the fear of crime. In connection with the neighbourhood variable, the author does not ignore social and environmental theories. In the last theoretical chapter the author puts the chosen variables in relation to preventive behaviour. The theoretical part is supplemented with graphs, pictures, and tables, which increases the reader's orientation in the text and facilitates the understanding of the research results.

The empirical part is divided into two main chapters. The first chapter contains three sections describing three consecutive studies. The first study examines the relationships of socio-demographic variables with the emotional dimension of perceived security. The description of the methodological part can be considered to be reasonably comprehensive. What can be appreciated is the use of the Structural Equation Modelling (SEM) method, which results in a recursive model. The model has been modified and in its final form it explains 20.9% variations of perceived safety and 4.7% preventive behaviour. The second study covers the cognitive dimension of perceived security and behavioural dimension (preventive behaviour) in relation to selected determinants. The modified model of the second study explained 34.4% variations of cognitive dimension through four variables: gender, age, perceived problems in a neighbourhood and preventive behaviour. It also explains a 25.8% variation of behavioural dimension of perceived safety. The third study focused on the importance of gender roles (masculinity, femininity, androgyny, undifferentiated) in explaining perceived safety. The importance of masculinity and femininity as gender roles was confirmed by a multivariate analysis of variance. The results of the analyses showed that the cognitive dimension of perceived safety is in a significant relationship with masculinity - the higher the score in the masculinity subscale, the higher the perceived safety level.

The second chapter follows the social-psychological model of van der Wurff et al. (1989) and Farrall et al (2000). Verification of this model on the Slovak sample can be evaluated as beneficial. Moreover, the author modified this model (by combining the modified socio-demographic and socio-psychological model), and managed to explain even more variations of perceived safety than previous models. The new holistic model explained a 32.9% perceived safety, and with the help of six variables (perceived competence to chase a potential attacker, avoidance of quarrels / disputes, reassurance of road safety, gender, residence, and walking after dark), a significant contribution to the scientific research can be seen regarding this issue.

The book is suitable for students and scientists in the fields of psychology, sociology, and related disciplines and almost anyone interested in the topic of security. Understanding the issue is not hampered either by academic language and higher statistical procedures, as the results are described factually and comprehensibly. The listing of the used questionnaires in the annex, as well as the description of methodological and statistical procedures, allows the replication of conducted studies under similar conditions. The contribution of this monograph extends from the theoretical to the practical level in towns and municipalities administration, who by reducing the visible signs of neighbourhood problems (homeless people, drinking alcohol in public ...) can increase the perceived safety of the population.

Ivana Piterová, Institute of Social Sciences,
Centre of Social and Psychological Sciences of SAS, Košice, piterova@saske.sk

Conference Report "Border Changes and Population Movement in Europe after the Second World War", Košice, Slovak Republic, 19th – 20th September 2019

On 19th and 20th of September 2019, a scientific conference *"Border Changes and Population Movement in Europe after the Second World War"* was held in the Historical Hall of the Rectorate of the Pavol Jozef Šafárik University in Košice. The organizers of the conference were the Department of History of the Faculty of Arts of the Pavol Jozef Šafárik University in Košice (hereinafter referred to as KH FF UPJŠ) and the Center of Social and Psychological Sciences of the Slovak Academy of Sciences (hereinafter referred to as CSPV SAV). The conference was organized within the framework of the VEGA project no. 1/0316/19: *"Population exchange between Czechoslovakia and Hungary – facts and historical context in domestic and European politics"*. During the two days of the conference, 21 lectures by experts from Slovakia, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Austria, and Ukraine were presented. The conference schedule was divided into 5 conference blocks. Conference papers presented during the first day were related to the topic *"Borders and population migration in Europe after the Second World War"* and the main topic of the second conference day was *"Population exchange between Czechoslovakia and Hungary"*.

The conference was opened on Thursday at 12:30 by the Vice-Rector of the Pavol Jozef Šafárik University for Higher Education, Academic Traditions and Ceremonies and the Head of the KH FF UPJŠ prof. PaedDr. Martin Pekár, PhD., who welcomed the conference participants and thanked the organizers for preparing the conference. In his speech he recalled that the topic of population movement and changes in borders is periodically recurring, and even in terms of scientific research, it is still a topical field of study. Prof. PaedDr. Štefan Šutaj, DrSc. from the KH FF UPJŠ also welcomed the participants of the conference.

The official opening of the conference was followed by the first conference block, moderated by Mgr. Nikola Regináčová, PhD. from the KH FF UPJŠ. Prof. PaedDr. Štefan Šutaj, DrSc. was the first to address the theme of *"Border changes and population movement in Europe after the Second World War at the Paris Conference 1946"*. He focused primarily on the Czechoslovak-Hungarian problem, which was still associated with the collapse of the Habsburg monarchy. Already during the Second World War, representatives of Czechoslovakia and Hungary were preparing proposals for its resolution; meaning adjusting the borders. However, two distinct approaches to a peaceful solution were characteristic. For Czechoslovakia, the nullification of the Vienna Arbitration was important, i.e. the unacceptability of the changes it brought; the displacement of the Hungarian population and the requirement for the Bratislava bridgehead. The author emphasized that this requirement has not been dealt with in Slovak historiography to date. The Hungarian basic model was related to the exchange of territories, which was to be combined with population exchange and resettlement. One of the results was a confirmation of the nullification of the Vienna Arbitration.

The next paper entitled "*Forms of migration during the Second World War and in the postwar period (in the area of Central and Eastern Europe)*" was delivered by doc. PhDr. Michal Šmigeľ, PhD. from the Department of History of the Faculty of Arts of the Matej Bel University in Banská Bystrica. At the beginning, he briefly introduced migration movements in Europe in the first half of the 20th century, emphasizing that the largest population movement occurred just after the end of the Second World War. The author also talked about the post-war exchanges organized by the Poles and the parallels between Poland and the Czechoslovak Republic in connection with the post-war population movement. The third paper *"Migration in Europe after the Second World War in the context of European integration"* was presented by Mgr. Alexander Onufrák, PhD. from the Department of Political Science of the Faculty of Arts of the Pavol Jozef Šafárik University in Košice, who spoke about several recruitment programs and sub-programs. He dealt with labor migration based on bilateral interstate treaties, colonial ties and also recruitment of labor between friendly socialist states. The first conference block was concluded by doc. Ihor Shnitser, PhD. from Uzhhorod National University in Uzhhorod, who presented the topic *"Views of the Soviet leadership on the borders forming in Europe (1941 – 1946)"*.

After a short break, the conference continued with the second block, moderated by prof. PaedDr. Štefan Šutaj, DrSc. The first speaker was doc. Mgr. Milan Olejník, PhD. from the Institute of Social Sciences of the CSPV SAV in Košice with a paper called *"Preparation, course and consequences of the evacuation of the German population from Slovakia (1944 – 1945)"*. He dealt with the violence against the Germans in Slovakia after the outbreak of the Slovak National Uprising and their subsequent evacuation, which took place in September 1944 in Spiš and then in Bratislava and Central Slovakia at the turn of 1945. The German population had moved to Bohemia, Austria and partly to Germany but by the summer of 1945 the evacuated Germans began to return, so camps were created in which they were to be placed. However, it was an improvisation, infectious diseases broke out in the camps and the locals demanded their cancellation. This paper was followed by doc. PhDr. Soňa Gabzdilová, CSc. from the Institute of Social Sciences of the CSPV SAV in Košice, who talked about *"Displacement of Carpathian Germans from Slovakia after the Second World War"*. At the beginning, the author mentioned the Potsdam Conference, which discussed the fate of the Germans in the Czechoslovak Republic, Poland and Hungary, and one of its conclusions was to approve the deportations of the Germans to individual occupation zones in Germany. She also dealt with the decision of the Allied Control Council of 20 November 1945 on the final variants of transport. The main phase of the displacement was to take place during 1946 and from the entire Czechoslovakia up to about 2.5 million Germans were to be displaced. Only 32,400 people were deported from Slovakia, who could take with them a maximum of 70 kg of luggage while their property remained in Slovakia.

The third presentation entitled *"Creating the Slovak-Polish part of the border after the Second World War and its impact on the migration of the population"* was presented by PhDr. Milica Majeriková-Molitoris, PhD. from the Association of Slovaks in Poland in Krakow. At the beginning of the presentation, the author briefly outlined the issue of the Slovak-Polish border after the First World War and the Polish requirements in 1938. Then she went on to the issue of borders in 1945 and the connection of several municipalities to Poland, which caused the Slovaks to escape to the Czechoslovak Republic. The reasons for emigration were the national and economic oppression of the Slovaks, the precarious security situation, the assaults of armed groups and murders, as well as economic reasons (e.g. the attempt to acquire vacated German property in Slovakia). At first, the refugees stayed in the borderland, in Spiš and gradually settled in the south of Slovakia, and some of them also reached Bohemia and Moravia. Another paper which was presented by Mgr. Martin Garek, PhD. from the Nation's Memory Institute in Bratislava was related to the previous topic. The author talked about *"Organizations for* *assistance to migrants from upper Orava and Northern Spiš after the Second World War"*. The introduction of the paper mentioned the handover of the disputed territories to Poland in May 1945 and the subsequent establishment of two organizations: the Liberation Committee of Northern Spiš and the National Council of the Detached Villages of Orava, which merged in January 1946 to form the Liberation Committee of Spiš and Orava. At the end of the year it was changed to the Committee of Refugees of Upper Orava and Spiš, which was no longer supposed to resolve the Slovak-Polish border, but only to deal with the situation of refugees. After the coup in February 1948, however, this was cancelled.

Doc. Mgr. Milan Olejník, PhD. moderated the following third block, in which the first speaker was Dr. Hab. Krzysztof Nowak from University of Silesia in Katowice with the topic *"In the shadow of Cieszyn. Polish-Slovak borderland and re-emigration of Poles from Slovakia in Polish politics after 1945"*. This was followed by PhDr. Helena Nosková, CSc. from the Institute for Contemporary History of the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic in Prague with a paper *"Migration of Slovaks from Slovakia and Transylvania in Romania to the Czech borderland in the light of archival documents and field research"*. The third presenter was Dr. Sabine Stadler from the University of Applied Arts Vienna who talked about *"Austria after the war, the masses of people and the new borders"*. The conference block and also the first day of the conference ended with a lecture *"The legacy of the Bleigbur massacres after the Scond World War and their commemoration in the former Yugoslavia"* presented by Mgr. Maroš Melichárek, PhD. from the KH FF UPJŠ. His aim was to show how society in the area of the former Yugoslavia didn't manage to cope with the events that took place in the Austrian town of Bleiburg in May 1945. The paper was followed by a discussion by the conference participants and at the end of the first day of the conference all participants were invited to a glass of wine and refreshments, where the discussion continued.

During the second day of the conference, nine papers were presented together. Mgr. Alexander Onufrák, PhD. moderated the first block, and JUDr. PhDr. René Petráš, Ph.D. from the Faculty of Law of the Charles University in Prague was the first speaker. He talked about the topic *"Absolute break in the legal regulation of the status of minorities in Czechoslovakia in 1945"*. He recalled that the interwar Czechoslovak Republic had one of the most elaborate systems of legal status for minorities. After the Second World War, the exact opposite occurred in relation to this issue. For example, the decrees of the President of the Republic only minimally concerned minorities (e.g. in connection with Czechoslovak citizenship), but did not address the very position of minorities in the restored Czechoslovak Republic. It was not until 1968 that a law was adopted to regulate the status of minorities in Czechoslovakia. *"The Hungarian minority in Slovakia after 1945 and its attitude towards the exchange of the population"* was the title of the second lecture, which was presented by Dr. Habil. Árpád Popély, PhD. from J. Selye University in Komárno. The author said that although there was a long-standing assumption that the Hungarians living in Slovakia were resigned about the situation after the Second World War, archival documents prove the opposite. The Hungarians demanded protection and waited for help from abroad. After 1945, illegal groups were formed (the Hungarian Executive Committee, the Hungarian Democratic People's Union in Czechoslovakia, the Executive Committee of the Anti-Fascist Hungarians in Czechoslovakia and the Committee of Democratic Hungarians who fled from Slovakia). Individual groups of the Hungarian minority rejected the principle of collective guilt, wanted to associate Hungarian-occupied territories with Hungary, or at least to secure rights for the Hungarian minority living in Czechoslovakia.

“The Settlement Office for Slovakia, its origin, activity and main tasks from the view of archival sources” was the name of the third paper presented by Mgr. Daniela Tvrdoňová, PhD. from the Slovak National Archives in Bratislava. At the beginning, the author pointed out that the Settlement Office for Slovakia in Bratislava was independent of Prague. For the needs of individual districts District Offices of the Settlement Office were established, which was in charge of population replacement, or the transfer of Hungarians to work in Bohemia. She also spoke of the Office's organizational structure and its demise in March 1950. The first conference block was concluded by Mgr. Kristína Estera Szudová from the Slovak Research Institute in Hungary in Békéscsaba, with a topic *“Papers of Anton Granatier on the issue of population exchange between Czechoslovakia and Hungary”*. The author used the vice-chairman of the Settlement Office for Slovakia, Anton Grantier's, personal documents in the Slovak National Archives in Bratislava. She also described his writings from scientific as well as public and political activities.

After a short break, the last conference block was moderated by prof. PaedDr. Štefan Šutaj, DrSc. began. The first speaker was Dr. István Janek from the Institute of History of the Research Centre for the Humanities of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences in Budapest with a presentation *“The Hungarian Cardinal Jozef Mindszety's efforts to stop the exchange of population (1945-1948)”*. This was followed by a presentation *“Propaganda in the exchange of population between Czechoslovakia and Hungary”*, presented by Mgr. Lucia Heldáková, PhD. from the Department of Applied Ethics of the Faculty of Arts of Pavol Jozef Šafárik University in Košice. The author introduced several definitions of propaganda. Subsequently, she focused on the identification of the propagandist (in connection with the exchange of population). Although in this case it might seem that it was the Czechoslovak people (e.g. on the basis of newspaper articles), Czechoslovak politicians and Czechoslovak elites were propagandists in fact. The author also mentioned the principle of clarity and accessibility of information that Goebbels identified as the most important in promoting. The presentation also focused on the measurability of the media effects of propaganda, the forms of propaganda that were used to exchange populations (leaflets, verbal, personal and rumour). In conclusion, the author evaluated that the agitation process implemented to motivate the Slovaks to register the population for exchange meets the characteristics of propaganda.

The third speaker was Mgr. Barbara Kacerová from the KH FF UPJŠ with the paper *“Selected problems of population exchange at the Czechoslovak-Hungarian Mixed Commission for population exchange after the Second World War”.* The author presented the Commission, its members and the basic tasks. In the first part, she dealt with the problems that the Commission solved at the level of the Ministries of Foreign Affairs of Czechoslovakia and Hungary; in concrete terms, the relocation of war criminals. The second part focused on the issues addressed by the Commission in its own competence. The last part dealt with problems which were addressed in relation to decisions. At the end of the paper, the course of population exchange and the negotiations of the Commission were evaluated. This topic was followed by a presentation by Mgr. Zlatica Sáposová, PhD. and Mgr. Miroslava Gallová from the Institute of Social Sciences of the CSPV SAV in Košice, entitled *“Complaints of Resettled Slovaks from Hungary (in a selected region of southern Slovakia)”*. The authors dealt with the situation in the villages of the district of Kráľovský Chlmec. The aim of the paper was to clarity the fate of people who participated in the population exchange and their complaints or applications.

The last paper presented at the conference was *"The exchange of population in the classroom. The picture of the years 1947-48 in school registers, class books and other school documents"* by József Demmel, PhD. from the Slovak Research Institute in Hungary in Békéscsaba. The author presented the situation in the village of Tardoš, where in the school year 1947/48, up to 59 pupils moved out of a total number of 252, which represents 23% of pupils. The author compared the data from the school in the village of Tardoš with the data from the elementary school and the girls' school in Békéscsaba, of which only 5 pupils left in the school year 1947/48. He also dealt with the situation in three schools which were located in the Slovenský Komlóš. For example, only 22 out of 37 pupils remained in the state school with Slovak as a language of instruction, so more than 40% of pupils left the school. On the basis of these data the author stated that it is not possible to generalize data only from the selected school, but it is necessary to examine the situation in schools of individual municipalities.

At the end of the conference Prof. PaedDr. Štefan Šutaj, DrSc. thanked the participants for their lectures and the organisational team for its preparation. He evaluated the event as very successful and beneficial. Each conference block was followed by a discussion of active participants and listeners in which more details were presented. All 22 registered participants attended the conference and their conference papers will be published in the almanac after the review process.

More information can be found at:
https://www.svusav.sk/zmeny-hranic-a-pohyb-obyvatelstva-v-europe-po-druhej-svetovej-vojne/

Miroslava Gallová, Institute of Social Sciences,
Centre of Social and Psychological Sciences of SAS, Košice, gallova@saske.sk

Report from the International Scientific Conference „*Reflection of the Slovak national educational system in Hungary in the context of the present and other perspectives of its functioning*“, Košice 15th October 2019

„Reflection of the Slovak national educational system in Hungary in the context of the present and other perspectives of its functioning“ – an international conference took place on October 15, 2019 in Promatech Building at Watsonova 47 in Košice.
It was organized by the Institute of Social Sciences of the Center of Social and Psychological Sciences of the Slovak Academy of Sciences in Košice in cooperation with the Research Institute of the Slovaks in Hungary based in Békéscsaba. The aim of the event was to create a space for a professional discussion on the functioning of the Slovak national education system in Hungary and its other perspectives.
The conference was held within the framework of the VEGA project "Reflection of Slovak national educational system in Hungary in the context of the present and other perspectives of its functioning”, and of the international bilateral project „The functioning of the Slovak national education system – reflection of teachers, reflection of students and reflection of parents”.
The invitation to the conference was accepted by researchers and practitioners – people who are directly confronted with the problems of Slovak schools every day.

The conference was opened by Maria Durkovska (Institute of Social Sciences CSPS SAS) and Tunde Tuskova (Research Institute of the Slovaks in Hungary), who gave a lecture „The topic of Slovak national education in Hungary in projects of Slovak academy of sciences and research institute of Slovaks in Hungary”. The aim of their contribution was to present projects of the Institute of Social Science and the Research Institute of Slovaks in Hungary, which deal with the issue of Slovak national education in Hungarian.
The second contribution “Questions of Slovak language teaching in Slovak villages in Pilis in the 1950s and 1960s” by Jozsef Demmel (Research Institute of the Slovaks in Hungary) and Kristina Szuda (Research Institute of the Slovaks in Hungary) introduced the question of teaching the Slovak national language in schools of the Slovak villages in Pilis using two examples. For this purpose materials were used from the State Primary School in Kesztölc and the Csév Primary School in Piliscsév. For decades the majority of those living in these villages were of Slovak nationality.
The next lecture was presented by Jozef Vyrost (Institute of Social Sciences CSPS SAS) “Pedagogical reflection as an instrument for studying the current state of the curriculum”. In the lecture the audience were told how every form of reflection has its specific content; people can look at pedagogical reflection from different perspectives; they can perceive it pragmatically as teachers’ ‘personal mirror’ or as an effective tool of cultivation of professional competences but also as a tool for studying a school curriculum.

After a short break, the second block of contributions followed. It was opened by Lucia Heldáková and Anna Kalistová (both from Institute of Social Sciences CSPS SAS) with a paper “The Slovak national narrative in Slovak history textbooks in Hungary”. They analysed the Slovak national narrative in the special case of the Slovak national education system in Hungary, and tried to answer the questions: How is the Slovak country presented in history

textbooks for Slovak children in Hungary? Is the idea of the Slovak country as their "homeland" supported?
They were followed by Klara Kohoutova (Institute of Social Sciences CSPS SAS), who spoke about "The research of Slovak education in Hungary through oral history". She tried to answer the question: How can oral history be incorporated into the research of Slovak education in Hungary?
The second block was concluded by a lecture by Ivan Schmidt (Institute of Social Sciences CSPS SAS) "The personality of a teacher in a current school". The aim of his paper was to introduce the personality of the teacher from a psychological point of view, explain important components of personality and also describe the process of personality formation.

The final third block, began with a lecture by Maria Imrichova (Institute of Slovak and Media Studies, Faculty of Arts, University of Prešov) "Language competences of the students of Slovak at the Eötvös Loránd University in Budapest". The study focused on the comparison of language competences, then on their attitude to Slovak language, the reasons for studying the Slovak language and the fulfilment of their ideas about studying at ELTE. The paper contained data about the structure of the students studying in the Slovak department at ELTE in Budapest, and described the content of the study department slavic-slovak and teacher training of Slovak language and literature.
It was followed by a lecture by Julia Szaboova Marlokova (Kindergarten, elementary school, grammar school and college in Budapest with Slovak as the language for instruction) about "Perspectives of a monolingual school in Hungary". The author analysed the current status of the educational process and the ability to speak Slovak language among those studying. She presented the principles of nationality education and the answers of the pedagogical team to various challenges in the educational process of the Twenty-first century.
Anita Hola (Kindergarten, elementary school, grammar school and college in Budapest with Slovak as the language for instruction) talked about "Particularities in the teaching of students at the primary education level in the environment of the compatriotic school". The contribution dealt with the question of students' education from the specific environment of the compatriotic schools, including the working conditions of teachers in these schools. The author analysed the possibilities and conditions of educating the children of Slovak origin in the environment of a country with another language.
Anna Istvanova (Center for Slavic Methodology, Eötvös Loránd University in Budapest) was the last speaker at the conference. She presented a paper on the topic of ELTE Center for Slavic Methodology – The basis of Educators. The purpose of the presentation was to highlight the objectives, activities and future plans of the Center for Slavic methodology.

The conclusions of the conference will be published and distributed in the form of an electronic proceedings not only to scientists and researchers, but also to the public for the purpose of further professional discussion and raising awareness about Slovak schools in Hungary.

More about projects:

https://www.svusav.sk/project/reflexia-slovenskeho-narodnostneho-skolstva-v-madarsku-v-kontexte-sucasnosti-a-dalsich-perspektiv-jeho-fungovania/

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Mária Ďurkovská, Institute of Social Sciences,
Centre of Social and Psychological Sciences of SAS, Košice, durkovska@saske.sk